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THE

ÁÍN I AKBARÍ

BY

ABUL FAZL-I-ḀLLÁMÍ,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN.

BY

COLONEL H. S. JARRETT,

SECRETARY AND MEMBER, BOARD OF EXAMINERS, CALCUTTA.

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PUBLISHED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. III.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. II.

Page	44	last line		*for*	'corn-bearing land'	*read*	land subject to partition of crops.
,,	45	line	3	,,	'at the time of collection	,,	in the crops charged at special rates.
,,	,,	,,	29	*after*	assessments	*add*	of special crops.
,,	120	,,	22	,,	and	,,	the other.
,,	,,			*Omit*	note 3		
,,	127	,,	3	*for*	nine stories in height	*read*	"of nine courts."
,,	,,	,,	4	,,	"story"	,,	"court."
,,	148	,,	36	,,	native	,,	*Zemindar.*
,,	149	,,	12	,,	Naṣrat	,,	Naṣíb.
,,	,,	,,	14	*Omit*	in		
,,	,,	,,	26	*after*	the word although	*add*	disloyal at heart, yet for a time read the *Khuṭbah* in the name of His Majesty.
,,	153	,,	7	,,	land	*read*	paying the general *bíghah* rate.
,,	239	,,	8	*Omit*	turning		
,,	326	,,	1	*for*	and	,,	to.

Vol. III.

Page	1	line	6	*for*	Banákiti	*read*	Banákati.
,,	10	,,	2	,,	proferring	,,	proffering.
,,	19n3 and						
,,	20n1			,,	Montulca	,,	Montucla,
,,	21	,,	14	,,	dibra	,,	*Libra.*
,,	24	,,	1	,,	Akbár	,,	Akbar.
,,	30	line	3	,,	9°	,,	90°
,,	32	,,	7	,,	divide	,,	divided.
,,	,,	,,	13	,,	considerably	,,	considerable.
,,	38	,,	2	,,	Mercury	,,	Saturn.
,,	42	,,	1	,,	on	,,	in.
,,	44	,,	27	,,	16	,,	13
,,	,,	,,	30	,,	27°	,,	20°
,,	,,	,,	32	,,	16	,,	13
,,	,,	,,	36	,,	16	,,	13
,,	45	,,	5	,,	32°	,,	39°
,,	47n	,,	27	,,	Makrísi	,,	Makrízí.
,,	47n, etc.			,,	litoral	,,	littoral.
,,	50n	,,	34	,,	Tabal	,,	Jabal.
,,	51n	,,	3	,,	new	,,	near.
,,	,,	,,	27	,,	Mahariyah	,,	Mahriyah.
,,	56n	,,	46	,,	See p.	,,	See p. 53.
,,	69n	,,	3	,,	Vol. X	,,	Vol. II.
,,	75n	,,	27 & 32	,,	Darkarat	,,	Daskarat.
,,	76	,,	31	,,	Aljazírí	,,	Aljazarí.
,,	77	,,	3	,,	Faraj	,,	Farj.
,,	79n	,,	11	,,	Aram	,,	Arim.
,,	80n	,,	2	,,	Ḳaṣur	,,	Ḳuṣúr.
,,	80n	,,	22	,,	Muasil	,,	Mauṣil.
,,	180n2	,,	8	,,	happened	,,	happen.
,,	194	,,	10	,,	complete	,,	eastern (and omit the note).
,,	198	,,	8	,,	grew	,,	grow.
,,	212n1	,,	4	,,	366	,,	1366.
,,	255	,,	1	,,	Kánún	,,	Ḳénún.
,,	273	,,	1	,,	Ḳalimah	,,	Kalimah.
,,	305n1			,,	238	,,	298.
,,	350n2	,,	13	,,	Ḳarani	,,	Ḳaran.
,,	353	,,	18	,,	Bishr al Ḥaji	,,	Bishr al Ḥáfí.
,,	354n2	,,	7	,,	Hukk	,,	Ḥaḳḳ.
,	367n1	,,	1	,,	Bákharj	,,	Bákharz.

advanced an opinion without strong or at least plausible reasons in its support. It is natural to expect that historians of a dominant, proselytising and intolerant creed. like that of Islám, who seldom spoke of the Hindus and their beliefs without consigning them to perdition [illegible] be at little pains to understand the tenets they con- [illegible]s idolatry, and regarding them from the point o [illegible]heir professors, to set them forth in the dry light [illegible] philosophical inquiry. But this is what Abul Faz [illegible]hsan i Fání—to mention only these two—explicitl [illegible] to have done, and Sir William Jones' sweepin [illegible] may be tempered by his opinion of the latter write in another passage of his works where he calls him a learned and *accurate* author. It is doubtful whether th MSS. of the Áín at that time available, allowed him to read the chapters on Hindu philosophy so as to judge of the fidelity of its exposition. He mentions Abul Fazl's name, to the best of my recollection, but once again in connection with the chapter on music, which he describes as superficial. No work of Abul Fazl's, nor any on Hindu philosophy appears in the catalogue of Oriental MSS. in his possession. Nevertheless his assurance must suffice, and to so brilliant an intellect and so omnivorous a reader who had read twice through the whole Sháhnámah and once the entire mystical poem of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí in manuscript; who had perused and translated innumerable other works on almost all branches of Eastern and Western literature, not to mention the works of, and five commentaries on, Confucius in Chinese, the additional volumes of Abul Fazl would have been of little account. To the charge of a vicious transliteration of Sanskrit terms into Arabic, all these writers, including the greater name of Albírúní, are more justly amenable, and I have occasionally pointed out in the notes to the text, the almost unintelligible form of Abul Fazl's transcripts. This was in a large measure due to ignorance of Sanskrit and the absence of any precise system of the phonetic representation of its letters. But when we observe even in modern times, the same fault among the Orientalists of the West and the vagaries of transliteration in Freytag, Weil, Hammer-Purgstall, De Guignes, D'Herbelot, P[illegible] Ockley and a host of others, the reproach cannot [illegible] pointed at Muhammedan writers alone. The diffi[illegible] felt by Albírúní with a pathetic acknowledgmen[illegible] hopelessness of remedy. "Some of the consona[illegible] says (I employ Sachau's translation with some fr[illegible] "of which the language is composed are neither id[illegible] with those of Arabic and Persian nor resemble them in any way. Our tongue and uvula can scarcely manage to pronounce them correctly, nor our ears distinguish them from similar sounds, nor can we transliterate them accurately. It is very difficult, therefore, to express an Indian word in our writing, for in order to fix the pronunciation we must change our orthographical points and signs, and must pronounce the case-endings either according to the common Arabic rules or according to special rules adapted for the purpose. Add to this, that the Indian scribes are careless and do not take pains to produce correct and well collated copies. In consequence, the highest results of the author's mental development are lost by their negligence, and his book becomes in the first or second copy so full of faults that the text appears as something entirely new. It will sufficiently illustrate the matter if we tell the reader, that we have sometimes written down a word from the mouth of Hindus, taking the greatest pains to fix its pronunciation, and that afterwards when we repeated it to them, they had great difficulty in recognising it."

I have indicated at the beginning of the 2nd Volume (p. 2), the striking resemblance of a passage in the text to the opening of the third chapter of Albírúní's Chronology and suggested a plagiarism. After a careful study of both these authors, I am the more convinced that Abul Fazl borrowed the idea and arrangement of his work from his great predecessor. I have shown in his account of the Sarkár of Kábul instances of direct plagiarism from the Memoirs of Baber, and in his lives of Moslem Saints in the third Volume, *verbatim* extracts without acknowledgment from the Ṣúfic hagiography of Jámí. The same volume displays other examples, suggestive rather than definite, of his indebtedness to an author whom he never names. The difference between the two men in this particular is most remarkable. Albírúní's reading was far more extensive and scholarly. The Sanskrit sources of his chapters are almost always given, and Sachau's preface has a list of the many authors quoted by him on astronomy, chronology, geography, and astrology. He was also acquainted with Greek literature through Arabic translations, and in comparing its language and thought and those of Hindu metaphysics, selects his quotations from the Timœus and its commentator the Neo-Platonist Proclus, with judgment and rare ability. His list of Greek authors, among others, includes Aristotle, Johannes Grammaticus, Porphyry, Apollonius, Aratus, Galenus, and Ptolemy. Zoroastrian, Christian, Jewish, Manichean and Ṣúfí sources are indicated by him, and he rarely fails to record his authorities. With Abul Fazl it is the reverse. He rarely names them, and borrows from every side without scruple as without avowal. The difference in the manner of the two authors is not less conspicuous. Albírúní quotes freely from his authorities and where these seem to exaggerate or to be inaccurate, his citations are followed by some sharp brief commentary which gives a ceaseless interest to his pages. Especially is this the case where their assertions can be brought to the searching test of mathematics to which he subjected the data of Indian astronomers in his examination of their system. In this latter science, according to his own account, he stood pre-eminent, and on his visit to India he had to learn, as a pupil, their national and traditional methods, but after he had made some progress, he began to act the teacher and to show them the scientific methods of mathematics in general, and they flocked from all parts to hear him, wondering from what Hindu Master he had learnt these things, and giving him the epithet of "The Sea." His treatment of these topics is throughout scholarly, showing extensive reading and precision of thought acquired by a study of the exact sciences. Abul Fazl, on the contrary, transcribes either from existing works or from oral communication. His compilation is extremely careful and carried out with the most laborious and marvellous exactitude, but it is unenlivened by those masterly criticisms which give Albírúní his unique position among Eastern writers. It is certain that Albírúní's India was made use of largely by several authors, among them al-Gardezí who re-produced his account of the S'aka era, and Rashídu'ddín, who transferred the whole of Chapter xviii into his chronicle. (Cf. Sachau. Pref. xliii). I have no hesitation in adding to these two the name of Abul Fazl. The charge of plagiarism against an Eastern writer is too common to be offensive. Nearly all are obnoxious to a reproach of which apparently they are unconscious, as none prefers it against another. The prevalence of the custom may condone its laxity among ordinary writers, but the great reputation, the bold and independent mind of Abul Fazl commands and deserves a nobler estimation, and the practice is unworthy of his fame. It is remarkable that he had intended, as he says, to arrange the Hindu systems of philosophy in due order and to weigh them with those of the Grecian and Persian schools. Albírúní in his preface expresses the same intention, which he practically carried out, mentioning similar theories among the Greeks as well as the ideas of the Ṣúfís and of some one or other Christian sect, in order to show the relationship existing between them, and that in the pantheistic doctrine of the unity of God there is much in common between these systems. The coincidence strengthens the strong probability of Abul Fazl's use of Albírúní's work, but he wisely refrained from undertaking a task which, I suspect, was beyond him and would have indicated too plainly the source of his erudition.

When all is said, however, which a strict impartiality must weigh in counterpoise to his sterling merits, there remains ample justification for the high place held by this great work in the West as well as the East, and as a record of the extension of the Moghul empire of India under the greatest of its monarchs and the ability with which it was administered, it must always remain of permanent and fascinating interest. It crystallizes and records in brief, for all time, the state of Hindu learning, and besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brahmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions, and indigenous lore, which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind. Above all, as a register of the fiscal areas, the revenue settlements and changes introduced at various periods, the harvest returns, valuations and imposts throughout the provinces of the empire, its originality is as indisputable as its surpassing historical importance. The concluding account of the author and his family and the persecutions to which they were subjected will, perhaps, be read with as much interest as any other portion of the work. The wanderings from house to house and refuge to refuge, of his father, his brother Faizi and himself, are told with an unconscious humour which its figurative and florid style render irresistibly droll in the original, and no finer or more biting comment on the worth and constancy of Eastern friendships was ever penned than may be found running like figured threads through the woven picture of this inimitable narrative. The notes to the text form a sufficient comment on the subjects with which it deals, and dispense with a further notice of them in this place. As to the manner in which the original has been rendered into English, I have studied to fulfil the aim of the greatest among Roman orators in translating two of the most celebrated orations of the greatest among the Greeks; "in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servavi." The issue, whether in success or failure, rests with the judgment of my readers.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr. Rizku'llah Azzún, Professor of Arabic to the Board of Examiners, for the care he has bestowed upon the Index to this Volume at a time when my duties gave me little leisure for so onerous a task. Its exhaustive fulness, and its accuracy, will be gratefully recognised by all who use it, and by none more than myself whose work so largely profits by its utility.

CALCUTTA,
17*th May*, 1894.

H. S. JARRETT.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HINDUSTAN.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

It has long been the ambitious desire of my heart to pass in review, to some extent, the general conditions of this vast country, and to record the opinions professed by the majority of the learned among the Hindus. I know not whether the love of my native land has been the attracting influence or exactness of historical research and genuine truthfulness of narrative, for Banákiti,[1] Ḥáfiz A'brú and other ancient chroniclers have indulged in vain imaginings and recorded stories that have no foundation in fact. Nor were the motives altogether these, but rather that when I had arisen from the close retirement of studious application and discovered somewhat of the ignorance and dissensions of men, I formed the design of establishing peace and promoting concord. My original desire now renewed its possession of me, but a multiplicity of occupations prevented its gratification until the turns of fate brought about the composition of this striking record which has already branched out into such numerous details. Although my pen had occupied itself with the description of the Súbahs and had briefly recorded the annals of Hindustan, and now that the ambition of my heart had attained the time of its realisation, not content with the information I had already acquired, I had recourse to the knowledge of others and set myself to gather instruction from men of true learning. As I was unfamiliar with the science of terms in the Sanskrit language and a competent interpreter was not available, the labour of repeated translations had to be undertaken, until by good fortune and my own steadfastness of purpose, my object was at length attained. It then became clear that the commonly received opinion that Hindus associate a plurality of gods with the One Supreme Being has not the full illumination of truth, for although with regard to some points and certain conclusions, there is room for controversy, yet the worship of one God and the profession of His Unity among this people appeared facts convincingly attested.[2] It was indispensable in me, therefore, to bring into open evidence the system of philosophy, the degrees of self-discipline, and the gradations of rite and usage of this race in order that hostility towards them might abate, and the temporal sword be stayed awhile from the shedding of blood, that dissensions within and without be turned to peace and the thornbrake of strife and enmity bloom into a garden of concord. Assemblies for the discussion of arguments might then be formed and gatherings of science suitably convened.

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[1] See Vol. II, pp. 33 and 36 for this and the following name.

[2] This is confirmed by Colebrooke. "The real doctrine of the Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and

Notwithstanding that at all periods of time, excellent resolutions and well-intentioned designs are to be witnessed and the extent of the world is never lacking in prudent men, why does misunderstanding arise and what are the causes of contention?

The *First* cause is the diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes, and thus the alloy of ill-will is introduced and the dust of discord arises.

Secondly, the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet, and if chance should bring them together, the need of an interpreter would preclude any practical result. An accomplished linguist capable of mastering the intricacies of science and the abstruse speculations of philosophy among various nations and competent to give them luminous and efficient expression, is very rare. Even at the present time, when through His Majesty's patronage of learning and his appreciation of merit, the erudite of all countries are assembled, and apply themselves with united effort in the pursuit of truth, so proficient a person is not to be found. Such as thirst after the sweet-waters of wisdom and who leaving their native land undertake the wanderings of travel and with diligent assiduity employ their energies in the acquisition of various languages, are indeed uncommon. It needs a seeker such as Anushirwán, who amidst the pomp of empire should yet search for the jewel of wisdom, and a minister like Buzurjmihr, void of envy, as his counsellor, and both king and minister combined, to discover a coadjutor so unique and one so upright and intelligent as the physician Barzawaih, and then to send him with abundant

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planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindu mythology, are indicated in the Veda. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system: nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text which I have yet seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators." H. H. Wilson in commenting on this passage admits that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic, addressed to unreal presences and not to visible types, and not idolatry. Vishnu. P. Pref. ii.

means disguised as a merchant to Hindustan in order that with this capital stock-in-trade he might obtain the interest of acquired wisdom; and again this sagacious personage, making no distinction between the absence or presence of his employers, must be diligent in his inquiries and succeed in the accomplishment of his desire through the frankness of his demeanour and his largesse of gold. Or the occasion would demand an indefatigable and lofty intellect like that of Ṭumṭum the Indian, who to receive the instruction of the divine philosopher Plato, passed from Hindustan into Greece and freighting his caravans with the requisites of travel, set himself to face the dangers of seas and deserts, and with the medicinal simples of wisdom perfected his spiritual health and the harmonious balance of his soul. Or a powerful mind and vigorous body such as Abu Maạshar of Balkh, enamoured of wisdom, who holding exile and his native country and toil and ease undissociated, travelled into India from Khorásán and garnered a store of knowledge at Benares and carried it as a gift of price to the learned of his own land.

Thirdly, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification, for men regard the absence of beauty in an object as placing it beyond the pale of existence and therefore not to be thought of as worth acquisition or productive of enjoyment. Their fastidiousness is averse from listening to accounts of foreign peoples even by way of apologue. And forasmuch as their moral obliquity refuses to lend an ear and the glitter of this deceptive world lets fall a veil of ignorance before their eyes, what must be their state and how may grace illumine for them the lamp of guidance. ?

Fourthly, indolence. Men account what is ready to hand as more precious than the chance of future possession and prefer ease to exertion. They will not undertake the trouble of profound investigation, and content with a superficial view, will not move a span's length to acquire a deeper insight. He alone is the true promoter of wisdom who, setting before his resolve the investigation of the concealed beauties of meaning, under the guidance of assiduous research and undaunted desire, plants his foot in the dread wilds of research, and reaches the goal of his ambition undismayed by countless labours, sustaining the burden of the road by the force of capacity on the shoulders of his ever resolute will.

Fifthly, the blowing of the chill blast of inflexible custom and the low flicker of the lamp of wisdom. From immemorial time the exercise of inquiry has been restricted, and questioning and investigation have been regarded as precursors of infidelity. Whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbour, is considered as a deposit under Divine sanction and a malcontent is reproached with impiety or irreligion.

Although the few among the intelligent of their generation admit the imbecility of this procedure in others, yet will they not stir one step in a practical direction themselves.

Sixthly, the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms of persecution have stayed the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual tenets and from meeting in friendly assemblies in a spirit of sympathy, and from distinguishing[3] commonalty of bond from vital estrangement, under the guidance of impartiality, in order that error may be severed from truth and the why and the wherefore weighed in the scales of sound judgment. Even just monarchs, unconscious of their obligations, have herein neglected them. Arrogance and self-interest have intervened and occasions of intercourse have been marred by perplexities. Some have taken refuge in silence; others have found evasion in obscurity of language, while others again have extricated themselves by time-serving utterances. If temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression. Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions have waxed high. Each one regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of other worshippers of God, and the shedding of blood and the ruining of reputation have become symbols of religious orthodoxy. Were the eyes of the mind possessed of true vision, each individual would withdraw from this indiscriminating turmoil and attend rather to his own solicitudes than interfere in the concerns of others. Amidst such unseemly discord, main purposes are set aside and arguments disregarded. If the doctrine of an enemy be in itself good, why should hands be stained in the blood of its professors? and even were it otherwise, the sufferer from the malady of folly deserves commiseration, not hostility and the shedding of his blood.

Seventhly, the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude. Such as these do much harm and truths are obscured through unrecognition.

Cease, Abul Fazal, cease! The manifestations of divine wrath are illimitable and infinite are the marvels of their record. Loose not thy hand from the cord of peace seized by thy good intention. Follow out thy long projected design. Though some of thy hearers will attain to wisdom and meet in rejoicing union, yet many will fall into sorrows and reap bewilderment. Thanks be to God that thou are not a hostage to the lament of ignorance nor the extoller of those that are in bonds.

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[3] I select a variant relegated to the notes, in place of that of the text, and amend the doubtful reading that follows by omitting the ب before آزرم. With this alteration the difficulty is cleared and its simplicity recommends the correction.

THE

BOUNDARIES OF HINDUSTAN

AND

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION THEREOF.

Hindustan is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achín, the Moluccas, Malacca and a considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent. To the north is a lofty range of mountains, part of which stretches along the uttermost limits of Hindustan, and its other extremity passes into Turkestan and Persia. An intermediate region lies between this and the vast frontiers[1] of China, inhabited by various races, such as Kashmír, Great and Little Tibet, Kishtawár and others. This quarter may therefore be likened to another ocean. Withal its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire it is unequalled in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temperament of its people. Notwithstanding its vast size, it is cultivated throughout. You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a *kos* without meeting with populous towns and flourishing villages, nor without being gladdened by the sight of sweet-waters, delightful verdure and enchanting downs. In the autumn and throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage. During the rainy season which extends from the close of the sun's stay in Gemini to his entry into the sign of Virgo[2], the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispirited and lend the vigour of youth to old age. Shall I praise the refulgence of its skies or the marvellous fertility of its soil? Shall I describe the constancy of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained? Shall I tell of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their lore? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contented, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant. The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know not retreat from the field. When the day is doubtful, they dismount from their steeds and resolutely put their lives to hazard, accounting the dishonour of flight more terrible than death, while some even disable their horses before entering the fight.

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[1] Lit *Chín* and *Máchín*, feigned or believed by Orientals to be the descendants of Japhet and applied by metonymy to express the full extent of the Chinese dominions. D'Herbelot thinks them derivatives or diminutives of Gog and Magog.

[2] Middle of June to end of August.

They are capable of mastering the difficulties of any subject in a short space of time and surpass their instructors, and to win the Divine favour they will spend body and soul and joyfully devote their lives thereunto. They one and all believe in the unity of God, and as to the reverence they pay to images of stone and wood and the like, which simpletons regard as idolatry, it is not so. The writer of these pages has exhaustively discussed the subject with many enlightened and upright men, and it became evident that these images of some chosen souls nearest in approach to the throne of God, are fashioned as aids to fix the mind and keep the thoughts from wandering, while the worship of God alone is required as indispensable. In all their ceremonial observances and usage they ever implore the favour of the world-illumining sun and regard the pure essence of the Supreme Being as transcending the idea of power in operation.

Brahma, of whom mention was formerly made,[1] they hold to be the Creator; Vishnu, the Nourisher and Preserver; and Rudra, called also Mahadeva, the Destroyer. Some maintain that God who is without equal, manifested himself under these three divine forms, without thereby sullying the garment of His inviolate sanctity, as the Nazarenes hold of the Messiah. Others assert that these were human creatures exalted to these dignities through perfectness of worship, probity of thought and righteousness of deed. The godliness and self-discipline of this people is such as is rarely to be found in other lands.

They hold that the world had a beginning, and some are of opinion that it will have an end, as will be mentioned hereafter.

An astonishing circumstance is this, that if an alien wishes to enter the Brahman caste, they would not accept him and were one of these to adopt another religion and subsequently desire to revert to his own, he would not be suffered so to do save in case of his apostasy under compulsion. They have no slaves. When they go forth to battle or during an attack by an enemy, they collect all their women in one building, and surround it with wood and straw and oil, and place on guard some trusty relentless men, who set fire to it when those engaged in fight despair of life, and these chaste women vigilant of their honour are consumed to death with unflinching courage.

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[1] Vol. 2, p. 15

In times of distress, moreover, should any one, though unconnected by ties of intimacy, implore their protection, they are prompt to aid and grudge neither property, life nor reputation in his cause.

It was also the custom in former times for each warrior in battle to challenge a foe and to encounter none other than him.

The soil is for the most part arable and of such productive power that the sam[illegible] land is sown each year and in many places three harvests and more are taken in a single tw[illegible]elve-month and the vine bears fruit in its first year.

Mines of diamond, ruby, gold[illegible] silver, copper, lead and iron abound. The variety of its fruits and flowe[illegible]s proclaim its luxuriance. Its perfumes and melodies, its viands and ra[illegible]iment are choice and in profu[illegible] its elephants cannot be sufficiently praised, [illegible]he [illegible] and in parts [illegible] the country the horses resemble Arabs in breed and t[illegible]attle are uncommonly fine. But for its lack of cooled water, its excessive heats, the scarcity of grapes, melons and carpets, and of camels it was open to the cavils of the experienced. His Majesty has remedied these deficiencies. Saltpetre is now extensively used for its cooling properties, and high and low appreciate the benefit of snow and ice brought down from the northern mountains. There is a slender fragrant root called *khas*,[1] of which, under His Majesty's instructions, the fashion of constructing trellised chambers has come into vogue, and upon this if water be sprinkled, another winter arises amid the summer heats. Skilled hands from Turkestan and Persia under His Majesty's patronage, sowed melons and planted vines, and traders began to introduce in security the fruits of those countries, each in its season and with attention to their quality, which occasioned an abundance here when they were not procurable in their own. Through the favour of His Majesty, all products of art, and the manufacture of woollen and silken carpets and of brocades were extensively encouraged, and by means of the royal countenance so fine a breed of camels has been produced as to be equal to the dromedaries of Irák.

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[1] The odoriferous grass *Andropogon Muricatum* from the roots of which the refreshing screens mentioned are made.

A summary view of India having been now given, I shall proceed with more particularity, still proferring but little out of much and recording one among a thousand details.

THE COSMOGONY.

More than eighteen opinions on this point have been professed and extraordinary narratives put forward, and each describes a different genesis. It will be sufficient to mention three of them. The *first* is that God who has no equal, taking upon himself the form of man appeared under the special manifestation called *Brahma* already alluded to, and by his mere volition produced four sons, *Sanak*, *Sanandan*, *Sanátan*, and *Sanatkumár*. Each of these was commanded to engage in acts of creation, but lost in rapture of contemplation in the divine essence they neglected to comply. In anger, the Supreme being formed another design and came forth from his own forehead under another semblance and name as *Mahádeva*. His sublime immensity unfitted him for creative action. Ten[1] other sons issued from his volition and then from his body he fashioned the forms [illegible] male and female. The former was called *Manu* and the latter Sata-rúpá. These two [illegible] the progenitors of mankind.

Secondly, it is maintained that God[2] the Creator of the world, manifested himself under the form of a woman whom they call *Mahá-Lachhmí*. Three qualities are incorporated with her, *Satva*, *Raja* and *Tama*.

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[1] A variant has, "two."—The text has incorrectly Satrúka, for which error Abul Fazl is responsible. The Vishnu Purána says that he divided his male being into eleven persons. Next he created himself the Manu Swayambhuva and the female portion of himself he constituted Sata-rúpá whom the Manu took to wife. There are also other complications of birth and intercourse which may be pursued by the curious in the Purána itself, p. 51 et seq.

[2] Hari, the lord of all, called also Janárddana (from *Jana*, (जन), "men" and Arddana (अर्दन), 'worship'—'the object of adoration to mankind'). He is the one only God, taking the designation of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, according as he creates, preserves or destroys:—This is the invariable doctrine of the Puránas. See Wilson, Vishnu, P. p. 19. The three qualities or attributes are shared by the Hindu Triad; Brahma being the embodiment of *Raja-guna*, the desire that created the world; Siva that of *Tama-guna*, the attribute of wrath; and Vishnu is *Satwa-guna* or the property of mercy and goodness. The Padma Purána says that the supreme spirit produced Brahma from his right side, Vishnu from his left, and Siva from his middle. Some worship Brahma, others Vishnu, others Siva. Being a Vaishnava work, it gives the supremacy to Vishnu, and declares that "Vishnu one yet threefold, creates, preserves and destroys, therefore let the pious make no difference between the three." See Dowson. Hindu Mythology.

When she willed to create the world, through the instrumentality of *Tama*, she manifested herself under another form which is called *Mahá-Káli* and also *Mahá-Máyá*. By her union with *Satva*, a further genesis proceeded called *Saraswati*, and at her command each brought forth a male and female and these two forms she herself inspired with life. Thus two beings were born of each. From *Mahá-Lachhmí* sprung *Brahma* under the form of a man, and *Sri* under the guise of a woman who is also called *Sávitri*. From *Mahá-Káli*, were brought forth *Mahá-deva* and *Tri* the latter of whom is also distinguished as *Mahá-biddiya* and *Kámdhenu*, and from *Saraswati* came forth *Vishnu* and *Gauri*. When these six forms took birth, *Mahá-Lachhmí* proceeded to their conjugal union, and joined *Brahma* with *Tri*, *Gauri* with *Maha-deva*, and *Sri* with *Vishnu*. The conjunction of *Brahma* and *Tri* produced an egg which *Maha-deva* divided into two parts,[1] from one of which originated the *devatas*, *daityas* and the like supernatural beings; from the other, men, animals, and the vegetable and mineral worlds.

The *Third* opinion is accounted the most authentic. In the work called, *Súrya-Siddhánta*[2] composed some hundreds of thousands of years ago, it is circumstantially related that towards the end of the *Satya-yug*, flourished the great Demon Maya. That sage was lost in astonishment at the wonders of creation, and confounded by his own ignorance, applied himself to a supplication of the sun to discover the mode in which creation was effected and passed some thousands of years in these entreaties and desires. After he had undergone surpassing trials, that bestower of radiance on the heavens and the earth appeared to him under a beautiful form and asked him what he desired. He said, "Draw back the veil from the marvels of the stars and the skies and from the mysteries of wisdom and illuminate the darkness of my understanding with the light of knowledge." It was answered: "Thy desire shall be granted. In a certain shrine unite in spirit with me and a celestial being shall appear and instruct you in wisdom." The seeker was comforted. He waited in expectation at the shrine appointed and near the close of the *Satya-yug*, the giver of his desire[1] appeared. The sage entered into much questioning regarding the mysteries of heaven and earth and received replies that satisfied him. The questions and answers were compiled in one volume under the name of the *Súrya Siddhánta*, and to this day the astronomy, of entire Hindustán is based upon it. In this work the origin of creation is said to be from the Sun, which is regarded as a divine manifestation. The Almighty Creator of the world formed a hollow sphere of gold composed of two parts which he rendered luminous with somewhat of His own glory and it was called the Sun. The Sun produced the signs of the Zodiac and from the same source sprung the four *Vedas*, and afterwards the moon, the ethereal fluid, air, fire, water and earth, in this order. From the ether he produced Jupiter; from the air, Saturn; from fire, Mars; from water, Venus; and from the earth, Mercury. Through the ten portals of the human frame-work he brought various matter into being. The ten portals are thus numbered: the two eyes, the two ears, the nose, the mouth, the navel, the anterior and posterior foramina, and the tenth, the crown of the head, which last is closed. It opens, however, at the time of death in some of those who are about to quit life and body, and this is considered singularly auspicious. His Majesty has increased the number of portals by the two breasts, and counts the number as twelve. After a long course the human race became of four kinds as shall be presently related.

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[1] The *Brahmánd* or egg of Brahma is applied by Albirúni to the whole *αἰθήρ* on account of its supposed spherical shape and its division into upper and lower and he says that when the Hindus enumerate the heavens (السموات) they call them in their entirety, *Brahmánd*. He also quotes a passage from the Timæus expressing a similar idea. The citation gives somewhat of the sense though it affects to give the language of Plato. The passage will be found at p. 338, Vol. V, of Hermann's Edit of the Dialogues beginning *ταύτην οὖν την ξύστασιν κ. τ. λ.* and is quoted by Sachau. See Cap. XX, Albiruni, India. The egg of Brahma is mentioned in the ordinances of Manu and in the Súrya-Siddhánta, and occurs in all the Puránas. Aristophanes is supposed by Porphyry to allude to this myth in the Aves, 695. Kellgren reviews the whole subject in his essay "Mythus de Ovo Mundano."

[2] Bentley (As. Rev. VIII, 196) imputes the authorship to Varaha Mihira and refuses it an older date than 7 or 800 years. The authorship of the remaining Siddhántas are likewise ascribed to him by the same writer. His arguments on the modern date of the Súrya-Siddhánta are very convincing.

ON THE INFERIOR AND SUPERIOR COSMIC PHENOMENA.

The Hindu philosophers maintain that the elements have a spherical form[2] and they have added Ether[3] to the number. They hold it to pervade all things and that no space is void of it. They do not incline to the notion of a celestial substance (آسمان) but adopt the account of the spheres on the system of the Almagest[1] of Ptolemy. The Zodiac is divided into twelve signs, each of which is termed "*rás.*"

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[1] This was the man born of the Sun, and partaking of his nature deputed to teach Maya in place of the Sun-god, who excused himself on the plea of want of time. The excuse has a respectable antiquity.

[2] The authorities for this are Aryabhata, Vasistha and Láta. Albirúni, 26.

[3] Called so by the Greeks from its being in perpetual flow, "(ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν αἰεὶ) and hence allotted the uppermost place, and the idea of perpetual duration.

Δίοπερ ὡς ἑτέρου τινὸς ὄντος τοῦ πρώτου σώματος παρὰ γῆν καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ, αἰθέρα προσωνόμασαν τὸν ἀνωτάτω τύπον, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν αἰεὶ, τὸν ἀΐδιον χρόνου θέμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτῷ. Ἀναξαγόρας δε κατακέχρη ται τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ οὐ καλῶς ὀνομάζει γὰρ αἰθέρα ἀντὶ πυρός.

Aristot. De Cœlo. Cap. III.

They are as follows :—

1.	Mésha.	1.	Aries.
2.	Vrisha.	2.	Taurus.
3.	Mithuna.	3.	Gemini.
4.	Karkaṭa.	4.	Cancer.
5.	Siṅha.	5.	Leo.
6.	Kanyá.[2]	6.	Virgo.
7.	Tulá.	7.	Libra.
8.	Vrischika.	8.	Scorpio.
9.	Dhanu.	9.	Sagittarius.
10.	Makara.[3]	10.	Capricornus.
11.	Kumbha.	11.	Aquarius.
12.	Mína.	12.	Pisces.

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[1] Ptolemy's first book of the Almagest treats among other matters of the spherical form and motion of the heavens, the spherical form of the earth and its location in the centre of the heavens and of the two circular celestial motions which all the stars have in common. He has been held by some writers to maintain that the celestial spheres are *solid*, but others consider this a mistaken assumption from a convenient phraseology. The Ptolemaic planetary system is learnedly described in Montucla's Hist. Des Mathematiques. I, pp. 294 *et seq.* who, however, does not treat of the books of the Almagest seriatim and chiefly confines himself to the 8th. The rest may be found in W. Smith, Art. Ptol.

[2] Abul Fazl duplicates the *n;* as his orthography of Hindu names and terms is untrustworthy, I shall for the future give the letters their proper value without attention to his incorrect transliteration.

[3] Capricornus was represented on ancient monuments with the fore part of a goat and the hind part of a fish. The Hindu *Makara*, according to the Sanskrit verses of Sripeti, quoted by Sir W. Jones, (I, 336) is a sea-monster with the face of an antelope. The question at once presents itself as to the relative antiquity of the Greek and Indian Zodiacal signs. Montucla in his III Book, Part II, Vol. I, begins by maintaining that the Indians borrowed from the Greeks or rather from the Egyptians, and concludes with the belief that the Indians obtained their knowledge from the Persians, and they in turn from the Chaldæans. His arguments are based on the observations of M. Legentil of the French Academy who travelled in India to acquaint himself with its astronomy and chronology. The names of the Zodiacal signs are given in Tamil and accord with those of the text, save the first which is given as "Mecham" and translated as "le chien Maron." He concludes from the method of one of their calculations of a solar eclipse that it does not date further back than 1200 years. *Anquetil*

The Persian, Egyptian and Greek sages affirm the existence of a colourness body which is transparent and is not subject to growth, increase, decrease, disruption, conjunction nor dissolution, neither does it admit of tenuity nor density nor generation nor decay. It is not compounded of bodies variously organised, neither is it affected by heat, cold, moisture, nor dryness, nor can lightness or gravity be predicated of it. It possesses life and continuity of existence, and is not subject to desire or anger. It is called "asmán."[1] The general opinion is that the Universe (τὸ πᾶν) includes nine spheres, but some think eight, others, eleven, others, seven, and it is even affirmed that there is but a single Kosmos.

The Hindu philosophers acknowledge the existence of the planets and fixed stars, but assert that their substance is of water[2] congealed like hail,

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goes further in support of the modern date of Hindu learning and declares their *kal yug* was communicated to them by the Arabs of the 9th and 10th centuries; his arguments are set forth by the French astronomer. Sir W. Jones supports the opinion that both Greeks and Hindus received the Zodiac from an older nation from whom both had a common descent, and the view of Montucla which he mentioned to his pandits was naturally regarded by them "as a notion bordering on phrensy." The two schools of opinion are well matched both in learning and a mutual contempt for each other. It may be worth noticing that the original Greek Zodiac had but 11 signs, the Scorpion occupying the place of two. Its claws called the χηλαι became afterwards known as Libra. I refer the reader to Montucla I, p. 79, for the explanation of this division.

[1] These are the attributes of the Pradhána, (chief principle or primary crude matter) ascribed to it by the Sankhya philosophy. It is independent and coordinate with primary spirit. See Vishnu P. p. 9 *et seq.* The greater part of this passage is almost identical with the description of the word فلك, the Arabic equivalent of آسمان, in the Iṣṭiláḥát u'l Funún, pp. 1134-5, quoted from the Hidáyat u'l Ḥikmat (Institutis philosophiæ recta) of Maibudi. I have not been able to trace the passage in the latter work verbatim, but in scattered references only. The notion is taken from Aristotle.

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φέρεται ..., συμβαίνει πρῶτον μὲν, μήτε κουφότητ' ἔχειν αὐτὸ μηδεμίαν, μήτε βάρος. Ὁμοιῶς δ' εὔλογον, ὑπολαβεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αγέννητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον, καὶ ἀναυξὲς, καὶ ἀναλλοίωτατον ... κ τ. λ. De Cœlo. Cap. III.

[2] Albirúni mentions this in his LV Chap. "The Hindus believe regarding the bodies of all the stars that they have a globular shape, a watery essence, and that they do not shine, whilst the sun alone is of fiery essence, self-shining and *per accidens* illuminates other stars when they stand opposite to him. They reckon according to eyesight among the stars also, such luminous bodies as in reality are not stars, but the lights into which those men have been metamorphosed who have received eternal reward from God. The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "The stars are watery and the rays of the sun illuminate them in the night. Those who by their pious deeds have obtained place on the height, sit there on thei

and that they receive their light from the sun. Others maintain that it is from the moon, and that these luminous bodies dominate the aspects of fortune. They also hold the connection of a celestial spirit with each. Some suppose the stars to be human beings, who by suppressing the emotions of anger and desire, and by mortification and moral beauty of life, have reached this exalted eminence.

NAMES OF THE PLANETS AND OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Sanichar[1] is Saturn (Saturday). *Brihaspati* is Jupiter (Thursday). *Maṇgal* is Mars (Tuesday). *Aditya*, the Sun (Sunday). The Hindus have more than a thousand names for the sun. His Majesty knows by heart the whole of these and uses them in his prayers, but the name *Súraj* is the one in common use among all classes. *S'ukra* is Venus (Friday). *Budh* is Mercury (Wednesday). *Soma* is the Moon (Monday).

Each of these planets has several names, and each day of the week has a special connection with and is named after its planet, with the addition of the word '*wár*.' Thus, Sunday which begins the week is called *Aditya-wár*; Monday, *Soma-wár*; Tuesday, *Mangal-wár*; Wednesday, *Budh-wár*; Thursday, *Brihaspati-wár*; Friday, *S'ukra-wár*; Saturday, *Sanichar-wár*.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE *Gharyál*.

This is a round gong of mixed metal,[2] shaped like a griddle but thicker, made of different sizes; and suspended by a cord. It may be not sounded except by royal command, and accompanies the royal equipage.

The Hindu philosophers divide the day and night into four parts, each of which they call *pahr*. Throughout the greater part of the country, the

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thrones, and when shining, they are reckoned among the stars!" Sachau's Trans. II, 64.

[1] I have retained the exact order of this passage while correcting the orthography of the names as given by Abul Fazl. The 19th Chap. of Albirúni's India begins with the same subject and the similarity of treatment and expression, though not of the *order*, is so striking that, as I have before had occasion t[illegible] there is little [illegible] indebtedness to [illegible]s handling of any [illegible]is that of a philosopher who is master of it; Abul Fazl is purely the compiler and the scribe. I refer the reader to Humboldt's Cosmos, Vol. IV, p. 410, and onwards, text and notes, for the antiquity and diffusion of the planetary hours and planetary days of the week.

[2] Lit. Haft-josh, a metal compounded of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper and silver. The ordinary bell-metal is an alloy of 80 parts of copper and 20 of tin, though some English bells have been found to consist of copper, tin, zinc and lead.

pahr never exceeds nine *gharis*[1] nor is less than six. The *ghari* is the sixtieth part of a nychthemeron, and is divided into sixty parts, each of which is called a *pal* which is again subdivided into sixty *bipal.*

In order to ascertain and indicate the time, a vessel of copper or other metal is made of a hundred *ṭánks*[2] weight. In Persian it is called *pingán*, as an ancient sage sings,

> Why reck'st thou of a world whose span
> A clepsydra doth mete to man ?[3]

It is in the shape of a bowl narrower at the lower part, twelve fingers in height and breadth. A perforation is made below to admit of a golden tube being passed through of the weight of one *Máshá*, and in length the breadth of five fingers. It is placed in a basin of pure water in a place undisturbed by the wind. When the bowl is full of water, one *ghari* is elapsed,[4] and in order that this should be known to far and near, the gong is struck once, and for the second time, twice, and so on. When a *pahr* has elapsed, the number of *gharis* expired therein is first sounded and then more deliberately from one to four (according to the *pahr*), thus announcing the *pahr* struck. Thus when it is two *pahr*, (twelve o'clock), the gong is struck twenty-six times, taking the *pahr* at eight *gharis*. The Emperor Baber in his Memoirs writes: "When at the end of a *pahr* a certain number of *gharis* had elapsed, this number was sounded while the *pahr* just expired was unknown. I ordered that the number of the *pahr* should be repeated after a brief interval." The Hindu philosophers account 360 breathings of a man in good health as a *gharí* of time, and each is formed of six inspirations and respirations, of which 21,600 are drawn in the course of a nychthemeron.

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[1] See p. 16, Vol. II, n. 4.

[2] A weight of 4 *Máshas* and sometimes a little more. See Vol. I, 16, n.

[3] These lines are from the *Ḥadíḳah* of Ḥakím Sanái, p 298, of the lithographed edition. The clepsydra was known in Greece in the time of Aristophanes and was used for regulating the time allowed for speeches of accused persons before courts of justice. But in this, the water was allowed to escape through the orifice of the vessel. See Lewis' Ast. of the Ancients, p. 182.

[4] It is thus described in the Súrya Siddhánta, Chap. XIII. "The copper vessel (in the shape of the lower half of a water jar) which has a small hole in its bottom and placed upon clean water in a basin, sinks exactly sixty times in a nychthemeron, is called the Kapála Yantra. In the Vishnu Puráṇa p. 631, it is said to be "a vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, in the bottom of which there is to be a hole made with a tube of gold, of the weight of 4 *Máshas* and 4 inches long." A commentary is more explicit. "A vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, and holding a Prastha, (a Magadha measure) of water, broad at top and having at bottom a tube of gold of 4 *Máshas* weight, 4 fingers long, is placed in water, and the time in which the vessel is filled by the hole in the bottom is a *Nádika.*" It is therefore clear that there must be a pipe of the [illegible] of the length given, and not a [illegible] See a paper on [illegible] Res. V. 87.

The order of the Spheres.

The first is the Earth, over which is Water, but not encompassing it entirely. Above this is Fire, towards its northern extremity shaped like a myrobalan. Above this again is the Air, but its concave surface is not spherical. The Air is of nine kinds. *Bhúváyu*, is the atmosphere extending up to the height of forty-seven *kos* from the globe of the earth. It is volatile in every direction and is the region wherein rain, thunder and lightning take their origin. *Avaha* is the air from the last-mentioned body to the moon. *Pravaha*, from the second to Mercury. *Udvaha* from the third to Venus. *Saṃvaha*, from the fourth to the Sun. *Suvaha*, from the fifth to Mars. *Parivaha*, from the sixth to Jupiter. *Parávaha*, from the seventh to Saturn. *Pravahánila*, from the eight to the fixed stars. Day and night are formed by the revolution of this wind, with a movement from east to west, the other seven winds reversing this order of motion.[1] But their more authoritative opinion is that those seven form the *Pravahánila*, and are named after the seven planets and all revolve from east to west.[2] Their knowledge does not extend beyond the fixed stars. Ether transcends all other spheres and is unfathomable.

The mean motions of the planets which they call *Madhyama* differ from the Greek reckoning in the seconds and thirds. Thus, in a nychthemeron extending from midnight to midnight, the Súrya-Siddhánta gives the following calculations.

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[1] I am uncertain of this meaning. The elements in successive order are supposed to acquire the property of causality one to the other. The order in all the Puráṇas but one is the same according to Wilson (Vish. P.), and agrees with the text The seven winds occur in this order in the Siddhánta Siromani which adds; "The atmosphere extends to the height of 12 *yojanas* from the earth. Within this limit are the clouds, lightning, &c. The [illegible]aha wind which is above th[illegible]moves constantly [illegible]orm motion. [illegible]rse includes [illegible] it therefore [illegible]vaha wind is carried round with the stars and planets in a constant revolution." Wilkinson's Translation, p. 127.

[2] Compare with this the direction of the planes of the winds and their names according to the Moslem theory, in Albirúni's Chronology of Anc. Nations. Sachau, p. 341. In Vol. I of his India, (p. 280 Sach.) Brahmagupta says "The wind makes all the fixed stars and the planets revolve towards the W. in one and the same revolution, but the planets move also in a slow pace to the E. like a dust atom moving on a potter's wheel in a direction opposite to that in which the wheel is revolving." Albirúni considers their speaking of the wind as a *motor* is

	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Thirds.
Moon	13	10	34	53
Mercury Venus Sun	0	59	8	10
Mars	0	31	26	28
Jupiter	0	4	59	9
Saturn	0	2	0	23

According to the Greeks.

	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Thirds.
Moon			35	2
Mercury Venus Sun				19
Mars			27	40
Jupiter				16
Saturn				35

The motion of the Planets is considered of their essence and is of equal velocity in all. When calculated in *kos* their rate of motion is said to be 11,858 *yojana*[1] and 3 *kos* in the space of a nychthemeron, and their direction is from west to east. The difference in their periods arises from the greater or less extent of their orbits, the superior being greater than those lower in position.

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intended only to facilitate the idea to the vulgar comprehension, but when they come to speak of the *first-mover* (God) they at once lay aside comparison with the wind whose essence is not *moving* but is a body acted upon by external influence. According to the Súrya-Siddhánta the rapid movement of the planets is caused by the wind *Pravaha*.

[1] A *yojana* is four *kos*. Albirúni in his India, Chap. XV, (Sach. I. 167) makes 1 *kros'a* = 1 mile or 4,000 yards, and 1 *yojana* = 8 miles or *krch* or 32,000 yards. Some, he adds, think the *kros'a* = ¼ *farsakh*, and so make the *farsakh* of the Hindus 16,000 yards, but this is not so, as this latter (*farsakh*) is = ½ *yojana*. Sachau has made a slight oversight in this last passage by translating 1 *kros'a* = ½ *yojana*. But this cannot be as he already says above that 1 yojana = 8 *kros'a*. The *Farsakh* is reckoned by Albirúni in his V Chap. as 3 miles, an[illegible] *yojana* which being reckoned [illegible] yards, gives the le[illegible] sarily at 16[illegible] sult he appea[illegible]

The progression of the fixed stars they consider to be somewhat similar to that of the planets, but differing from the Greeks, they assert that with regard to the Lunar stations, there is a motion of 54 seconds[1] in one year, or one degree in 66 years and 8 months. They[2] compute that the asterisms advance 27[3] degrees from the beginning of Aries, or according to another calculation, having advanced 24 degrees, they have a retrograde motion till they reach the 28th degree of Pisces whence they return to Aries, and the same movement re-commences. The Ursa Major which is called in Sanskrit *Sapta-ṛishi*[4] (the seven Sages) has a precession in one year of 17 seconds, 47 thirds from west to east, or one degree in 200 years and 6 months, and accomplishes its revolution. One sect considers the operation of these forces to depend solely on the power of the Almighty.

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[1] "The motion of 54 seconds is a motion in longitude common to all the stars, but the retrogade motion is the variation of right ascension."—Mr. Reuben Barrow, the astronomer, who assisted Gladwin in the part of his work thus notes on this passage. His succeeding remarks are devoted to the correction of a supposed error of Abul Fazl's, but entirely due to Gladwin's misapprehension of his MS.

[2] Thus Albirúni in his Chronol, p. 352. "Because now the fixed stars which give the forms and names to the Lunar Stations move on in one and the same slow motion, you must add one day to the days of their rising and setting in every 66 Solar years, since in such a period they move one degree."

[3] In the Súrya-Siddhánta, the precession of the equinoxes is thus described: "The circle of Asterisms librates 600 times in a great Yuga (that is, all the Asterisms at first move westward 27°. Then returning from that limit they reach their former places. Then from those places they move eastward the same number of degrees, and returning thence come again to their own places. Thus they complete one libration or revolution as it is called). Bapu Deva. Burgess has a long note on this mode of statement in his translation, p. 100.

"*Si* l'on suit une des planètes superieures, Mars, Jupiter, ou Saturne, durant le cours d 'une même année, on observé des mouvemens fort bisarres. Lorsqu'elle commence à se dégager des rayons du soleil, sa vîtesse qui est alors médiocre, va en diminuant de jour à autre jusqu' à un certain point ou elle semble s'arrêter. Après quelques jours elle commence a rétrograder, d'abord lentement, puis en accélérant son mouvement jusqu'aux environs de l'opposition : là sa vîtesse recommence à diminuer, et quelque temps apres elle s'arrête en apparence une seconde fois : elle reprend enfin son mouvement suivant l'ordre des signes, allant d' abord fort lentement, et ensuite plus vîte, jusqu'à ce que l'approche du soleil qui l'atteint, la fasse disparoître a nos yeux. Mars éprouve ces apparences deux fois dans une de ses revolutions. Jupiter douze, et Saturne trente. Montulca. Hist. des' Math. I. 300.

[4] Mr. Reuben Burrow notes on Gladwin, that this cannot be a constellation but a particular star: and though it may have the velocity the author assigns to it at one time, at others its motion must be different. The star, however being known, its situation is determinable from its velocity.

The ancient Greeks, including Aristotle, were ignorant of the motion of the fixed stars and Hipparchus observed a few[1] with a motion from east to west in the Zodiac, but he was unable to calculate their dimensions. Ptolemy determined the motion of the stars in longitude to be one degree in a hundred solar years. Ibn A'ạlam and others reckoned sixty. The observations of Naṣír'uddín Ṭúsi agree with this last, but Muhyi'ddín Maghrabi[2] and a number of experts at the same observatory discovered that *Aldebaran*, the Heart of Scorpio (α Scorpii), and others, advanced a degree in 66[3] years. In the Gurgâni Tables (of Ulugh Beg) this is made to occur in 70 Yazdajirdi[4] years, each of which is 365 years without a fraction.

CIRCUMFERENCES OF THE SPHERES.[5]

The Planets.	Yojanas.	Kroh.
Moon	324,000	...
Mercury	1,043,207	3
Venus...	2,664,636	2 and a fraction
Sun	4,331,500	a fraction
Mars	8,146,908	3
Jupiter	51,375,764	1
Saturn	127,668,255	2 less a fraction
Fixed Stars	259,890,012	...
Ether, beyond which the sun's rays do not traverse	18,712,080,864,000,000	...

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[1] M. Montulca observes that Hipparchus, according to Ptolemy, suspected that only the stars in the Zodiac or in its vicinity had been disturbed in position as if, being the nearest in some measure to the great route of the planets, they had been more exposed to share in their motion. But he soon discovered that the movement was general around the poles of the Zodiac, and he transmitted a large number of observations on the fixed stars for the use of his successors. They served to assure Ptolemy of the perfect immovability of the fixed stars with regard to each other and of the movement of the whole starry sphere around the poles of the Zodiac. Hist. des Math. 265, I.

[2] Called al Maghrabi from his residence in Spain and Africa. He was spared in the sack of Aleppo by Holágu and associated with Ṭúsi at Marágha in A. H. 658. He thus took part in forming the Ilkháni Astronomical Tables. He had a wide reputation as a philosopher and mathematician. D'Herb.

[3] Ptolemy following the steps of Hipparchus, established conclusively his theory of the movement of the fixed stars. In comparing the longitudes of several of these with those found by Hipparchus, he showed that they had advanced parallel to the Ecliptic by 2° 40′ since his day and as 265 years had since then elapsed, he concluded the movement to be one degree in 100 years. The more exact calculation of modern days shows it to be one in 72. Hist. des. Math. I. 225.

[4] See Vol. II, p. 28.

[5] These distances are given in Albirúni's LV Chap. in two computations

The minutes of the diameters of each of the planets bear a proportionate ratio to the minutes of their circumference.[1]

3	Mustard seeds	make one.	Barley corn.
8	Barley corns		Digit.
24	Digits		Cubit (Dast).
4	Cubits		Daṇḍ.
2000	Daṇḍ		Kos.
4	Kos.		Yojana.

LUNAR STATIONS.

Each of these is called *Nakshatra*, and they are 27 in number, severally divided into 13 degrees and 20 minutes.

Asterisms.	No of stars.	Asterisms.	No. of stars.
1. Aświní (α Arietis)	3	15. Swáti (α Bootis; Arcturus)	1
2. Bharaṇí (Musca)	3	16. Viśákhá (α or χ dibra)	4
3. Kṛittiká (π Tauri Pleiades)	6	17. Anurádhá (δ Scorpionis)	4
4. Rohiṇí (α Tauri Aldabaran)	5	18. Jyeshṭhá (α Scorpionis, Antares)	3
5. Mṛigaśira (λ Orionis)	3	19. Múla (ν Scorpionis)	11
6. Árdrá (α Orionis)	1	20. Púrváshádhá (δ Sagittarii)	4
7. Punarvasu (β Geminorum)	4	21. Uttarásháḍhá (τ Sagittarii)	3
8. Pushya (δ Cancri)	3	22. Abhijit (α Lyri)	
9. Aślesha (α 1 and 2 Cancri)	5	23. S'ravaṇa (α Aquilæ)	3
10. Maghá (α Leonis Regulus)	5	24. Dhanishṭhá (α Delphini)	4
11. Púrvá-phálguní (δ Leonis)	2	25. S'atabhishá (λ Aquarii)	
12. Uttará-phálguní (β Leonis)	2	26. Púrvabhadrapadá (α Pegasi)	
13. Hastá (γ or δ Corvi)	5	27. Uttarabhadrapadá (α Andromedæ)	
14. Chitrá (α Virginis, Spica)	1	28. Revatí (ζ Piscium)	

Note. I have taken the stars from Bapu Deva's translation of the Súrya-Siddhánta.

Altogether 221 stars. The moon never tarries in any one station more than 65½ *ghaṛís* or less than 54⅓.

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with some variance between each other and those of the text. They are also given in 12th chapter of the Súrya-Siddhánta with some slight variation from the text.

[1] This sentence is not in two MSS. and as it stands, appears incomplete. The remaining terms of the proportional are missing, and are probably the number of *yojanas* of the diameters, to the *yojanas* of the circumferences. Thus the minutes of the diameter of the moon are to the minutes of her circumference, *i. e.*, 21,600, as the number of the *yojanas* of the diameter, *i. e.*, 480, are to the *yojanas* of the circumference of her whole sphere, and in the same way with the Sun, as shewn by Albirúni, Chap. LV.

Three degrees and twenty minutes of the 21st *Nakshatra* to 48′ of the 22° Nakshatra have, for certain purposes, been separately designated *Abhijit.*[1]

The Greeks reckoned 28 Lunar Stations and assigned 12 degrees, 51 minutes and 26 seconds to each. They are as follows.[2]

Names of the Lunar Stations.	No. of Stars.	Magnitudes.
1. Al Sharaṭán (β, γ Arietis)...	2	3rd.
2. Al Buṭain (ε, δ, π Arietis)...	3	5th.
3. Al Thurayya (Pleiades)	6	5th.
4. Aldabarán (α Tauri)	1	1st.
5. Al Hakaah (λ, φ′ φ″ Orionis)	3	nebular.[3]
6. Al Hanaah (γ, ξ Geminorum)	2	3rd and 4th.
7. Al Dhiráa (α, β Geminorum)	2	2nd.
8. Al Nathrah (Præsepe (ε) et duo Aselli (γ, δ) Cancri ...	2	4th.
9. Al Ṭarfah (the eye of Leo ; two close together, one belonging to Leo, the other to the stars outside the figure of Cancer)	2	4th.
10. Al Jabhah (ζ, γ, η, α Leonis)	4	one of the 4th.
11. Al Zubrah (δ, θ Leonis)	2	2nd.
12. Al Ṣarfah (β Leonis)	1	1st.
13. Al Awwá (β, η, γ, δ, ε Virginis)	5	3rd.
14. Al Simák (ul Aazal)[4] (Spica)	1	1st.
15. Al Ghafr[5] (ι, κ, λ, Virginis)	3	4th.

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[1] 'A complete revolution of the moon,' says Sir W. Jones in his paper on the Indian Zodiack (As. Res. II. 293) 'with respect to the stars, being made in 27 days, odd hours, minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained or required by the Hindus, they fixed on the number 27 and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. It consists of 3 stars between the 21st and 22nd stations." According to Albirúni, Abhijit is the Falling Eagle. An Naṣr al Wáḳi.

[2] Abul Fazl gives only the Arabian names. I take the Greek equivalents from Albirúni's Chronology, Sachau, p. 343. The first name should be As Sharatán, not Sharatain as Abúl Fazl writes it. The Arabs commenced with this Station, but other nations with the Pleiades, says Albirúnī, adding, "I do not know whether they do this because the Pleiades are more easily and clearly visible without any study or research than the other Stations, or because as I have found in some books of Hermes, the vernal equinox coincides with the rising of the Pleiades. God knows best what they intended."

[3] Ptolemy considered them one cloudy star and called them the nebulæ in the head of Orion. Albirúni. See also Humboldt's Cosmos, Vol. III, pp. 120-22, Otte.

[4] Also, called the Calf of the Lion, and Al Simák Alrámih is his other calf. Albirúni.

[5] Said to be the best of the Lunar Stations because it stands behind Leo and before Scorpio. The horoscopes of all the prophets are said to be in this Station, "but this does not seem to be true except in the case of the Messiah, the prophet who keeps off all mishaps." Ibid.

	Names of the Lunar Stations	No. of Stars.	Magnitudes.
16.	Al Zubáná (α, β Libræ)	2	2nd.
17.	Al Iklíl (β, δ, π Scorpii)	3	4th.
18.	Al Ḳalb (α Scorpii)	1	2nd.
19.	Al Shaulah (λ, υ Scorpii)	2	2nd.
20.	Al Naáím (γ, δ, ε, η, σ, φ, τ, ζ Sagittarii)	4	3rd.
21.	Al Baldah, a blank circular space of the heavens[1] ...	...	......
22.	Saạd Al Dhábiḥ (α, β Capricorni)	2	3rd.
23.	Saạd-Bulaạ (μ, ν, ε Aquarii)	2	3rd and 4th.
24.	(Saạd) Al Suúd (β, ξ Aquarii)	2 or 3	3rd and 5th.
25.	(Saạd) Al Akhbíyah (γ, ζ, π, η Aquarii)	4	3rd.
26.	Muḳaddam (Alfargh al Awwal (α, β Pegasi)	2	2nd.
27.	Muakkhar (Alfaragh Althání) (γ Pegasi, and α Andromedæ)	2	2nd.
28.	Rashá (Baṭn Alhúṭ) (β Andromedæ)	1	3rd.

In all 66 or 67 stars.

In the following table will be found various particulars regarding the Planets.

[The form is given but the particulars are wanting in all the MSS. The entries were probably left to be made at a later time, and either forgotten or the information was never obtained. The details were the diameters and dimensions of the planets and their distances from the earth's centre in *farsakhs* and *yojanas* according to the Hindus, to Ptolemy and to modern astronomers, but as Albirúni observes, the Hindu astronomers themselves are not agreed in their computations. Pulisa reckons the diameter of the earth as 1,600 *yojanas*, and its circumference as $5026\frac{14}{15}$, whilst Brahmagupta reckons the former at 1,581 and the latter at 5,000 *yojanas*. The table of Yaḳúb-b-Ṭáriḳ, will be found in Albirúni's India, Vol. II, p. 68.]

MAGNITUDES OF THE FIXED STARS.

The Hindu philosophers reckon seven magnitudes as follows:—

Magnitudes.	Minutes.	Seconds.	Yojanas.	Kos.	Danḍ.	Cubit.	Digit.
Diameter of the 1st ...	7	30	90,239	2	700	...	...
” ” 2nd ...	6	15	75,199	2	1,250	...	...
” ” 3rd ...	5	30	66,175	2	1,580	...	...
” ” 4th ...	4	0	48,127	3	238	2	2
” ” 5th ...	3	0	36,095	0	678	3	13
” ” 6th ...	2	0	24,063	3	1,119	1	1
” ” 7th ...	1	0	12,031	3	1,559	2	12

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[1] According to Albirúni a starless district of heaven, at the side of the Horse, belonging to Sagittarius. The derivations of all these Arabic names are given by Albirúni together with interesting particulars regarding each. I have

The Greeks mention six. The first they call the greatest (Akbâr) and the sixth, the least (Asghar), and each comprised three degrees, the great, the mean and the less, each more important in proportion to its degree.[1] The intervals of the hexade were measured by sixths. Some supposed that a diameter of a star of the 1st magnitude was six times the diameter of the smallest; but a manifest error occurred in calculating the volumes and distances intervening, by concluding that the volume of a mean star of the 1st magnitude must therefore be six times larger than the volume of a star of the 6th magnitude. But Euclid has demonstrated in the last proposition of the 12th Book of the Elements, that circles are to one another as the squares on their diameters, that is, if the ratio of one diameter to another be one-half or less, there will be three times the ratio between the spheres. For instance, if the diameter of one sphere be half the diameter of another, the smaller sphere will be $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the larger; and if the diameter be $\frac{1}{3}$, the smaller sphere will be $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{27}$ of the larger, and so on. Therefore, if the case be as those have conjectured, the volume of a star of the 1st magnitude will be greater than that of one of the 6th by a very considerable difference.

The largest of the fixed stars that have been observed, is 222 times, and the smallest of them twenty-three times as large as the earth. From their multitude they cannot be numbered, but the position of 1022[2] has been fixed. Of these—

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prefixed, as is customary, to the several names the simple Arabic article, which in *pronunciation* must, of course, be altered before solar letters into the homogeneous euphonic *tashdîd.*

[1] Humboldt remarks that at the period of Mongolian supremacy in the 15th century, when astronomy flourished at Samarkand under Ulugh Beg, photometric determinations were facilitated by the subdivision of each of the six classes of Hipparchus and Ptolemy into three subordinate groups: distinctions being drawn between the small, intermediate and large stars of the second magnitude. Some MSS. of the Almagest refer to these subdivisions as they add *μείζων* or *ἐλάσσων* to the determination of magnitudes. Cosmos, III, 121-2. Otte's Trans.

[2] This is the catalogue of Hipparchus which gives the longitudes and latitudes of the number described, by their position in the constellations as shown in the 8th book of the Almagest Montucla observes that only 1,022 were observed, though there are a great many more, and some among them visible to the naked eye, but the number is far below what is vulgarly imagined. Hist. des Math. I, p. 295. I add on the authority of Humboldt. (Cosmos III, 143) that Pliny could count only 1,600 stars visible in the fine sky of Italy. In this enumeration he had descended to stars of the 5th, whilst half a century later Ptolemy indicated only 1,025 stars down to the 6th magnitude. The number of stars visible to the naked eye in the horizon of Berlin, Humboldt gives as 4,022 and in that of Alexandria 4,638.

15	are of the	1st	Magnitude.	474	are of the	4th	Magnitude.
45	„ „	2nd	„	217	„ „	5th	„
208	„ „	3rd	„	49	„ „	6th	„

There are besides, 14 whose magnitudes are not catalogued, nine of which are obscure and five nebular. This is the theory of Ptolemy. According to Abdúl Raḥmán-b.-Omar al Ṣúfi,'[1]

37	are of the	2nd	magnitude
200	„ „	3rd	„
421	„ „	4th	„
267	„ „	5th	„
70	„ „	6th	„

and four nebular.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTH.

The Earth is spherical and its centre is the centre of the Universe. The elevations and depressions caused by the action of water or violence of the winds do not affect its spheroidity. Its circumference is 5,059 *yojana*,[2] 2 *kos*, 1,154 *daṇḍ*. The ancient Greeks reckoned the circumference to be 8,000 *farsakh*[3] and its diameter 2,545$\frac{5}{11}$ *farsakh*. Modern geometers give 6,700 *farsakh* for the circumference and 2,163$\frac{7}{11}$ *farsakh* for the diameter. All concur in making one *farsakh* equal to 3 miles.

The Hindu philosophers have the following rule for determining the diameter and circumference *To find the circumference.* Multiply the given diameter which they call *biyāṇs*[4] by the multiplier 3,927 termed *guṇit*,[5] and divide the product by the divisor 1,250 called *bhág*;[6] and the quotient, *labdhi*[7] will be the circumference.[8] *To find the diameter.* Multiply the given circumference by 1,250 the former divisor, and divide the product by 3,927, the former multiplier, and the quotient will be the diameter. The rule of Archimedes as given in Greek works, is accepted by the Hindus in the same manner, as an approximate calculation. The gist of the rule is that the relation of the diameter to the circumference is the ratio of 7 : 22, or about thrice the diameter and one-seventh. Any given diameter is multiplied by 22, and divided by 7, the quotient being the circumference. Again the circumference multiplied by 7 and divided by 22 gives the diameter. The fraction, however, is really less than $\frac{1}{7}$ and greater than $\frac{10}{71}$.[1] It is evident that the Hindu rule was unknown to the Greeks or they would have vaunted it in their own praise. Glory be to Him who alone knoweth the relation of the diameter to the circumference.

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[1] There is little known of this astronomer, but that he was a native of Rai, and according to D'Herbelot, preceptor of Aḍhadul Daulah of the Bowide dynasty. Hammer Purgstall gives the date of his death in A. H. 376, (A. D. 986) at the age of 85. He was the author of a work on the fixed stars with illustrations and two others less important.

[2] The calculations are discrepant. Puliśa reckons 5,026 $\frac{11}{18}$ and its diameter 1,600, while Brahmagupta gives 5,000 and 1,581 respectively and Ibn Ṭáriḳ 6,596$\frac{9}{25}$ and 2,100. Albirúni, India, pp. 312 I, 66 II.

[3] The calculation of Eratosthenes (276 -196 B. C.), determined by a method identical with that which would be employed by a modern astronomer, gives the circumference at 250,000 stadia; Posidonius (135 B. C.) made it 240,000 stadia or 30,000 miles. Lewis. Astron. of the Anc. pp. 199–215.

[4] व्यासं, *byásam.* Sansk.

[5] गुणक, *guṇaka.* Do.

[6] भाजक, *bhájaka.* Do.

[7] लब्धि, *labdhi.* Do.

[8] The rule in the Súrya-Siddhánta is to multiply the square of the diameter by 10, and the square root of the product will be the circumference. The diameter

Now the method of ascertaining the diameter of the (earth's) circumference was after this manner. On a level plain by means of instruments like the astrolabe, the armillary sphere or the quadrant of altitude, taking the elevation of the north pole of the Equinoctial, they proceed northwards, or southwards on the meridian line guided by the astrolabe, and raise the vertical indices above the plane of the circle so that they cover one another. And thus a distance is traversed which exceeds, or is less than the elevation above-mentioned by one degree. If the advance be to the north, it will increase; if to the south, the reverse. The distance from beginning to end is measured and the result forms a degree. Thus the circumference is found.

The ancients by this operation found the degree to be 22 *farsakh* and $\frac{2}{9}$ or 66$\frac{2}{3}$ miles. When the plain of Sanjár near Mausil, was selected by the Caliph Al Mámún for this experiment, Khálid-b.-Ạbdu'l Malik Marwarúdi with a body of scientific men went towards the north, and Ạli.-b.-Isá Uṣṭurlábi with another to the south. The former party found the degree longer than the latter; for when each had measured their respective distances, it was found to be 18$\frac{8}{9}$ *farsakh* or 56$\frac{2}{3}$ miles. The difference

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is taken at 1,600 *yojana*. Puliśa reckons the relation of the diameter to the circumference as 1,250 : 3,927, and Brahmagupta as nearly 12,959 : 40,980. Albirúni, II. 71—72.

[1] According to Albirúni, Archimedes defined it to be something between $\frac{10}{70}$ and $\frac{11}{70}$. (Chap. XV. p. 80), but the statement of Abul Fazl is correct. The book of Archimedes on the Dimensions of the Circle consists of three propositions. 1st, every circle is equal to a right angled triangle of which the sides containing the right angle are equal respectively to its radius and circumference. 2nd, the ratio of the area of the circle to the square of its diameter is nearly that of 11 to 14. 3rd, the circumference of the circle is greater than three times its diameter by a quantity greater than $\frac{10}{71}$ of the diameter, but less than $\frac{1}{7}$ of the same. Smith. Art. Archim.

between the two was $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile.[1] Mámún as a test, asked the two parties the distance between Mecca and Baghdad. According to the above calculation, multiplying 12° 40′ by $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles which is a degree, they made the distance to be 720 *kos.*[2] By the order of the Caliph the most level and shortest route between the two cities was measured and the difference was found to be slight. It is strange that the accurate (Naṣíru'ddín) Ṭúsi in his *Taḍkirah (u'l Náṣiríyah. Liber Memorialis de astronomia)* should ascribe to the ancients what is related of the astronomers of Mámún's age regarding the measurement of a degree in the plain of Sanjár. Mulla Ḳuṭbu'ddín Shírázi[3] in his Tuḥfat (u'l Sháhíyah *donum regium*) and other works, expresses the opinion of the moderns in regard to the astronomers of that Caliph, in the manner I have related. There has been undoubtedly a slip of the pen in the *Taḍkirah.* The Hindu astronomers make the degree 14 *yojanas,* 436 *ḍanḍ,* 2 cubits and 4 digits, and explain it after the former manner.

Also on a level plain at sunrise they regulate the course of *ghaṛís* by means of the *Siktajantra* which is an instrument like an hour-glass, measured for 60 *ghaṛís.* With this they walk eastwards. After 84 *yojanas* and a fraction, there is a difference of one *ghaṛí* and the day advanced *by that time.*[4] This multiplied by 60 gives the circumference of the Earth.

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[1] Mr. Reuben Barrow here remarks, that from the spheroidity of the earth, the degrees ought to increase towards the north : but this difference is much greater than it ought to be according to theory.

[2] Mr. Barrow here notes in Gladwin's work, that as the true length of a degree is between 69 and 70 miles, and there is reason to believe that the measures could not be far wrong, it follows that we have not the true length of their measures.

[3] Háji Khalífah gives the year of his death as A.H. 720 (A. D. 1370). He composed the astronomical work alluded to, for the Emir Sháh Muḥammad-b.-Mutazz-b.-Ṭáhir.

[4] Mr. Reuben Barrow's note on this is as follows : "Their intent was evidently to measure a degree of longitude in a parallel circle. The principle of the method was the same as that of our modern longitude watches; and the general practice was to adjust the *Siktajantra* to the time of the meridian they set out from : and to go eastward till the difference of the times shewn by it and by observation appeared to be one *ghaṛi.* For if the instrument was exact, whatever meridian it was carried under, it would still continue to show the time under the meridian of the first place : and if the place arrived at was one degree more to the east, the time found at that place (whether by the sun's rising or any other method) would be one *ghaṛí* more, and so in proportion ; and this is what is meant by the day being more advanced. The Hindus must doubtless have observed the necessity of allowing for the change of declination in the time of sunrise ; but according to the mode prescribed by the author, it would be requisite to restrict the time of making the experiment to that of the solstice."

DESCRIPTION OF THE INSULAR CONTINENTS.

The Hindu philosophers describe the terraqueous globe as comprising seven insular continents and seven seas, the whole area of land and sea measuring[1] 7,957,750 *yojanas.*

1. *Jambu Dwípa*[2] is an island surrounded by the ocean, and is the habitation of the human race and the greater part of the animal creation. They consider it together with half the ocean, as equal to a half of the whole globe. The breadth of the ocean is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of the island is 1,265 *yojanas*, of which 65 are water, and the superficial area of this island with the sea is 3,978,875 *yojanas*, of which 417,360 are water. They say that in the centre of the Earth is a mountain of gold like an axis, and that part of it which with reference to *Jambu Dwípa* is above the Earth, is called *Suméru* and is 84,000 *yojanas* high. They believe that the degrees of paradise are on its summit and around its sides. It is said to be the same depth below the surface, and this is known as *Baḍwánal* and extraordinary fables are told of it. This is the account of the fanatical traditionists of this people, but the learned among them, like the Greeks, do not admit of a height over 2⅓ *farsakh.*

2. *Sháka-dwípa :* half the sea bounds it on one side, and its superficial extent is 427,424 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of milk, of 801,097 *yojanas.*

3. *Shálmali Dwípa ;* 320,120 *yojanas*. Beyond this is a sea of curds, of 633,553 *yojanas.*

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[1] Var. 7,957,752.

[2] The description of these islands, their extent, position and reference to European Geography, form a literature of their own, too disputed and uncertain in their details for dogmatism, were the Puranic Cosmography credible enough to be worth it. "Manifold are the opinions of people," says Brahmagupta, "relating to the description of the earth and to Mount Meru, particularly among those who study the Puráṇas and the religious literature." I content myself with indicating for reference, Chaps. XX to XXXII of Albirúni, and the Vishṇu Puráṇa which represents the geographical system of the rest. To these may be added the dissertation of the confident but unsafe Wilford on the Sacred Isles of the West in the VIII Vol. of the As. Res. which will satisfy by bewildering the curiosity of the reader. The text has Jammn, instead of Jambu, the insular continent deriving its name from the Jambu tree, the *Eugenia* Jambu, the Eugenia Moluccensis of Linnœus and J. domestica of Rumphius who considers it as the most exquisite of the tropical fruits after the mangostin. Ed. Rev. I, 32. The Vishṇu Puráṇa makes the apples of this tree as large as elephants : when they are rotten they fall upon the crest of the mountain and from their expressed juice is formed the Jambu river, the waters of which enable those who drink them to pass their days in content and health, subject neither to decrepitude nor to decay.

4. *Kusha Dwípa:* 286,749 *yojanas.* Beyond this is a sea of butter, of 459,792 *yojanas.*

5. *Krauncha Dwípa:* 181,684 *yojanas.* The sea beyond is the juice of sugarcane, of 250,504 *yojanas.*

6. *Gomedaka Dwípa:* 86,580 *yojanas.* The sea beyond is of wine, of 71,648 *yojanas.*

7. *Pushkara Dwípa:* 14,204 *yojanas.* Beyond is the sea of sweet water, of 28,160 *yojanas.*

The breadth of each sea is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of each island, 70 *yojanas.* In these six last *Dwípas*, are located the degrees of the lower regions. The seven seas measure together 3,079,474 *yojanas* and the dry land 4,878,278 *yojanas.*

The habitation of men and animals extends to the 53rd degree of latitude, being 728 *yojanas.*

DESCRIPTION OF JAMBU DWÍPA.

The legends regarding the six islands being beyond the limits of credibility, I put them aside and confine myself to a few particulars regarding Jambu.

Dividing the ocean, at each of the four cardinal directions with relation to the equatorial line, stands a city whose fenced walls are of bricks of gold. 1. *Yamakóti.* The earth's longitude is reckoned from this, but in the Greek treatises the Hindu canon is said to be based as 0° of longitude) on *Gangdizh,*[1] the Greeks being really unaware from what point their longitude was taken. 2. *Lanka.*[1] 3. *Siddhapúra.* 4. *Romaka.* Each of these is distant 90 degrees from its neighbour and 180° from that which is opposite to it. The mountain *Suméru* is distant 9° from each. The northern sides of these lie under the equinoctial circle which in Sanskrit is called *Vishavaḍ-vṛitta.*[2] This circle passes over the zenith of the inhabitants of these four cities, and the sun twice in the year reaches the zenith, and day and night throughout the year are nearly equal. The greatest altitude of the sun is 90.° His progression is from Lanka to Romaka, from thence to Siddhapúra, continuing to Yamakoṭi and back to Lanka. When the sun is in the meridian of Yamakoṭi, it is sunrise at Lanka, sunset at Siddhapúra, and midnight at Romaka, and when it is midday in Lanka, it rises at Romaka, sets at Yamakoṭi, and is midnight at Siddhapúra. When he is in the meridian of Romaka, it is sunrise at Siddhapúra, sunset at Lanka and midnight at Yamakoṭi. When in the meridian of Siddhapúra, the sun rises at Yamakoṭi, sets at Romaka and it is midnight at Lanka. There is a difference of 15 *ghaṛis* between each of these four places.

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[1] This is said to be a fortress built by Zohák in the city of Babylon. Some account of it will be found in the 2 Vol. (Macan's edit.) of the Shahnámah. Thither, fled Afrasiáb pursued by Kai Khusrau and the fort was twice captured by him. In the Sháhnámah it appears to be the citadel of Gangbihisht, the capital of Afrasiab, and near it flowed the river Zirah which Kai Khusrau crossed in his second attack. Firdausi presumes upon either the ignorance or the geographical knowledge of his readers, and leaves them to believe or discover its existence. According to Albirúni, 'Abu Maashar based his canon on this place as a first meridian, See Reinaud's Introduction to Abulfoda's Geog. V, ccxx, et seq. Kang or Kangkin, he says, is according to ancient Chinese writers Sogdiana. Rawlinson thinks it to be a Pehlevi word meaning 'heaven,' and Hyde (De relig. Vet. Pers.) considers it synonymous with the terrestrial Paradise. The name appears as Cancadora in a note to Humboldt's Cosmos II, (Otté). Reinaud's interesting dissertation on this meridian and that of Arin or Azín will repay perusal. He considers the latter name to be a corruption of Ptolemy's 'Οζήνη transliterated as Ozein أزين by the Arabs which by copyists' omission of diacritical points became أرين and thus lost its true pronunciation. This is confirmed by the fact that the Hindus called them first meridian indifferently.

Again, north of Lanka towards Suméru there are said to be three mountains: *Himáchala,*[3] *Hemakúṭa* and *Nishadha.* These three mountains in this order stretch across from the shore of the eastern sea to the western quarter. From *Siddhapúra* to Suméru also are three other ranges. *S'ṛinga-vanta, S'ukla,* and *Níla.* There is another mountain between Yamakoṭi and Suméru, called *Mályavanta* adjoining Nishadha and Níla, and another between Romaka and Suméru called *Gandhamádana* whose extremes meet the same two ranges.

Extraordinary are the legends regarding these mountains which cannot here be particularised, but something shall be set down of the region between Lanka and Himáchala, and a little stand exemplar for much. This intervening country is called *Bhárata-khaṇḍa. Bhárata* was a mighty sovereign and this tract was named after him. From Lanka to Himáchala which is 52 degrees, the country is inhabited, the settlements being particularly frequent up to the 48th degree, and less so through the remaining four, on account of the extreme cold.

According to their supposition a celestial degree is equal to 14 *yojanas* on earth; the whole fifty-two degrees therefore are 728 *yojanas* which they consider to represent the habitable world. Between Himáchala and Hemakúṭa lies *Kinnara-khaṇḍa* comprising 12 degrees of latitude. Between Hemakúṭa and Nishadha is *Harikhaṇḍa* comprising the same number of degrees. Between Siddhapúra and S'ṛinga-vanṭa is *Kuru-khaṇḍa* occupying 52 degrees. Between S'ṛinga-vanta and Shukla lies *Hiraṇmaya-khaṇḍ* with 12 degrees of latitude, the whole of which is of gold. Between Shukla and Níla is the tract called *Ramyaka-khaṇḍa* comprising the same number of degrees of latitude, and between Yamakoṭi and Mályavanta is *Bhadráśva-khaṇḍa* with an extent of 76°. Intermediate between Gandhamádana and Romaka is *Ketumála* of 76°. Between Mályavanta, Gandhamádana, Nishadha and Níla is *Ilávṛita* and extends 14° on each quarter.[1] The superficial measurement of these nine divisions is said to be equal, though the breadth of some is less than that of others.

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[1] Lanka and Ujjain. With Adelard de Bath, Gerard of Cremona, Albert the Great and Roger Bacon the name appears as Arim or Arym, and this place received the name of the Cupola of the earth which was also applied to Lanka. Rein. ccxlviii. I.

[2] विषुवद्वृत्त

[3] Himaván is the name in the Vishṇu Puráṇa. *Hima* in Sanskrit signifies snow, and in a derivative form the name may be traced in the Thracian Hœmus.

On the four sides of Suméru are four other mountains; that on the side of Yamakoṭi is called *Mandara;* that towards Lanka, *Sugandha Parvata;* on the Romaka quarter, *Vipula*, and towards Siddhapúra, *Supárśva.* The height of each is 18,000 *yojanas.*

The nine divisions of Jambu-dwípa having been recorded, I now proceed to relate some particulars of the first division, *Bhárata-khaṇḍa.* Between Lanka and Himáchala are said to be seven mountain ranges, extending from east to west and smaller than the former ranges. These are, *Mahendra, S'ukti, Malaya, Ṛiksha, Páriyátra, Sahya, Vindhyá.*[2]

The tract between Lanka and Mahendra is called *Indra-khaṇḍa;* between it and S'ukti, *Kaser;* between S'ukti and Malaya, *Támravarṇa;* between Malaya and Ṛiksha, *Gabhasti-mat;* between Ṛiksha and Páriyátra, *Nág-khaṇḍa;* between Páriyátra and Sahya, *Saumyakhaṇḍa.* The tract between Sahya and Vindhyá is divided in two parts, the eastern of which is called *Kumára-khaṇḍa*, and the western *Váruṇa-khaṇḍa*[3].

The upper half of the globe would be represented by the accompanying plate.

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[1] These tracts were named after the nine sons of Ágnídhra, the king of Jambu-dwípa, who were named, Nábhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilávṛita, Ramya, Hiraṇvat, Kuru, Bhadráśva, and Ketumala. Vishṇu Pur. See also the Siddhánta Śiromaṇi where all these names and divisions occur.

[2] I correct the readings of the text from the Vishṇu Puráṇa. The Mahindra chain extends from Orissa to Gondwana, part of which near Gaṇjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra. Sakti or Suktimat is doubtful. Sahya is the northern portion of the Ghats, the mountains of the Konkan; Ṛiksha, the mountains of Gondwana. Vindhya is here restricted to the eastern division of the chain. Páriyátra or Páripátra is the northern and western portion. The classification seems to have been known to Ptolemy. See Wilson's note. Vish. P.174.

[3] For Kumára, which is Kumárika in Wilford, the Vishnu P. has Gándharva.

Lacuna.

The Hindus also divide the world into three regions. The upper is named *Swar-loka*, where the good receive the reward of their virtuous life. The middle region is *Bhúr-loka*, which is the abode of mankind. The lower is called *Pátála-loka*, where the wicked receive the punishment of their evil deeds.

The religious teachers of this creed conceive the world to be a superficies divide into fourteen parts. Seven superior, *viz.*, *Bhúr-loka*, *Swar-loka*, *Mahar-loka*, *Jana-loka*, *Tapo-loka* and *Satya-loka;* and the same number inferior, *Atala*, *Sutala*, *Vitala*, *Talátala*, *Mahátala*, *Rasátala*, and *Pátala.*[1] They relate extraordinary legends regarding the inhabitants of each region which cannot be inserted in a summary narrative.

This people also speak of seven seas and seven islands (*dwípas*), and nine divisions of Jambu-*dwípa*, but there is considerably diversity in their order, extent and other particulars; as for instance, the mountain Suméru is reckoned to be 84,000 *yojanas* above ground, and 32,000 in breadth and 16,000 below the surface of the earth and the same in breadth. The habitable earth is not confined, they think, only to Bháratakhaṇḍa nor even to Jambu-*dwípa*. They say that beyond the ocean there is a land of gold[2] which is the abode of men. Their duration of life extends to a thousand years, neither more nor less. Sickness and grief come not nigh them, neither have they fear nor greed nor ignorance. They follow not evil speaking nor jealousy nor calumny and live in peace, in rectitude and in charity. They lose not the vigour of youth, neither are they invaded by weakness or decrepitude. They are of the same creed and race and have no distinction of food or clothing, and their wishes are gratified without toil. Of the other islands in like manner are wonderful legends told which the ordinary rigid formalist would not admit to a hearing, but do not surprise the adoring believer in Divine Omnipotence.

They also divide Kumárakhaṇḍa into two parts. The country where the black antelope is not found they call *Mlechchha-deś*,[3] and regard it with

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[1] These are somewhat varied in the different Puráṇas.

[2] This is Pushkara the 7th *Dwípa*, and recalls "the land of Hevilath where gold groweth" in the 2nd Chap. of Genesis.

[3] The Mlechchhas are the *Kirátas* of the Vishṇu Pur., the inhabitants of the mountains east of Hindustan according to H. H. Wilson. Wilford places them in the mountains of the Deccan. All this passage is taken from the ordinances of Manu and the names are marred in the taking. Manu writes as follows in Sir W. Jones' translation: Chap. II.

(17.) Between the two divine rivers Saraswati and Drishadwati lies the tract of land which the sages have named Brahmávarta because it was frequented by gods.

(19.) Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchála

contempt and unworthy of existence. The region where that animal is indigenous is called *Jag-deś*, and it is subdivided into four parts. 1 *Áryavarta*, bounded on the east and west by the ocean, and north and south by two mountain ranges of Hindustán: 2 *Madhya-deś*, to the east of which is Illahábás and to the west the river Vinásá, twenty-five *kós* from Thanesar, and bounded to the north and south by the same ranges. 3 *Brahmarikh-deś* (Brahmarshi), comprises five places: 1, Thanesar and its dependencies; 2, Bairáth (*var.* Pairáth); 3, Kampila (*var.* Kanílah), 4, Mathura; 5, Kanauj. 4 *Brahmávarta*, the fertile tract between the Sarsuti (Saraswati) and Rákasi (Drishadwati) rivers.

ON TERRESTRIAL LONGITUDE.

The Hindus term longitude *lambana*, and make it consist of 180°, after the manner of the Greeks. They reckon its beginning (as 0° of longitude) from *Yamakoṭi* in the farthest east, apparently because following the movement of night and day, the nearest point to its origin is selected. The Greeks reckon from the Islands of the Blest. There are six[1] islands of the western ocean formerly inhabited, but now submerged beneath the sea. From their delightful climate, their choice production of fruits and flowers and the luxuriance of their vegetation, they were accounted a paradise. Men call them the Eternal Islands (خالدات) or the Fortunate (سعدا). Some

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or Kányakubja Surasena or Mathura form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmávarta.

(21.) That country which lies between Himavat and Vindhyá to the east of Vinaśana and to the west of Prayága, is celebrated by the title of Madhya-deśa or the central region.

(22.) As far as the eastern and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains just mentioned lies the tract which the wise have named Ariavarta, or *inhabited by respectable men*.

Burnell in his translation explains Vinaśana as the terminus of the Saraswati. Prayága is of course, Allahabad. Wilford identifies the Drishadwati as the Caggar or Gagar, but the courses of these rivers must have considerably altered. Cf. Wilson, Vishṇu Puráṇa, p. 181, note.

[1] The number mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny instead of seven, the actual number of the *αἱ τῶν Μακάρων νῆσοι*. They include specifically the Canary Islands and the Madeira group, though the Azores and the Cape de Verde have shared the distinction. A table of their ancient and modern names will be found in W. Smith's Dict. Of these Canaria is still retained and said to have been given from the multitude of dogs that ran wild there. Nivaria, aptly describes Teneriffe, and Ferro was the chief meridian from which longitudes were reckoned before their computation from national observatories. It is here at the extreme of the earth, *πείρατα γαίης*, that Homer places the abode of the yellow-haired Rhadamanthus and the Elysian fields. Od. IV, 565. In the 2nd Book of the ΑΛΗΘΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ Lucian narrates his visit to the island and describes the chief city in terms that recall the new Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. His ad-

assert that the Fortunate Isles are 24 in number between the Eternal Islands and the sea-shore. Of the Greeks, some take the reckoning of longitude from the shore of the western (Atlantic) ocean which they call Ὠκεανός,[1] which is 10° east of the Eternal Islands. The distance of the shore from the islands in $222\frac{2}{9}$ *farsakh* according to the system of the ancients, or $189\frac{8}{9}$ *farsakh* according to the moderns, the latter being guided to this conclusion by observation of the motion of the Zodiacal signs in succession and the proximity of the place. In the longitudinal reckoning of places both are agreed. The longitude is an arc of the equatorial between its point of upper intersection with the meridian measured from the begining of the habitable earth (the first meridian), and its point of upper intersection with the meridian of the given place, and the interval is the distance between the place and the first meridian at its nearest side.[2]

To find the longitude; at the first meridian or a place whose longitude

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ventures would seem to have inspired the pen of Mandeville and have forestalled Münchausen.

Reinaud notices the distinction or confusion made by the Arabs between the Eternal Isles or Islands of the Blest, and the Fortunate Isles. Abulfeda confounds them but Ibn Sayd places the Fortunate Isles among the Eternal and about them, making the latter 6 in number and the former 24 and distributing them among the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates between the 16th and 30th degrees of north latitude, thus allowing the inference that the Fortunate Isles are the Canaries and the Eternal the Cape de Verde. Geog. Abulf. Introd. ccxxxiv.

[1] According to a fragment of Phavo- [illegible] rinus, not a Greek word, but derived from the barbarians probably connected with Sanskrit. Among the Greeks the son of Uranus and Gaia, became in physical geography, a *river* or stream circumfluent round the earth, and the large expanses of water are distinguished by Herodotus as *seas.* But the idea of the encircling waters became transferred as a secondary meaning to the ocean and specifically to the Atlantic which was called the Great Sea, the Outer Sea, the Atlantic or simply the Ocean. Smith's Dict. Geog.

Avienus well expresses the mysterious dangers that confronted a mariner on its unknown waters beyond the pillars of Hercules.

: porro in occiduam plagam.
Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,
Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,
Himilco tradit; nullus haec adiit freta:
Nullus carinas aequor illud intulit,
Desint quod alto flabra propellentia,
Nullusque puppim spiritus cœli juvet:
Dehinc quod aethram quodam amictu vestiat
Caligo, semper nebula condat gurgitim
Et crassiore nubil[illegible]
Et cra[illegible]am perstet die.
Oceanus iste est, orbis effusi procul
Circumlatrator, iste Pontus maximus
Oræ Maritimæ.

[2] This is the literal translation, but it must be taken to include the meaning that the arc of the equator intercepted between the two meridians may be reckoned on any parallel of latitude as well as on the equator. It must be remembered with reference to what is termed the point of upper intersection that all south of the equator is supposed to be

is known, observe the exact time of the occultation of light in a lunar eclipse, its duration and initial or total reappearance, and let a similar observation be made at the place whose unknown longitude is required. If the time be the same on both, their longitude will be the same. If the time be later at the place required, the city is more to the eastward.[1] The difference of the times of observation is taken, and an excess in the number of degrees over the place whose longitude is known, is allotted on the calculation of six degrees for every *ghaṛí* and fifteen degrees for every hour, reckoning 4 minutes to the degree.[2] If the time be earlier, the city is more westerly and the calculation is the reverse of that for the east. According to the system of the Hindu astronomers who begin their reckoning of longitude from the east, in the first instance, the number of degrees will diminish, and in the second case, increase.

ON TERRESTRIAL LATITUDE.

This is called by the Hindus *Aksha.* It is reckoned from Lanka and carried to the 52nd degree of latitude. All within this region is populous, but less so up to 14° further (north) on account of the severity of the cold. The Greeks reckon their latitude from the equator, and as their circle passes through Lanka, there is no discrepancy and the result is the same. The latitude of a place is an arc extending from the equator between the meridian of the place, and its upper intersection with the equinoctial. In short it is the distance of the meridian of the city from the equinoctial, and that is the degree of the elevation of the pole (above the horizon of the place).

To find the latitude.[3] Take the altitude of a (circumpolar) star that is

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water and uninhabited and that therefore the upper half circle only of the equatorial is considered.

[1] The rule in the Surya Siddhánta is as follows:

At the given place if the Moon's total darkness (in her eclipse) begins or ends after the instant when it begins or ends at the Middle line of the Earth, then the given place is E. of the Middle line, (but if it begins or ends) before the instant (when it begins or ends on the Middle line, then) the given place is west of the Middle line

[2] "After having found the longitudinal difference between two places, he observes a lunar eclipse and fixes in day-minutes, the difference between the time of its appearance in the two places. Puliśa muliplies these day-minutes by the circumference of the earth, and divides the product by 60, *viz.*, the minutes (or 60th parts) of the daily revolution. The quotient is the number of the *yojanas* of the distance between the two places." Albirúni, India, xxxi, Sach , p. 313 I.

[3] Albirúni says in his 29th Chapter on India, that the Hindu method of determining the latitude of a place had not come to his knowledge.

constantly visible, and ascertain its highest and lowest points of ascension Subtract the lesser from the greater and add half the remainder to the lesser, or subtract it from the greater. The result of this process of addition and subtraction gives the latitude of the place. Or

During either equinox, take the altitude of the sun at noon. Subtract this from 90° and the remainder is the latitude of the place. Or

When the sun enters the first of Cancer, take its greatest altitude and subtract its total declination. The remainder will give the co-latitude. Subtract this from 90° and the remainder gives the latitude of the place.

Every place whose longitude is less than 90° is called west longitude, and greater than 90° east longitude. According to the Hindus it is the reverse. Every place whose latitude is less than 33°, is south, and greater than 33°, north latitude.[1]

In order to ascertain the (times of) wordly events, at the sun's first entry into Aries, they observe its rising at Lanka, and finding the horoscope, they assemble to determine the calculation and this they call *Lankúdaya Lagna.*[2] The oblique ascension is used to determine the relative conditions of any particular place, and is called *Nagr-udaya Lagna.* The Greeks observe this system, but they have two *ascendens* or horoscopes, one at the extreme east to ascertain the circumstances of one hemisphere and the second at the cupola of the earth which is the means of discovering the conditions of the other. They consider that as the circle of the meridian cuts the globe of the earth, it appears as a circle on its circumference and intersects the equatorial line. The point of intersection (Lanka) is called the cupola or the centre of the earth. Some suppose the cupola to be in the middle of the *οἰκουμένη*, that is at a spot situated in Lon. 90°, Lat. 33°. Others place it in the fourth climate, Lon. 9°, Lat 36°.

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[1] As before remarked, all below the equator is supposed to be water and does not count as latitude, and the upper hemisphere only, represents the οἰκουμένη, and as Albirúni says in his XVIII Chapter the reader is to imagine the habitable world as lying on the northern half of the earth, or more accurately in one-half of this half, *i. e.*, in one of the quarters of the earth.

[2] The etymology of these terms is thus given in the Siddhánta S'iromani.

That point of the ecliptic which is, at any time, on the eastern horizon is called the Lagna or horoscope. This is expressed in signs and degrees and reckoned from the first point of stellar Aries. That point which is on the western horizon is called the Asta-Lagna or setting horoscope. The point of the ecliptic of the meridian is called the Madhya-Lagna or middle horoscope (culminating point of the ecliptic.) The Udaya-Lagna is the rising horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which comes to the eastern horizon at the same time with the planet, its Asta-Lagna being the setting horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet reaches the western horizon.

According to a paper in the As. Res. II, by Samuel Davis, the Hindus signify by the Lagna of Lanka, those points of the equator which rise respectively with each 30th degree of the ecliptic in a right sphere, answering to the right ascension in any latitude. By the Lagna of any particular place, the oblique ascension or the divisions of the equator which rise in succession with each sign in an oblique sphere. By the horoscope is signified the point of the ecliptic rising at a given time after sunrise, the rule to find which is given in the SúryaSiddhánta, (Bápu Deva, p. 39). The omphalos which marked Delphi as the centre of Greece and of the Earth, existed in the temple of Delphi during the historic period.

A brief description of the cosmogony according to the strange theories of Hindu sages having been given, I here note some particulars of the system of the Greeks to relieve the dryness of this exposition.

There are nine integral[1] heavens. 1. The greatest heaven, called also the crystalline, whose revolution is the cause of night and day. 2. The heaven of the fixed stars. 3. The heaven of Mercury. 4. The heaven of Jupiter. 5. The heaven of Mars. 6. The heaven of the Sun. 7. The heaven of Venus. 8. The heaven of Mercury. 9. The heaven of the Moon. There are besides fifteen minor spheres. Again, the elemental spheres[1] are nine in number.

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[1] The Istiláhátu'l Funún describes the heavens (افلاک) as of two kinds: (1) the integral or independent (کلیه) which are *not* parts of other heavens, and, (2) the supplemental or dependent (جزئية) that are so. The integral sphere is simple (مفرد) when it has no dependent sphere, such as the great or crystalline heaven; and it is compound (مرکب) if it has such, like the heavens of the planets. Its definition of the word "heaven" (فلك) corresponds to that of آسمان at p. 14. The great or crystalline heaven, the sphere *κατ' ἐξοχήν* which includes all others is called also the heaven of heavens, the universal heaven (قلک الکل), the starless, the lofty, the all-comprehending, &c. It is the *primum mobile* having a swift motion from E. to W. completed in less than 24 hours, and its movement carries round the other heavens and all in them, for being itself the prime motor, it possesses the force to compel the motion of all included by it, for it is the motor of them in *essentia rei* and of all in them *per accidens*. See Art. فلك, p. 1135. This is almost the identical language of Blundevile's Exercises as quoted by Aldis Wright in his edition of Bacon's Essays, p. 57. The crystalline sphere of Anaximander was handed down to the middle ages as a cosmical theory and the firmament was supposed to consist of from 8 to 10 glassy spheres encasing each other like the coats of an onion. The vault was called crystalline from the supposed condensation of the air into a solid transparent body by the action of fiery ether. In the doctrine of Empedocles, the idea of transparency predominated in the comparison with ice (*κρύσταλλος*), no reference being made to the origin of ice through cold, for the fiery ether lay beyond the confines of the actual atmosphere and the stars were considered *warm* bodies. (Aristot. Meteor. 1, 3 De Cœlo, 11, 7). See Humboldt. Kosmos. III, pp. 166—68. The passage in Milton is well-known regarding this sphere.

They passed the planets seven, they
passed the fixed
And that crystalline sphere whose balance
weighs
The trepidation talked and *that first
moved.*

Par. Lost. III, pp. 484-7.

Albirúni (Cap. xx) accepting the necessity of eight spheres, sees no object in a ninth, which was unknown to Plato, as Aristotle proves that each moving body is brought into motion by something outside itself and the mover of the ninth may move the eight without its intervention.

The first is of Fire: its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

The second, of Air: of this there are four strata, *viz.*; 1. *volatilised* where the fluid is permeated by vapour, for the ascending vapours do not reach this point but become dissipated. It is here that comets, Zodiacal light,[2] luminous streams and meteors and the like have their origin. The Hindus regard them all as astral bodies of which they number a thousand kinds, and believe that they are always in existence but only occasionally visible;[3] 2. *predominant*, where the shooting stars are observed: 3. *boreal*, which is a vaporous wind and extremely cold in which clouds, lightning, thunder and thunderbolts take their rise: 4. *dense*, and this adjoins the spheres of Water and Earth.

The third, of Water: this surrounds the earth and from the effect of light and contact with earth, does not retain its original purity and thus waters varying in sweet, saline, clear, and turbid qualities spring from the soil and are diverse in their scantiness, excess, limpidity and density.

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[1] The elemental spheres are numbered by Achilles Tatius. See Sir E. Lewis, Astr. of the Anc., p. 173, and 99-101.

[2] The term *Nezak* or *Nayzak* (a short spear) was first applied, according to Humboldt, (Kosmos 1, 128 Otté), by the Court astronomers of Persia to the strange light never before observed, seen in 1688 in Persia and described by the great traveller Chardin. In his *Atlas du Voyage*, however, he applies the term *nyázak* to the famous comet which appeared over nearly the whole world in 1688 and whose head was so hidden in the west that it could not be seen in the horizon of Ispahan. Dominicus Cassini who was the first to investigate this phenomenon and who observed it in Bologna when it was seen by Chardin in Persia, has maintained with Mairan that the phenomenon observed in Persia was the Zodiacal light. Humboldt expresses his wonder that so striking a natural phenomenon which he had witnessed so often on the summits of the Andes and in the plains of Venezuela, should have failed to attract the attention of physicists and astronomers till the middle of the 17th century.

[3] "The belief in the existence of non-luminous stars was diffused amongst the ancient Greeks and in the early ages of Christianity. The doubt as to the passing away and reappearance of stars is expressed by Pliny in his mention of Hipparchus, 'Stellæ an obirent nascerenturve?'" The authority of Humboldt is opposed to the doctrine of their annihilation and affirms that the cosmical alteration is merely the transition of matter into new forms and that dark cosmical bodies may by a renewed process of light again become luminous. Kosmos III, pp. 222—254. Otté.

The fourth, Earth: this according to their notions lies in three strata (α) that which by the bounty of the Creator came forth from the waters and subjected to heat became dry land, wherein is the region of mountain and mine and the habitat of the greater number of animals; (β) clay, which is earth mixed with water; (γ) earth simple, and this is about the centre of the globe.

Some writers blindly following traditional lore hold that the Earth like the heavens consists of seven vaults, and another school believes that the heavens overshadow them all, and that each earth is surrounded by a mountain, as the mountain of *Ḳáf*[1] surrounds this habitable world. They also assert that the earths are of gold, and ruby and the like. Some pretend that beyond Ḳáf there are seventy regions of gold, followed by as many of musk and imagine similar extraordinary strata. Though fable may create a hundred other such fancies, no proof can substantiate them.

EXTENT OF DESERT AND HABITABLE LAND.

The equinoctial is a great circle, the two poles whereof are the two poles of the earth. The one which is in the direction of Ursa Minor called also *Banát u'n Naạsh*, is the north pole. The constellation of the Kid[2] is adjacent to it. The other is the south pole.[3] When the sun passes over this circle, night and day are of equal length in all places, either actually or approximately, and this occurs in the first of Aries and Libra. From this imaginary circle being drawn upon the concave surface of the *magnus orbis*, a great circle is delineated upon the earth which divides it into two-halves north and south, the periphery being called the equatorial line where night and day are always equal.

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[1] Albirúni says (XXIII) that the mountain called by his people Ḳáf, is Lokaloka with the Hindus, (a fabulous belt of mountain boundary, beyond the seven seas and dividing the visible world from the regions of darkness). According to the Zoroastrians the mountain Ardiya has a similar position. The jewelled earths appear to be connected with the sides of Meru which are said to be of different gems.

[2] جدي. It is not a constellation but α of Ursa Minor, *i. e.*, the polar star. Reinaud (Abulf. I. cxciv) calls it le Chevreau and points out that its other signification of Capricorn has led astray several savants, notably Silvestre de Sacy (Recueil des Notices t. VIII, p 146, et. 178). The Bear which does not set for those who live north of the equator, serves the Arabs to mark the north while Canopus which is always visible to them, marks the south. Reinaud. Ibid.

[3] "It is well known", says Albirúni (xxii) "that the north pole with us is called the Great Bear, and the south pole, Canopus But some of our people maintain that in the south of heaven too, there is a Great Bear of the same shape as the northern, which revolves round the southern pole." The Greek word πολος originally signified a ball or sphere and hence was applied to the cavity of the heavens. As the celestial vault has only a hemisphere, the word was afterwards used to denote the basin of a sundial, and at an early period was applied to the central point of the hemisphere or the vertex of the axis of the sphere. Eudoxus employs it to denote the star nearest the North pole. Its modern use was established at a later age.
Lewis. Astr. of the Anc.

The horizon is of two kinds, the *real* and the *sensible*, and the latter is to be understood in two ways. The *first* is a circle parallel to the *real* horizon and contiguous to the surface of the earth. The *second* is a circle which divides the visible portion of the sphere from the invisible, and this horizon is also called the visible, the radial and the horizon of vision. The zenith and nadir are its two poles, which vary with the spectator and his position. The *real* horizon is a great circle, having the same two poles, and the distance of the *first sensible* horizon from the *real*, is half the earth's diameter, and by this the *real* horizon is obtained.[1] And as the equatorial line divides the earth into two halves, the northern and the southern, the circle of the *real* horizon divides those two halves again into two, an upper and a lower. Thus by these two circles, the earth is apportioned into four quarters, an upper and lower northern, and similar southern divisions. The Greeks supposed the northern quarter only to be above water, but they have determined this by no proof. Its creation was assigned to the power of the Sun, in order that animal life to which breathing is a necessity, might secure the capacity to exist and the wondrous power of human speech become manifest. Through the force of the celestial light and the accretional properties of matter in the upper regions, and by the action of the winds and the commotion of the seas, lofty mountains and marvellous configurations of hills and profound abysses were produced. And because the tendency of water is to flow downwards and the earth thereby becomes viscous, the fermentation of heat and the disintegrating process of time caused the rise of mountainous ranges.

When the sun culminates in the northern signs of the ecliptic from Aries to Virgo, its lowest declination from the equator will necessarily occur in the southern signs. From Libra to Pisces are the signs culminating in the winter solstice. At this time[1] the sun is nearest the sphere of the earth and the warmth is excessive, the heat absorbing moisture as may be witnessed by experiment with a lamp. The solstice continues in the same sign during 2,100 years and the entire revolution is made in 25,200 years, one-half of this period being occupied in the northern and the other in the southern signs.[1] It is now in the 3rd degree of Cancer and the opposite solstitial point is in the same degree of Capricorn. It is this ecliptic movement that has caused the northern quarter of the globe to become *terra firma.* Its superficial area, according to the ancients, is 5,090,000 and according to the moderns $3,678,233\frac{1}{3}$ *farsakh.* The rule to find this is to multiply the diameter by $\frac{1}{4}$ of the circumference and the product will be the measurement of the quarter of the globe,[2] or divide the superficial area of the whole globe by 4 and the quotient gives the area of the quarter. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the quarter of the globe was created *terra firma* or became so at a later period. The majority incline to the latter belief from the consideration of the proximity of the solstitial points. They affirm that the whole of the fourth part of the globe was *terra firma,* but that now a great part of it is submerged such as the Eternal Islands, Greece and other places.

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[1] That is, in those regions where the sun's rays fall directly and not obliquely upon the earth. So Albirúni says "The country S. of the Line is not known and the earth is too much burnt to be habitable. Parts of the inhabited world do not reach nearer the equator than to a distance of several days journey. There the water of the sea is dense because the sun so intensely vapourises the particles of water that fishes and other animals keep away from it ...... The sun when reaching the perigee of his excentric sphere, stands nearly in its utmost southern declination and burns all the countries over which he culminates. Chronology,

The *οἰκουμένη* is declared not to extend in latitude beyond the complement of the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator which is 66° 29′ 43,″ as animal life could not exist beyond this point from the severity of the cold. The superficial area of the *οἰκουμένη* is taken by the ancients from the equatorial line to a place whose latitude is equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator. According to the Gúrgáni Canon, the superficial area is $4,668,502\frac{7}{60}$ *farsakh* and according to the moderns $3,370,992\frac{3}{4}$ *farsakh.* Some say that a portion of the upper southern quarter adjoining the northern quarter is *terra firma* but not inhabited. Others affirm that it is inhabited as far as

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249. Sachau's Trans. Ibn Khaldún has a somewhat similar passage. Proleg. 86. Ed. Quatremère.

[1] The precession of the equinoxes was discovered by Hipparchus. At that time the point of the autumnal equinox was about 6° east of Spica Virginis. In 1750, *i. e.*, about 1900 years afterwards, this point was observed 26° 21′ west of that star. Hence the equinoctial points will make an entire revolution in 25,745 years.

[2] See p. 25 where the circumference is given at 8,000 *farsakh* and the diameter at $2,545\frac{5}{11}$. This rule will apply to these figures and give 50,90,000 without the fraction.

[3] That is to say, the greatest northern declination from the equator being according to our calculation 23° 27′ 27″; this subtracted from 90° will give the complement of the arc from the equator to the north pole; and this complement, *viz.*, 66° 32′ 33″ reckoned *from the equator* measures the limit, in the sense of the text, within which men can live and beyond which in a northerly direction, they cannot.

10° south. Ptolemy[1] on his Geography allows 16° 25′ and near the Zanj and Abyssinian, further still. A few even suppose that the other three-fourths of the globe are also above water and inhabited.

Ancient traditions relate that Alexander after his conquest of the northern quarter of the globe, desiring to obtain some information of the remaining quarters and of the seas thereof, named several bold and scientific explorers for this duty, and supplying them, confident in their providential mission in the pursuit of knowledge, with six months' provisions, embarked them in a sea-going vessel. After sailing day and night, through the period mentioned, they fell in with some vessels, but from diversity of tongues they were unable to understand each others' intentions. A fight ensued and Alexander's party was victorious. With some of the captives they intermarried. The children of these marriages spoke the languages of both their parents and from these nurslings of life it was discovered that a certain prince had despatched this band also with the same object, and after a three months' continuous sail the encounter had taken place. But this account is disputed.[2] In other ancient writings it is related that Alexander sent out a party of scientific men thoroughly proficient in the knowledge of various languages, on an expedition by sea with provisions for three years. They were instructed to sail eastwards for a period of a year and a half towards the rising places of the stars, and then to return and relate their experiences. This party after sailing the appointed time reached a flourishing coast and they learnt that they had penetrated to the country of Bactria. Alexander for a time appointed some of his ministers to the government of this province.

At the present day, those of more exact information declare that the south is inhabited in the same way as the north. Of late years the Europeans have discovered an extensive and populous insular continent which they have called the New World. Some shattered vessels had been here driven ashore. A man mounted on horseback was seen by the inhabitants. Mistaking the man and his horse for a single animal they were overcome by fear and the country fell an easy capture.

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[1] Ptolemy placed the southern limit of the habitable world as, Abul Fazl rightly states later in the parallel of 16¼ degrees of S. Lat. at Antimeroöe, and the northern limit in 63° N. Lat. which passes through Thule, supposed to be the Shetlands. This range therefore include 79¼ degrees. The total degrees of longitude of the habitable parts of the earth he accounts to be 177¼. Cosmog. Fol Venet. 1486, Cap XII and Mc. Crindle Anc. Ind. 5.

[2] Such is the *literal translation of this* ridiculous account but nothing is too childish or incredible for Abul Fazl's narrative.

DIVISION OF THE EARTH INTO COUNTRIES.

The learned have divided the *οἰκουμένη* into seven parts, to each of which they have given the name of *κλίμα*.[1] Some reckon from the equator as Ptolemy shows in his Almagest.[2] Another school omitting 12° 45′ north of the equator, divide the remainder and terminate as is known at the 50° 31° parallel of latitude.[3] In the former case, therefore, the parallels from the equator will be seven circles and in the latter, eight. The seven belts which these lines form are called *climates*. A climate therefore is a belt on the surface of the earth between two semi-circles parallel with each other and with the equator. A climate increases in length as it approaches the equator; moreover its first parallel will be longer than its second. It is demonstrable from (experiment with) spheres that every parallel circle increases as it nears the equatorial line. The length of the first parallel of the first climate is said to be 11,856 miles approximately, and the length of its second parallel 11,230, while the length of the last parallel of the seventh climate is 1,627 *farsakh*. But every climate, like the longitudinal extension of the earth from west to east, is divided into an equal number of degrees of longitude, and not more or less in proportion to its length. The latitude of each belt varies.

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[1] See p. 116, Vol. 2.

[2] In the Almagest (II. 6) he marks ten climates north of the equator, beginning at the parallel of Taprobane in lat. 4° 15′ and ending at that of Thule in lat. 63°; and in the south, beginning at the equator or the parallel of Cape Raptum and ending at the parallel of Antimeröe in 16° 25′. In the Geography he gives 19 climates; as far as the 16th climate. which is the arctic circle, twelve are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day, the 13th and 14th, one hour, and the 15th and 16th, two hours. In the remaining climates within the arctic circle, the days no longer increase by hours but by months. Dict. of Antiq. W. Smith.

[3] The double theory of longitude is thus explained by Albirúni in his XXIX Chap. (Sachau's Transl. I. 304). "Some adopt as the beginning of longitude the shore of the Atlantic Ocean and they extend the first quarter as far as the environs of Balkh ...... So that Shaburgán and Ujjain are placed on the same meridian. A theory which so little corresponds to reality is quite valueless. Others adopt the Islands of the Happy Ones as the beginning of longitude and the quarters of the *οἰκουμένη* they extend thence as far as the neighbourhood of Jurjan and Nishapúr." That is, with Ptolemy's division of the circumference of the globe into 360°, the 90° naturally fell in the middle of the habitable world and was taken as the central meridian. This was accounted to pass through Lanka and Ujjain but they deflected it for some strange reason to the N.-W. Among the Arabs, some, after the example of Ptolemy, took their first meridian from the Fortunate Isles, others from the W. Coast of Africa making a difference of 10°. According to the first computation the 90° fell on Nishapúr in Khorásán, and according to the second on the town of Shaburghán about a day's march W. of Balkh. See Reinaud, Geography, I. ccxliv. This difference of 10° may be constantly observed in comparing Abul Fazl's longitude with the authorities of Abulfeda.

There are two reasons given for the selection of seven as this number. The first is that ancient sages have verified by experience that each tract of superficial area was specially connected with one of the planets, as for instance, the first climate with Saturn. For this reason the inhabitants of that zone generally are dark-skinned, curly-haired, long-lived and indolent in action. The second climate, according to the Persians, had an affinity with Jupiter, but according to the Romans, with the Sun. The third climate, in the opinion of the former, with Mars, in that of the latter, with Mercury. The fourth, with the Sun, as the first mentioned suppose, but with Jupiter according to the second opinion. Both concur in ascribing the fifth to Venus. The sixth is allotted by the first to Mercury, by the second to the Moon. The seventh, the former connect with the Moon, the latter with Mars. The second opinion is that in former ages a single monarch ruled the whole habitable earth. With far-seeing and prudent policy he divided it severally among his seven sons.

The word *climate* may be taken in two senses,[1] *viz.*, the ordinary sense in which men commonly speak of a tract of country as a climate, such as Rome, Turán, Irán and Hindustán; and the true signification already explained. In the latter meaning India is an aggregate of the first, second, third and fourth climates.

The beginning of the first climate is defined by general opinion to be north of the equator. Its latitude according to accurate information is 12° 42′ 2″ 39‴. Its longest day is 12 hours and 45 minutes. Its centre has a location according to concurrent testimony, where its longest day is 16 hours. Its latitude is 16° 37′ 30″. Twenty large mountains and thirty considerable rivers are comprised in it, and its population are generally black in colour.

The beginning of the second climate has a latitude of 27° 31′ 17″ 58‴. Its longest day consists of 13 hours, fifteen minutes. The longest day at its centre is 16 hours, 30 minutes. Its latitude is 24° 40′. It includes 27 mountains and 27 rivers. The colour of the inhabitants of this zone is between black and wheat colour.

The beginning of the third climate has a latitude of 27° 34′ 3″ 33‴. Its longest day is 16 hours, 45 minutes. Its day at the centre is of 14 hours and the latitude 30° 40′. It comprises 33 mountains and 22 rivers, and its inhabitants are generally of a wheat colour.

The beginning of the fourth climate has a latitude of 33° 43′ 17″.36‴.

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[1] Yáḳút gives four acceptations of this term. Cf. p. 26 et. seq. Introduction.

Its longest day, 14 hours, 15 minutes. At the centre the longest day is of 14 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 36° 22′. It includes 25 mountains and 22 rivers; the colour of its inhabitants is between wheat colour and a fair skin.

The beginning of the fifth climate is in Lat. 32° 0′ 19″ 5‴. Longest day, 14 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours. Lat. 41° 15′. Colour of inhabitants fair. Has 30 mountains and 15 rivers.

The beginning of the sixth climate is in Lat. 43° 29′ 58″ 8‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 15 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 45° 21′. Has 11 mountains 40 rivers. Colour of inhabitants fair inclining to tawny and with tawny hair.

The beginning of the seventh climate is in Lat. 47° 58′ 59″ 17‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 16 hours. Lat. 48° 52′. Its mountains and rivers as in the sixth climate. Colour of inhabitants ruddy and white. Its extreme parallel according to general opinion is in Lat. 50° 31′ 31″ 54‴. The longest day 16 hours, 15 minutes.

The differences in latitude of these climates are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day. From the last parallel to the furthest inhabited point is not included in a climate on account of the paucity of its inhabitants. Some suppose the northernmost parallel of the seventh climate to be the extreme of the habitable world. According to others, the parallel of 50° 20′ is inhabited, but they do not include it in this climate; and there is an island called Thule in Lat. 63°. From the severity of the cold the inhabitants pass their days in heated chambers. In Lat. 63° 30′ is habitable land the dwellers wherein are Scythians as recorded by Ptolemy. In Lat. 66° a tract has been discovered the inhabitants of which resemble wild animals, as mentioned by him in the Geographia. The remaining portion of the quarter of the globe is according to some, a tenantless waste, while others regard it as simply unknown country. In Lat. 54° and a fraction, the longest day is 17 hours; in Lat. 58°, 18 hours; in Lat. 61°, 19 hours; in Lat 63°, 20 hours; in Lat. 64° 30′, 21 hours; in Lat. 65° and a fraction, 22 hours; and in 66° 23 hours, and in the latitude, equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator, 24 hours. In Lat. 67° the day increases by one month, in Lat. 70°, 1¾ months; in Lat. 73° 30′, three months; in Lat. 78° 30′, four months; in Lat. 84°, five months, and in the Lat. 90° which is the extremity of the earth, the day is said to be of six months, and the other six months is night. But it is more correct to say that a year is one nycthemeron. If the day be reckoned from sunrise to sunset, the day there would be seven nycthemera longer than the nights, but if it be calculated from the dawn of light and the disappearance of the fixed stars, to the occultation of light and the reappearance of the stars, the day there would be seven months and seven days and the remainder (*of the year*) night. Again if the day be counted from the dawn of morning to the evanescence of twilight, this day would be of nine months and seventeen days and the complement of the year would be the night.[1]

To lend an interest to this work a table of the various climates with other details is here introduced.

Tables for the ascertainment of the Longitudes and Latitudes of places of the inhabited quarter of the globe from the Latitude of the Equator, according to the learned, especially of places beyond the limits of the seven climates to the 60th degree of Latitude.

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR.

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
The Equator	12	...	...	...	The lat. is taken at 12° N. of the true Equator. V. p. 66.
The Island of Ṭirúfái ...	12	35	15	...	
Shore of the Atlantic ...	11	...	...	...	

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[1] The following table, from Ukert, showing the climates of Ptolemy (Geog. I, 23) is taken from the Dict. of Antiq. for purpose of comparison with Abul Fazl's account.

Climate.	Parallel.	Longest Day.		Latitude.		Passing through.
		h.	m.			
	1	12	0	0°	0′	
I	2	12	15	4	15	Taprobane.
	3	12	30	8	25	Sinus Avalites.
II	4	12	45	12	30	Adule Sinus.
	5	13	0	16	27	Meroë.
III	6	13	15	20	14	Napata.
	7	13	30	23	51	Syene.
IV	8	13	45	27	12	Ptolemais in Egypt.
	9	14	0	30	2	Lower Egypt.
V	10	14	15	33	18	Middle of Phœnicia.
	11	14	30	36	0	Rhodus.
VI	12	14	45	38	35	Smyrna.
	13	15	0	40	56	Hellespont.
VII	14	15	15	43	41	Massilia
	15	15	30	45	1	Middle of the Euxine.
VIII	16	15	45	46	51	Sources of the Danube.
	17	16	0	48	32	Mouth of the Borysthenes.
IX	18	16	15	50	4	Middle of Palus the Maeotis.
	19	16	30	51	40	Southern Britain.
X	20	16	45	52	50	Mouths of the Rhine.
	21	17	0	54	30	Mouths of the Tanais.
XI	22	17	15	55	0	The Brigantes in Britain.
	23	17	30	56	0	Brittania Magna.
XII	24	17	45	57	0	Caturactonium in Britain.
	25	18	0	58	0	South of Brittania Parva.
XIII	26	18	30	59	30	Middle of ditto.
	27	19	0	61	0	North of ditto.
XIV	28	19	30	62	0	Ebudes Insulae.
	29	20	0	63	0	Thule.
XV	30	21	0	64	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes.
	31	22	0	65	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes.
XVI	32	23	0	66	0	
	33	24	0	66°	8′ 40″	
XVII	34	1 month about.		67°	15′	
	35	2	—	69	30	
XVIII	36	3	—	73	20	
	37	4	—	78	20	
XIX	38	5	—	84	0	
	39	6	—	90	0	

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M	
Island of Ḳumbulah (Madagascar.	21	...	8	...	Ḳumr, according to Yaḳút AbulFeda. gives Ḳunbalah. Geog. II, III, 127. Guyard.
Sinus Avalites	12	30	8	25	The Gulf of Aden.
Ghánah, gold mines, a town in the Soudán.	30	...	10	...	Said by Ibn Sayd to be on the Niger, gold dust exported. M. Cooley in his Negroland, p. 44 locates it near Timbuctoo. Abul Fed. Geog. Reinaud II, 1, 21.
SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR.					
Kúkú	44	...	10	15	On its W. Ghanah: on the E. Kanem, probably Gogo. Abul F. Geog. II. I. Guyard.
Sofálah of the Zanj country	52	...	2	30	In the Mozambique country, S. of the Zambesi.
Middle of the Lake of Koura.	68	...	4	...	According to the Resm Al Mamour, its centre is placed in 53°½ Lon. Lat. zero. Left bank 52° Lon. right bank 54°. Ibn Sayd makes the Egyptian Nile flow out of its N. quarter, the Nile of Madakshon from the E. and the Nile of Ghanah (Niger) from the W. On its E. and S. a mountain called Almaksam. Reinaud, Abul F. II, I.
Jími on the Nile	63	15	9	11	The text has the min. of Lat. 401.! According to Ibn Sayd, it is in 53° Lon. Lat. 9° 3′—capital of Kanem country and called by Maḳrísi, Aldjema. Reinaud Geog. Abulf, II. I.
Saharta	64	...	6	...	A dist. of Abyssinia, Lon 54° Lat. 5°, but the 1st climate of Ibn Sayd begins from the Equator and terminates at 16° 27′ N. Lat. See Reinaud *ibid* for a dissertation on this tract.
Jarmi, capital of Abyssinia	65	...	...	6	Probably Júmi, identified with Axum, formerly Axuma. Rein. *ibid.*
Zagháwah	66	...	...	2	The Lon. varies from 54° to 60° and the Lat. from 1° to 11½ in three tables given by Abulf. The people of Zagháwah are subject to the Kanem and their country is 20 marches from Dongola, marked in K. Johnston S. of new Dongola.
Hadyah	66	...	2	...	Lon. 57° 3′ N. Lat. 7°, a town of Abyssinia S. of Vefat or Aufat, Reinaud, ibid. The latter name De Sacy makes synon. with Jabart common to whole country of Zeylah. Chrest. Arab, I. 457.
Zailah	71	...	8	...	Ibn Sayd 66° Lon. 10° 55′ N. Lat. Kanun-u'l Mumtanih and Kitáb-u'l Atwal. 61°—the port is well-known.
Makdishú	72	...	2	...	Now called Magadoxo on the litoral below Somali land.

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Aden	76	...	11	...	
Barbera	78	...	6	30	In the Gulf of Aden.
Sinus Adulicus	12	15	12	30	Αδουλικὸς κόλπος. Annesley Bay. The text has confounded this with the Sinus Avalites, but Ukert's Table of Climates shows what is intended. Adulis, the modern Zulla is placed by Ptolemy, Lon. 67. Lat. 11⅔. Cosmograph, Fol. Venet, 1486.
Shibám, capital of Hadramaut.	81	15	12	30	
Mirbáṭ, between Hadramaut and Omán.	82	...	12	...	It is situate in the litoral of El Shehr and is the port of Dhafar. The mountains of Dhafar are famed for the incense produced there.
Island of Serandíp (Ceylon).	130	...	12	...	Aṭwál and Ḳánún, Lon. 12° Lat. 10°.
Island of Socoṭra, of India	Caret.				Aṭwál, Lon. 74° 30′, Lat. 13°. Ḳánún Lon. 66° 30′, Lat. 9°. Abulf. Lon. 74° 30′. Lat. 9°.
Mountains of Ḳámerún produces Lignum Aloes.	130	...	10	...	According to Reinand (Introd. Abulf. ccclxxxvii.) this is Kamrúp in Assam, called by the Arabs Camroun and famous for its aloes. (See p. 125, Vol. II, Ain. Akb.) The Easterns, like Ptolemy, brought the whole of India and Malacca in proximity with the Equator, Reinaud, Abulf. II, I. The incredibility of this location with a difference of 2 deg. between Ceylon and Kámrup, made Gladwin take this for Cape Comorin; but I have little doubt that the Kamerún Mts opposite to the Is. of Fernando Po are here meant.
Island of Lámri, of India produces the wood *baḳkam.*	130	...	9	...	The Lambri of Marco Polo. (Rein. II. I. 131). Bakkam is the Caesalpinia found in most parts of India of which Roxb. gives 18 kinds. It is a kind of Brazil wood.
Island of Kalah, of India	140	...	8	...	Called by Abulf. the port of all the regions between Oman and China. Exports tin called by its name, *i. e.,* *kalạí,* which Reinaud says may be from the Malay كلع. Walckonaer places Kalah in Malacca in the province of Keydah opposite the island of Sumatra. Introd. Abulf. 414.
Island of Maháráj, of India	150	...	1	...	A large island in the Green Sea (Indian Ocean). Abulf. II, II, 132. Ibn Said says that the Mahárájah are in clusters of numerous islands, the largest of which is the seat of royalty, most probably Borneo. The Arabs extended India as far as the Java Archipelago, V. Reinaud I, cccxxxi.

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Yamakoṭi	176	...	5	...	See Vol. II, p. 13, and Vol. III, p. 29.
Sila, in China	180	...	8	5	Extreme of Eastern China. Abulf. Reinaud II, II, p. 124; according to Reinaud, the Corea.
Gangdizh, on the shore of the Eastern Sea.	180	...	...	...	See p. 29 Vol. III.
Iram, "adorned with lofty pillars" (Kurán 89), said to be in Yemen.	...	...	...	...	See Sale's Koran for the story of this paradise of Shaddád b. Aád. It was said to have been fashioned after the paradise of Adam, with walls of gold and columns of ruby and emerald. Ibn Khaldún brushes the fable aside with his usual common sense.

THE FIRST CLIMATE.

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Shore of the Ocean ('Ωκεανός).	20	...	16	31	See p.
Island of Mádúnah ...	23	...	36	27	Perhaps Madura off Java. McCrindle, 241.
Amállṭa var. Amánṭa ...	28	5	20	14	
Barisá	32	...	20	35	According to Abulf. a considerable town of Takrour, north of the Niger. Edrísi mentions it as a village formed by some nomad clan, ten days march north of the Lemlem country. Rein. II. I. There is also a Berisa on the Red Sea below Port Mornington.
Island of Súli	38	30	28	...	I find mention of only one Súli, a village watered by the An Nahronán canal from the Tigris, Abulf II, 70.
Island of Sawákin ...	58	30	17	...	*Jazírah* signifies not only an island, but a peninsula or tract from which the sea has retired. Ibn Baṭúṭah II, 161, 162, describes his landing here from Jeddah on his way to Yemen.
Turrah	49	20	19	40	A small town in Africa. This is all Yáḳúṭ's information, and no other work I have seen gives even as much.
Dunḳulah (Dongola) ...	68	...	14	33	
Tịiz in Yemen		car et.			Abu'l Akúl, Lon. 64° 30′, Lat. 13°. Ibn Sayd Lon. 70°, Lat. 14° 30′, by induction Lon. 65° 30′, Lat. 13° 40′. A castle in the mountains dominating the coast; residence of the princes of Yemen. Abulf. II. I, 121. It is called *Ḥisn Tiz*. See also Niebuhr Desc. de l'Arab, p. 209.
Darḳalah	68	40	14	30	The proximity of location of this and the Dongola above, suggests the inference that these represent Old and New Dongola which in the map appear to be 60 or 70 miles apart.
Bajah, (Beja) of the Berber country.	65	...	11	...	This must refer to the El Beja between the Shatt Meldir and Shatt Gharnis in

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					the province of Constantine as the Bájah or Bejah W. of Tunis occurs in the 3rd Climate. Abulfeda places this, according to the Aṭwal, in Lon. 55° N. Lat. 2°, and adds that it is beyond the 1st Climate in the Berbera country.
Buldarah, in the Súdan ...	68	...	17	...	
Island of Dahlak	71	...	14	...	See p. 121, Vol. II, n. 4. This island is well-known.
Márib, of Yemen	78	...	14	...	Capital of the Tobbas of Yemen, now in ruins. It is situated at the extremity of the Haḍramaut chain. Here was the famous Sadd or Dyke of the Himyarite Arabs. Niebuhr call it the principal town of Jauf (جوف) V. Descr. Arab, p. 240. For the history of the Dyke see notes to Chenery's al Ḥariri, p. 242.
Mahjam, of Yemen ...	74	45	16	...	A small fortified town on the frontier between Tehámah and Yemen. Nuzhat-u'l Mushták, p. 29. It is 3 days distance from the following name. Abulf. II. I. 120.
Zabíd. ditto. ...	74	20	14	10	On the Tehámah of Yemen, its principal maritime port according to Albirúni, but its port is a place called Ghelfeca at a distance, in varying accounts, from 15 to 40 miles, Abulf. It is marked in the maps.
Hiṣn Dimlaut do. ...	74	40	14	5	Dumluat, according to Yáḳút, N. of Aden in the Yemen hills, proverbial for its strength, v. Abulf.
Sharjah, of Yemen ...	74	40	16	50	A small town in Yemen at a little distance from the sea.
Janad, ditto ...	75	30	14	33	North of Ḥisn. Tịiz, half a day's march. Here is a mosque built by Mạáz b. Tabal, one of the companions of Muḥammad who died of the plague in Syria, A. H. 19. Abulf. 123.
Jublah, ditto ...	74	.30	18	30	Between Aden and Sanạá, in the mountains; it is E. of Tịiz and a little to the north. Abulf. 122.
Ḥiṣn Baḍán ditto ...	75	30	38	40	A township in Yemen. Yáḳúṭ See Niebuhr. Desc. de l'Arab, p. 208.
Najrán of Yemen ...	76	...	19	...	Territory occupied by the Hamdán tribe, 10 marches from Sanạá. Abulf. v. Niebuhr. p. 238.
Ṣanạá, capital of Yemen	76	...	14	30	
Ḍamár in Yemen ...	70	...	38	30	In the Aṭwál, Lon. 67, Lat. 13° 30′, in the Ḳánún, Lon. 66°, Lat. 14° 20′, 16 parasangs from Ḍhafár.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Sirrain do. ...	76	47	20	...	The min. of Lon. in the text are wrong. There are two places of this name. One on the sea-shore new Mekka, and the other one of the dependencies of Ṣanaá; the latter is meant. v. Niebuhr, 238.
Ḥali-ibn-Yáḳúb do. ...	70	20	18	30	Deg. of Lat. omitted in text, 19 parasangs, S. of Sirrain. Abulf.
Khaiwán do. ...	70	21	15	20	Formerly residence of the Himyarite kings. The ruins of an ancient palace still to be seen. Abulf. II, I, 128. Niebuhr, 229 Yáḳút.
Ṣadah do. ...	70	20	16	...	16 parasangs from Ṣanaá, a flourishing town. Abulf. 128.
Ḍhafár do. ...	70	30	18	20	Yáḳúṭ gives Lon. 78°, Lat. 15° and says there are two of the name, one near Ṣanaá, a seat of the Hiniyarite kings; the other, well-known on the shore of the Arabian Sea on El Shehr.
Jurash, a town of Omán on the sea coast.	70	50	17	...	Yáḳúṭ and Abulf. place it in Yemen, abounding in palm trees, its staple manufacture the dressing of leather.
Ṣuhár in Oman ...	84	...	19	20	Well-known, on the sea coast of Omán.
Extremity of the province of Mahrah in Yemen.	85	...	16	...	In the Aṭwal, Lon. 73° Lat. 16°, a dependancy of Yemen, their language apparently the Himyarite dialect, famous for its camels called *Mahariyah*, though other accounts say that the name is from a chief of a tribe, called Mahrah son of Haydán. Abulf. 138, Yáḳúṭ confirms ' the latter derivation. He gives the Lon. 64° and Lat. 27° 30′ and says that a month's journey separates it from Omán and Haḍramaut. A camel of Mahrah is mentioned in the 19 Assembly of Al Ḥaríri.
Island of Ránij in the Indian Ocean.	104	...	15	...	Properly, Lábij. These islands are probably those of the Java Archipelago, and are the same as those called Maharáj above-mentioned. Abulf. Guyard II, II, 126, and Index to Lábij.
Tánah on the Indian Ocean	102	...	19	20	Thanah, Bombay.
Mạbar in India	102	...	17	20	Coromandel. Ibn Saíd gives the Lon. 142°. Abulf. II, II, 121.
Kaulam in India, here pepper and brazil wood in great abundance.	102	...	18	30	Ibn Said. Lon. 132°, Lat. 12°. Aṭwál, Lon. 110°, Lat. 13° 30′. This is Quilon in the Travancore State; the Coilum of Marco Polo: besides pepper and brazil wood, celebrated for the ginger known as Columbine in the middle ages. I. G.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Zaitún on the frontier of China.	154	...	17	6	Tseou thoung or Tsiuan-tcheou. Abulf. II, II, 123. It was visited by Ibn. Baṭúṭah (IV, 269) called by the translators Thsiuan-tchou-fou.
Súfárah, China ...	104	55	19	20	There are but two of this name in Abulf., one in Africa below Zanzibar, the other in India, a flourishing part known for its good fisheries and pearls, five marches from Sindán.
Sindán in China ...	114	20	19	50	In Abulf. another reading is said to be Sindápur, placed by one authority at 3 day's march from Tánah on the frontier between Guzerat and Malabar. Another account places it within its 15 parasangs of Manṣúrah. Yáḳúṭ places it between Daybul and Manṣúrah.
Khánḳú in China ...	150	...	14	...	This is on the Hang-tcheou. Abulf. II, II, Guyard, but the Lon. is 162°, according to the Kanún and Aṭwál.
Khánjú do. ...	162	...	14	...	According to Abulf. both these towns are situated on the river, as the Arabs believed that all the rivers of China were ramifications of a single stream. If this be the Yang-tsze-kiang, the towns of Hangkow and Hwang-choo seem to answer this description, as Abulf. says that Tájah (Taichow) is to E. of Khanjow. Their identification is not attempted by Guyard.
Sandábil in China, a city of the first magnitude.		Caret.			Not mentioned by Abulf., but this is evidently a corruption of Khán-báligh a well-known name of Pekin already mentioned in Vol. II, p. 118, see De. Guig. Hist. des. Huns. III, 147. Yáḳúṭ describes Sandábil in terms that leave no doubt as to its identity. It is the Cambalu of Marco Polo.
Samandán	...	...	...	...	
Alláḳi, said by some to be in the 2nd climate.	...	...	...	...	The Aṭwál gives the Lon. 58°, Lat. 26°, Kanún, 55°, Lat. 27°. Ibn Sayd., Lon. 63°, Lat. 20°, 3′; a town in the Beja country on the Red Sea litoral. The mountain of Alláḳi contains a gold mine. It is 12 marches E. of Assouán. See D'Herbelot.
Sofálah of India, here is found a bird that talks better than a parriot.	...	...	...	...	Of this town Gildemeister says, (De Reb. Indicis, p. 45). "Huc pertinet urbs Sufára de cujus situ omnis interiit memoria; ex sola nominum serie colligi potest eam Barog (Broach ?), et Tanam quarendam. " The Taḳwímu'l Buldán gives the name only and confesses ignorance of its situation. McCrindle says that Dr. Burgess has satisfactorily identified it with Supara, 6 miles

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					north of Bassein. It figured largely in the controversy on the situation of Ophir, being almost identical with that name when it assumes, as it often does, an initial S. becoming Sophara as in the Septuagint and Sofir the Coptic name for India.
Shahnaj	...	...	...	...	The text suggests Shanjú.
Káa, between Oman and Ḥaḍramaut	...	...	...	...	Mentioned by Yáḳúṭ as a pilgrim's station on the road to Mecca after leaving Aḳabah.
Lanjúyah, a large island near the Zanj country, the vine here bears thrice a year.	...	...	...	...	Lánjuyah, according to Yáḳúṭ is a large island capital of the Zanj kingdom frequented by ships from every port, now deserted, the inhabitants who are Muslims having moved to another island called Tambatu. He also mentions the fruitfulness of its vines. This is the island of Zanzibar, which in Custs' map (modern Languages of Africa) is marked Ungujah.
Alanjah one of the ... towns of north Africa, has an emerald mine.	...	...	...	...	I find no other trace of this name, but it is again referred to under the 2nd Climate as an emerald mine. The Nuzhat ul Mushtáḳ says that near Assouan south of the Nile, there is a mountain with an emerald mine and this gem is found alone here.
Shílá (or Shablá) ...	...	...	...	...	A district called Shilha is marked in Cust's map of North Africa opposite the Canaries and stretches towards the Mediterranean.
Ḳulzum on the Red Sea... littoral.	...	...	..	....	The ancient Clysma. See Niebuhr Desc. de l'Arab. p. 357. Abulf. gives the location according to the Atwal. Lon. 54° 15′ Lal. 29° 30′ Kánún, Lon. 56° 30′ Lat. 28° 20′ and places it in the 3rd Climate.
Bakíl in Yemen, here a ... tree grows from which they extract a poison.	...	...	...	...	The text has Bakbal, which is an error. Niebuhr (p. 225) treats of the allied clans of Hashid and Bakíl at some length and gives their romantic origin. Yáḳúṭ speaks of this tree without naming it and says it is as much or more prized and guarded by the people there than the balsam by the Egyptians. It was in special request for removing crowned heads and the chiefs of the Bani Najah and their ministers are distinguished by having been the frequent subjects of experiment as to the deadly effects of its poison.
Ḳaárah	...	...	...	...	A village in Yemen, in the neighbourhood of Ḍamar. Yáḳúṭ.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Takrúr					Name of a town, capital of a district of the same; the Lon. 17° Lat. 3° 30′. Ibn Sayd. Situated on the banks of the Niger. D'Herbelot places it to the W. of and 2 days' journey from Sálah on the same river and 140 days' journey from Sejelmásah now Tafilet. The Takrúr country corresponds, according to Reinaud, with the region of which Timbuctoo is the principal town.
Rámani	...	...	...	...	Yáḳúṭ gives a village of this name two leagues distant from Bokhara, now in ruins. Reinaud mentions an island called Alramni said to be near Ceylon which produced elephants and brazil wood and inhabited by cannibals, said by Abn Zayd to be among the Zabij islands, *i. e.*, Java Archipelago. Geog. Abulf. I. CDVI.
Ḳalhát, in Yemen ...	...	...	...	...	A port on the coast of Oman, visited by ships from India and one of its best towns, not older than the 5th century of the Hijra, Yáḳúṭ. It is marked in Niebuhr's map of Oman p. 265. Desc. de l'Arab.
Mnallá, in Yemen ...	...	..	...	...	A small town of Ḥijáz. Yáḳúṭ.
Madinat-u't-Ṭayyib, in Yemen.	...	...	...	...	Medínah is mentioned by Niebuhr as applied to Sanaa in Yemen, but I do not find the following epithet. Sanaa has already been given and *the* Medinah κατ' ἐξοχήν comes in the next climate with a similar epithet somewhat differently written.
Sahar, in Yemen ...	...	...	...	...	Niebuhr gives the name with a different spelling شحر as a small coast town in Yemen in the province of Yafa from which incense is exported. Abulf. places it between Aden and Ḍhafár.
THE SECOND CLIMATE.					
Sús al Akṣa	15	30	22	0	Sús—the remote, was so named from its situation at the extreme of Mauritania. It was a town according to D'Herb. at the foot of Mount Atlas and was also called Taroudant, but Abulf. makes the latter the capital of Sús. It would cover the extent now known as Morocco.
Lamṭah. Do ... Called also Nawa.	17	30	27	...	Or Lamthounah according to D'Herb. the large plain extending from the foot of Mt. Atlas to Sejelmásah to the E. and Takrúr to the S. Edrísi calls it a town which together with Darah and Jozoula stand on the side of the desert of Lamthounah. The desert is evidently the Sahara.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Darạh Do. ...	21	6	27	10	See above. Ibn Sayd says it stands on the river Darạh.
Andaghast Do. ...	25	...	26	..	A town in the midst of the Sahara inhabited by Berber Moslems, the sumacy belonging to the Sanhaja tribe. Another account makes it a large tract of which the capital goes by the same name and is situated on the mountains S. of Sejelmásah and 40 marches distant. Reinaud says the the name is not known, but it is cited in ancient Arab accounts and was destroyed by the Almoravides in the 11th century. Major Rennel supposes it to the modern town of Aghades, N.-W. be of the Lake Tchad. Mr. Cooley places it N. E of Timbuctoo. (II. I. 175.)
Tákhmábah	32	15	25	15	I do not find this name. The map marks a district and town as Tagama directly S. of Aghades.
Ḳús, in Upper Egypt ...	61	30	24	30	The text has *ḳurs* incorrectly. The ancient Apollinopolis Parva, on the Nile directly north of Karnak. It is described by Yáḳúṭ as a large and flourishing town.
Ikhmím Do. ...	61	30	26	...	A supposed corruption of the ancient Egyptian name Chemnis, the Panopolis of the Greeks. The Chem or Pan of this city was an Icthyphallic god, having been a site of Panic worship, and it was celebrated for its temple of Perseus. Like other old towns in the Thebaid it declined in prosperity as Thebes rose to importance. The rivers are said by Donne (Smith's Geog. Dict.) to be inconsiderable, but Yáḳúṭ speaks of Egyptian temples filled with paintings and statues, and strange writings, the building of which he ascribes to Queen Dalúkah. At a small hill to the west of it, the ear applied to it will catch the sound of waters and a murmur like that of human voices. Yáḳúṭ gives the orthography as I have written D'Herb. has Akhmím.
Aḳṣur Do. ..	61	40	24	....	According to Yáḳúṭ, in the Thebaid on the east bank of the Nile above Ḳús. Preceded by the Arabic article, the transition to Luxor is natural.
Isná Do. ...	62	...	28	30	Yáḳúṭ gives the Lon. 54° 24′ and Lat. 24° 40′. The modern Esneh, the ancient Latopolis which name was derived from the fish Lato, the largest of the 52 species that inhabit the Nile and which appears in sculptures among the symbols

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					of the Goddess Neith, Pallas Athene, surrounded by the oval ring of royalty or divinity. It possessed a beautiful temple, but except the joint of a gateway of the reign of Tothmes II, now a door-sill, the remains belong to the Roman or Macedonian era. Ptolemy Energetes is painted on the wall of the temple followed by a tame lion, in memory of his benefactions and the name of the Emperor Geta, partially erased by his brother and murderer Caracalla, is still legible on its walls. Smith. Art. Latop.
Anṣíná Do. ...	68	...	28	...	The ancient Antinoe, the ruins of which are still called by the Copts Enseneh. It was built by Hadrian in memory of his favourite Antinous to whom divine honours were paid as a local deity and some chariot races in comemoration of his death and his master's sorrow. It occupied the site of the village of Besa (Bῆσσα) named after the goddess and consulted as late as the age of Constantine. (Smith. Art. Antinoe.) Idrísi remarks that it supplied the magicians summoned by Pharoah to rival or defeat Moses. Reinaud. Abulf. II. I. 157.
Uswán	66	...	22	30	The ancient Syene and commonly Assouan in the maps. I follow the orthography of Yáḳúṭ. These different pronunciations of the initial letter, such as in Ikhmím and Akhmím, Laksar and Luksar (*i. e.* Alaksar or Aksar), Ashmúm and Ashmún are caused by the prefix to Egyptian, Greek and Roman names, of the prosthetic alif by the Arabs which sometimes carries its ordinary pronunciation and at others reproduces that of the second vowel. Thus Ashmún was Shmoun, and Ikhmím, Khmím naturalised by the Arabs through the addition of their article. Reinaud II. I. 152.
Maḍan-i-Zamurrad. ... Emerald mine, memtoned under Alaujah.	64	15	21	...	See p.
Ṭaimá, in Syria ...	67	15	25	40	Atwal Lon. 60° Lat. 30° Kánún 58° 30′ Lat. 26', a small town between Syria and Wadi al Kura on the road of pilgrims from Syria and Damascus. According to Yáḳúṭ, here was the castle of the famous Samuel, son of Adiya, the Jew from whose fidelity to his word has

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					arisen the Arabic proverb "more faithful than Samuel" The castle of Al Abláḳ between the Jauf and Jebel Shammár is celebrated in Arab story. Chenery in his notes to the 23rd Assembly of al Ḥaríri, narrates the origin of the proverb.
Maạdan-i-Zahab ... (The Gold mine). Known as a mountain in Yemen.	...	...	...	...	
Aiḍháb	68	40	21	40	A port on the Red Sea, near Suákin. It is mentioned by Ibn Baṭoutah in his Travels, Vol. II. 160. Abulfeda calls it the rendezvous of pilgrims and merchants embarking for Jeddah. He gives the Lon. 58°, Lat. 21°.
Alláḳi	68	40	27	15	Mentioned under the 1st Climate.
Ḳuṣair	69	...	26	...	Kosseir, a port on the Red Sea opposite "the Brothers" on the African side.
Ḳaṭíf, in Baḥrein ...	74	40	22	35	Well-known, on the Persian Gulf in the province of al Ḥasá.
Al Yambụ	74	40	26	...	Ibn Sayd, Lon. 64°, Lat. 26°; a small town west of Medínah in the litoral of Ḥijáz commonly written Yembo.
Juḥfah, in Ḥijáz ...	74	40	22	...	Formerly a large village, now in ruins, on the road to Medínah from Mecca, four stages from the latter town. Yáḳúṭ.
Medínah, the Pure, in Ḥijáz.	75	20	25	50	Called also Medínah the Prophetic.
Khaibar, in Ḥijáz. ...	70	20	25	20	Well-known in Ḥijáz.
Juddah in Ḥijáz. ...	70	10	21	15	Commonly called Jeddah.
Mecca, the Glorious. ...	70	..	21	40	
Ṭáif, in Ḥijáz. ...	70	30	21	20	
Furụ „ ...	70	30	26	...	A large village between Mecca and Medínah, four nights journey from the latter. Yáḳúṭ.
Faid. „ ...	78	10	25	...	The text is in error in the minutes of Lat. and gives an impossible figure; the Lat. in Atwal is 26° 50, and another authority gives 27° in Abulf. Gladwin likewise reads 27°. Faid is in Nejd and not in Ḥijáz.
Ḥajar „ ...	81	10	22	...	In Yemámah, and its chief city. Here are the tombs of those who fell fighting against the impostor Musaylimah Abulf. Yáḳút says that it formerly bore the name of Yemámah.
Island of Ṭuḳálábis, off Ḥijáz.	81	...	27	12	Untraceable, the name reads like a corruption from the Greek, and may be either Sucabia now Shushnah at the mouth of the Gulf of Aḳabah or Timagenis the modern Mushábea. Ptolemy places this in Lon. 66°, Lat. 29° 30′ 15″

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Island of Súli, off Ḥijáz.	81	...	25	15	See this name in the 1st Climate. It may be the ancient Sela, off Moilah or Muweilah on the Ḥijáz coast.
Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, of Ḥijáz	81	30	21	...	Presumably any part that corresponds with this location.
Yemámah. ...	81	5	21	30	
Aḥsá, in Baḥrein. ...	88	30	22	...	The word signifies, according to Yáḳút, water absorbed by the earth and penetrating to hard soil where it is retained. The sand is removed by the Arabs and the water taken up. It also means sand heaped over rocky ground to which the rain percolates through the sand.
The Sea of Baḥrein. ...	83	30	24	15	
The extreme point of Baḥrein.	84	20	25	15	
Maadan i Zahab. ...	67	15	21	5	See above p. 57.
Island of Awál. ...	86	...	22	...	One of the islands off Baḥrein near Ḳaṭíf at one day's sail. Two days would be required to traverse it either in length or breadth. It is the best of the pearl fisheries and contains 300 villages. Abulf. This island is not marked in the maps under this name, but its position in Abulfeda seems to mark it as the I. of Sumak in the Baḥrein Gulf. In Iṣtakhri's peculiar geographical map, it is located as one of 3 large islands in a sea which no imagination can shape into the semblance of any waterway of the world.
Island of Síláb. ...	88	30	25	...	I do not trace this name.
Hormuz. ...	92	...	25	...	
Jíraft. ...	98	...	27	30	A flourishing town in Kirmán; a rendezvous for merchants from Khurásan and Sijistán, 4 days' march from Hormuz. Abulf. I do not find it under this name in Keith Johnstone.
Daibal. ...	102	31	24	20	Or Debal. For the celebrated port in Sind, see Cunningham. Anc. Geog. 297. Its position is still disputed and is likely to remain so.
Tíz, a town on the Makrán coast.	83	...	24	5	
Bírún. in Makrán. ...	84	30	24	5	This is placed by Ibn Ḥaukal between Debal and Manṣúrah. Abulf. Reinaud II: II. 112.
Manṣúrah, Sind. ...	105	...	26	40	The ancient Muhammedan capital of Sind, see Cunningham. Anc. Geog. 271.
The Idol (temple) of Somnát, India.	107	10	22	15	
Aḥmadábád, of Gujarát, India.	108	30	23	15	

Manes.	Longitude.		Latitudd.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Nahrwálah, *i. e.*, Pattan, Gujarát.	92	5	28	30	See Vol. II. under Gujarát, p. 262.
Amarkót, birthplace of His Majesty.	100	...	24	...	
Mando, Capital of Málwah.	95	35	25	5	
Ujjain. ...	110	50	28	30	From this town was reckoned the longitude of the Hindus. Albirúni, India, I. 304, corrupted to Arín by the Arabs.
Bahroch, (Broach) ...	116	53	27		
Kambayat (Cambay) ...	109	20	26	20	
Kanauj ...	116	50	26	35	
Karrah (Korah) ...	101	30	25	36	See Vol. II. under Subah of Allahábád.
Súrat, India ...	110	...	21	30	
Saronj „ ...	114	59	27	22	
Ajmér „ ...	111	5	26	...	
Kaṛṭiá ? „ ...	...	...	...	...	
Benares „ ...	119	15	25	17	
Mahúrah, on both sides of the river.	116	...	27	...	Ḳanún, Lon. 104° Lat. 27° 15″. Aṭwal, Lon. 106° Lat. 27°. A town of the Brahmans on both sides of the Ganges between Kanauj and the Ocean. Abulf. This is probably Mathurah, or Muthra.
Agra, India ...	115	...	26	43	
Fatḥpúr „ ...	115	...	26	41	
Gwálior „ ...	115	...	26	29	
Mánikpúr „ ...	101	33	25	5	
Jaunpúr „ ...	119	...	26	36	
Sonárgáon „ ...	101	50	22	2	
Panduá, in Bengal ...	128	...	25	...	
Lakhnauti, in Bengal ...	128	...	26	30	The text has نیک for بنگ.
Fort of Kálinjar ...	116	30	25	...	
Ajodhya ...	116	32	25	50	
Shergír ...	...	...	...		
Mlaner ...	121	31	26	16	The text reads Munair. I follow the I. G.
Ilahábás ...	118	25	26	...	
Bhílsa ...	98	2	24	31	
Gházipúr ...	104	5	25	32	
Hájipúr, Patna ...	120	46	26	5	The text has an impossible figure for the degrees of Lon.
Lakhnau ...	116	6	26	30	
Dukam ...	...	...	...	...	
Daulatábád ...	101	...	25	...	
Etáwah ...	99	55	26	5	
Awadh ...	116	25	26	55	
Deogír ...	111	...	25	...	
Fatḥpúr ...	100	50	25	55	
Dalmau ..	102	5	24	35	
Kálampúr ...	...	...	...	...	
Korah ..	100	5	26	15	See under Allahábád, Vol. II.
Usyút, Upper Egypt ...	51	5	22	10	
Biskarah, in Mauritania.	34	25	27	30	On the Jedi river, S. E. of Algiers.
Najíram ...	87	30	26	40	A small town between Siráf and Baṣrah, situate on the mountains near the sea. Yáḳúṭ says he had often visited it. Najíram is also said to be a quarter in

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					Baṣrah and Yáḳút observes that if this be so, the town must have been named from the quarter as it is not of itself of such importance that a quarter should have been named after it. Reinaud has mistaken the sense of Yáḳút here. *Cf.* Abulf. II. II, 95.
Najd, the region between Ḥijáz and Irák					
Máyah ...	...	...	...	...	
Khalíh ? ...	...	...	...	...	Unintelligible variants in text.
Yanju, capital of China ..	125	..	22	...	Yang-tcheou, according to Reinaud.
Mánchu, in China ...	127	...	39	.	
Narwar, in India ...	98	5	25	33	
Chinapattan ...	100	10	18	5	Chinnapattanam is marked in K. Johnstone near and north of Seringapatam.
Haldárah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Bárám ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Tibbet ...	114	...	27	30	This name is marked, donbtful in the text.
Taktábád. ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Naktábád.
Hasúbah ? ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Hálsar ?
Saláyah ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Salámaṭ.
Awilah ? or Rawílah ? ...	..	...	...	...	
Tayfah ? ...	...	...	..	...	
Kashmir ? ...	...		...	...	In the text فشبير and marked doubtful.
Kalisáh or Kalíksa ...	...	...	...	...	
Malíbar, *i. e.*, Mabar ...	.	...	...	...	This name has preceded in the 1st Climate and its location given. These repetitions are frequent among Eastern Geographers and Reinaud notices the laxity of Edrísi in this particular, I. cccxv.
Makrukín ? ...	...		...	...	
Nadímah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
اعينبع ? ...	...	...	...	...	'Probably Yanbo, already preceded.
Baṭn Marrah ...	77	...	21	55	Properly Baṭn Marr. بطن مر near Mecca.
Ḳifṭ, Upper Egypt ...	61	18	24	...	Copt, or Koft, or Keft in K. Johnstone, a short distance below Ḳús, on the Nile.
Armant, Do. ...	51	5	24	...	Erment, the ancient Hermonthis. It stands slightly south-west of Luxor. In the times of the Pharoahs celebrated for the worship of Isis, Osiris and their son Horus. Its ruins attest its former splendour The Iseion was built by the last Cleopatra and the sculptures appear to allude to the birth of Cæsarion the son of Cleopatra by Julius Cæsar. v. Geog. Dict, W. Smith.
Island of Ḳais Arabicised form of Kais: in the Persian Gulf ...	78	...	28	...	Marked as Keish or Kenn, in K. J.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M	
Island of Lár in the Persian Gulf	86	30	25	...	An island between Siráf and Kish, of considerable size but without villages, a pearl fishery. Dict. de la Perse. Barbier de Meynard. This name is not now marked on the maps.
Laḥsá ? ...	...	...	...	..	
THE THIRD CLIMATE.					
Asafi, North Africa ...	2	...	30	...	According to Ibn Sayd. Lon. 7° and called also Safi. It serves as the port to Morocco from which it is 4 days' journey distant. Abulf. It is marked on the maps.
Fás, Do. ...	18	...	32	...	Fez.
Island of Jarbah, Do. ...	39		32	...	Called Jerba in Keith Johnstone, an island in the Gulf of Cabes (Syrtis Minor) off the Tunis Coast.
Sejelmásah ...	25	...	31	30	Yáḳút places it 10 days' journey from Fez to the S. According to Reinaud, stated to be the modern Tefile by Walkenaer. See his note and references II. II, 189. Abulf.
Maráknsh ...	21	...	29	...	Morocco.
Tádelá, Mauritania ...	22	...	30	...	Tadla, between Morocca and Fez.
Telemsán ...	24		33	40	Pronounced according to Reinaud Telemsén, with the *imálah*, and Yáḳút, Tenimsán. The latter says it consists of two walled towns a stone's throw from each other, one of which, the modern, is called Táfirzit and the ancient, called Aḳadír, analogous to Fusṭáṭ and Cairo. Reinaud's references are to Leo the African who has given an extended notice of this town. Notices et Extraits, t. XII. p. 662. and the Abbí Bargés. Journ. Asiat. Tom. 41.
Mediterranean Coast, Mauritania	25	...	...	...	
Biskarah ...	32	...	30	35	This name has already occurred with a different location in the 2nd Climate. The name has a variant Selah, in the text.
Táhart-i-Ulya ...	35	30	29	...	Upper Tahart.
Táhart-i-Sufla ...	36	30	29	...	Lower Tahart; Yáḳút says that these two towns face each other and lie 5 miles apart, and he calls the Upper the ancient, and the Lower, the modern, both being 6 stages distant from Misílah. The place is subject to fogs and cold and heavy dews and rain, and Yáḳút in his extended notice of its situation and history gives two assuring instances of its proverbial character in this respect. Its princes belonged to

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					the Benu Rustam. They traced their descent directly to Bahrám the freedman of the Caliph Othmán a descendant of Bahrám Gor.
Saṭíf, Africa ...	37	...	31	...	Saṭif, south-west of Constantine.
Mesílah ...	38	40	30	25	Pronounced also Emsíla. In the maps Msila in the province of Biskarah, a town founded by the Fatimite Caliph Ḳáim bílláh A. H. 315 (A. D. 927) who gave it the name of Muḥammadíyah. Abulf. II, I. 191.
Bájah Do.	39	5	31	...	Situate according to Abulf. between Bugie and Tunis, at one march distant from Thabarca, and 5 from Kairawán. The river Magnyla flows between it and Bone. This fixes its position as the Beja of Keith Johnstone, in the province of Tunis.
Ḳairawán „ ...	41	...	31	40	This is not to be confounded with the ancient Cyrene as Gibbon notices has been done by one eminent geographer.
Mahdíyah „ ...	32	...	32	30	Founded by the Mahdi Ụbaydúllah the founder of the Fatimite 'Dynasty, (v. Suyútís Hist. of the Caliphs, Jarrett, p. 3 *et. seq*). It is situate on the coast below Monaster.
Tunis ...	42	30	38	31	
Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, Egypt	44	...	30	22	
Middle of Syria ...	44	35	33	38	
Island of Rhodes ...	44	30	36	...	
Súsah Africa ...	44	40	32	30	On the Gulf of Hammamet, north-west of Monaster.
Aṭrábulus „ ...	44	...	32	30	Tripoli.
Túzar „ ...	46	30	29	...	Province of Tunis on the Shatt Kabír
Zawílah „ ...	49	40	30	...	In the Fezzan. This was the name also of a quarter in the city of Mahdíyah and of Cairo. Abulf. v. De Sacy. Chrest. Arab. I. 495.
Kaṣr i-Aḥmad „ ...	51	25	33	30	On the border of the Barkah country according to Ibn Sayd, on the east of the province of African proper. It is but a small village serving as a store for goods of Arab merchants. The desert intervenes between this and Barḳah. Abulf.
Barkah „ ...	52	45	32	...	
Tulmaitha ...	44	...	38	10	Situate at the foot of the mountains of Cyrenaica on the sea-shore. The ancient Ptolemais.
Madínah-i-Surt ...	57	...	31	...	Sort in Keith J. is a district on the littoral of the Gulf of Sidra, the *Syrtis* Major: Abulf. quoting Ibn Sayd makes it a town formerly one of the capital cities of the country but destroyed by

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					the Arabs. The Fatimite Caliph Al Muizz constructed reservoirs in the desert for use on his journeys from Sort and Fayyúm.
Ạḳabah, northern extremity of Egypt.	39	...	30	...	
Bahnasa ...	61	32	28	35	This village stands on part of the site of the ancient Oxyrynchus which received its name from a fish of the sturgeon species (*accipenser sturio* Linn.) which was an object of religious worship. There remain some broken columns of the ancient city and a single Corinthian column without leaves or volutes, partly buried in the sand, probably of the age of Diocletian. It became the site of an episcopal see. Geog. Dict. Smith.
Iskandariyah ...	61	54	30	58	Alexandria.
Rashíd ...	62	20	31	...	Rosetta.
Miṣr ...	63	...	30	20	Cairo.
Dimyáṭ ...	68	50	31	25	Damietta.
Fayyúm ...	68	50	29	...	The canal which connects, or connected it with the Nile, is said by Abulf. to have been constructed by the patriarch Joseph, to whom a great number of the ancient monuments have been ascribed. This tradition does not appear, according to Reinaud, to date till a little preceding the commencement of our era.
Ḳalzum ...	66	30	29	30	Niebuhr places the ruins of the ancient Κλύσμα a little to the north of Suez. v. Tab. XXIV, Descp. de l'Arab.
Tinnís, one of the Egyptian isles	64	30	30	40	An island in Lake Tinnís (Lake Menzaleh) a little south of Port Said.
Ghazzah, frontier of Palestine	66	10	32	...	Gaza.
Ạrísh ...	66	15	26	35	The text is in error in the name which should be عريش. It is on the litoral between Palestine and Egypt and marked by Ibn Khaldún, (Proleg. 110) as on the extreme frontier of Egypt. Edit. Quatremère.
Bait'ul Muḳaddas ...	66	30	31	50	Jerusalem.
Ramlah ...	66	50	32	10	
Ḳaisariyah ...	66	15	32	30	Cæsarea.
Ạmmán, a dependecy of Balḳá	66	20	31	8	Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites (Deut. iii 11.). *It* was besieged by Joab and taken by David (2 Sam. xi. 1. xii. 26-31). Its destruction denounced by Jeremiah (xlix. 3. Ezech. xxv. 5). It was

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who gave it the name of Philadelphia. Geog. Dict. W. Smith.
Askalán Palestine ...	66	30	32	15	Ascalon.
Yáfá. Palestine ...	66	15	32	40	Jaffa.
Karak ...	66	50	31	30	Kerak-Moab is the district corresponding to the country of Moab. The chief town of the same name is marked in Keith Johnston.
Tabaríyah of the Jordan	68	15	32	5	Tiberias.
Baísan ...	68	...	32	50	Beth san, or Scythopolis, in the LXX. Judges i. 27 *βαιθσὰν, ἥ ἐστι Σκυθῶνπόλις.* It was a city of the Manassites, locally situated in the tribe of Issachar. In the time of Saul it was occupied by the Philistines who after the battle of Gilboa hung the bodies of Saul and his sons to its walls. Placed by Josephus at the S. extremity of Gallilee, who calls it chief city of the Decapolis. Ptolemy reckons it one of the cities of Cœlesyria. Dict. Smith. Cœlesyria is now called El Bikáa or incorrectly Bakáa, low-lying plains, The name of Cœle or Hollow Syria is explained by Avienus. Hæc Cœle est Graio sub nomine: namque duobus Ut conclusa jugis vallis vice, multa cavatur. Ab Zephyro Casius mons imminet: axe diei Consurgentis item Libanus premit arduus arva. Desc. Orbis terræ.
Akká, coast of Syria ...	68	20	33	20	Acre.
Ṣúr, coast of Damascus ...	68	35	32	40	Tyre.
Ḥajar ...	68	30	28	30	This is probably Ḥajar Shughlán, a fortress belonging to the Knights Templars, in the mountain of Lokkám, near Antioch, overlooking the lake of Yaghra. Yáḳúṭ.
Ṣaidá, litoral of Damascus	68	55	33	...	Sidon.
Balbak, of Damascus ...	70		38	50	
Damascus, capital of Syria	70	...	33	30	
Hít, Syria, on the Euphrates	78	20	33	15	Not in Syria (Shám) as Abul Fazl writes, but in Arabian Irák.
Ḥillah, in Iráḳ ...	79	...	...	32	There are several of the name; the Ḥillah of Bani Kailah, between Wásiṭ and Baṣrah; the Ḥillah of Dabais b. Afíf u'l Asadi, between Baṣrah and Ahwáz, and the Ḥillah of Baní'l Marák near Mausil. The Ḥillah of the text is on or near the ruins of Babylon.
Kúfah, on a branch of the Euphrates	79	30	31	30	The ruins of this once famous town alone are left

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Anbár, Ịrák ...	79	30	33	5	
Ụkbará do. ...	79	30	33	30	On the Tigris, ten parasangs from Baghdad.
Baradán, on the Tigris ...	79	50	33	30	In the map, near a small affluent of the Tigris. The text has Bardán, I follow the orthography of Yáḳút.
Baghdád ...	80	...	33	25	
Madáin-i-Kisra, opposite stood the palace of the Khusraus	80	20	33	...	The ancient Ctesiphon, described by Strabo, as the winter residence of the Parthian kings, and by Tacitus "sedes imperii." See its description in XXIV Chap. Decline and Fall.
Ḥajar, of Ḥijáz ...	80	30	28	30	This name occurs in the 2nd Climate with a different location. Yáḳút mentions three others, but of no significance.
Bábil, Ịrák ...	80	55	32	15	Babylon.
Nuạmániyah do. ...	81	20	33	...	Between Baghdad and Wásiṭ. It is the chief town of the Upper Záb. Abulf.
Ḳaṣr Ibn i Hubayrah do.	80	30	32	45	One letter (م) is omitted in the text of the minutes of latitude. This town is on the Euphrates having Karbala a short distance directly to the west on the desert. It takes its name from Yazid-b-Omar-b. Hubairah, governor of Ịrak, in the time of Marwán al Ḥimár Abulf.
Jarjaráyá, Ịrák ...	80	30	33	3	Near the Tigris between Baghdád and Wásit.
Famu's Ṣilḥ do. ...	80	45	32	40	م omitted in min of Lon. On the W. of the Tigris, 7 parasangs from Wásit. It was here that the espousals of the Caliph Mamún with Burán took place.
Jalúlá do. ...	81	10	33	30	Deg. of Lat. wrongly printed in text. It was here that Yezdajird was defeated in 16. A. H. and fled to Rai. It is both a town and river according to Yáḳút, the river being named from the multitude جد) of the slain. The Jalúlá is probably the present Dyálah. See my Transl. Hist. of the Caliphs p. 135, and 231 for the note above.
Wásiṭ do. ...	81	30	32	25	
Ḥulwán do. ...	82	55	34	...	
Baṣrah do. ...	84	...	33	..	
Ubullah do. ...	84	...	30	15	At the mouth of the Tigris canal of the same name which leads to Baṣrah, four miles in length.
Ahwáz, in Khúzistán ...	85	...	31	3	On the river Kárun.
Tustar do. ...	84	30	31	30	Now Shuster.
Arján do. ...	84	30	30	32	Or arabicised Arraján, 60 parasangs from S'uk u'l Ahwáz and 60 from Shiráz

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					and one day's march from the sea. Meynard. Dict. de la Perse. On the frontier of Fárs on the Khúzistán side. Abulf.
Ạskar Mukram in Khúzistán ...	84	35	31	15	Eight parasangs from Tustar. It was called after Mukram-b-ul Maẓá despatched by Ḥajjaj-b. Yusuf against Khuzád-b. Bás.; his stay in this town gave it the name of the Camp of Mukram. Abulf.-Yáḳút.
Island of Suḳuṭra, off Khúzistán	84	30	33	...	At p. 48, this is placed as a dependency of India without mention of Lon. or Lat.
Ḥiṣn i Mahdi, in Khúzistán	85	15	30	15	According to Yáḳút and Ibn Haukal, the waters of Tustar, Daurak and Ahwáz unite near the fort and form a large river that disembogues in the sea. Ạzízi makes it 11 parasangs from this to Ubulla.
Síníz, Persian gulf ...	84	45*	32	...	The 5 in min of Lon. omitted in text:—A small town almost in ruins in the Ahwáz, district; from this to Jannábah the road runs along the sea coast. Abulf.
Ạbbadán do. ...	106	30	30	...	At the mouth of the Tigris.
Rám Hurmuz, in Khúzistán	85	45*	31	...	5. Omitted in text. The town is marked in Keith Johnston.
Isfahán, Persia ...	86	40	22	25	
Kázrún do. ...	87	30	29	55	
Shúshtar do. ...	86	20	21	30	This is the same as Tustar which is the Arabic form of the name (Yáḳút). Abul Fazl has given it a different Lon. and Lat. to Tustar above; it is probably a copyist's interpolation.
Shápúr do. ...	87	55	30	...	The ruins of this town above Kisht and near Kázrún are marked in K. J. The word is Sábúr in Yáḳút, a corruption he says of Sháhpúr. It is also a district and Sábúr was one, but not the largest, of its towns. It was built by one of the monarchs of this name of which there were three, the captor of Valerian, (A. D. 240) Sapor II (310.) Sapor III (385.)
Ụmán do. ...	67	20	21	...	No such name occurs in Faristán and indeed no other than the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula of which according to Yáḳút the Long. is 34° 30′, Lat. 19° 45′.
Naubandaján ...	107	55	30	10	According to Yáḳút a town of importance in the district of Sábur, and said by Ibn Faḳih to be its chief town. He distinguishes it from the town Sháhpúr or Sabur, but Guyard (II. II. 95. n.) makes them the same. Yáḳút states

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					that Naubanján was a fort in the city Naubandajan. The former name is in Keith J., the latter not.
Jannábah known as Gandábah	87	25	30		In K. J. Gunáwa, on the Persian Gulf.
Abarḳúh in Fárs ..	87	20	31	30	
Fírozábád „ ...	87	30	28	10	
Shiráz „ ...	88	...	29	36	
Síráf „ ...	89	30	29	30	
Shabánkárah „ ...	89	...	28	23	This name does not occur in any work I have consulted.
Istakhr „ ...	88	30	30	...	Persepolis.
Yezd „ ...	89		32	...	
Hiṣn Ibn Ụmárah in Fárs	94	...	30	20	According to Abulf doubtful whether in Fárs, or Kirmán; now in ruins. The route from Síráf, along the sea coast is across wild mountains and deserts. In ancient days said to have been held by a chief alluded to in the Koran Ch. XVIII. "and there was a king behind them who took every sound ship by force (Sale)." There have been a great many kings who have done the same and not all of ancient times.
Darábjird in Fárs ...	90		28	15	This name is derived from *Daráb*=Darius and *jird* arabicised form of Persian *Gird* circuit, enclosure, town. Dárab is the name of the town in K. J.
Báfd, Kirmán ...	82	...	29	...	Marked in K. J.: lead mines in its vicinity.
Sírján „ ...	90	30	29	20	The text has omitted the final ن which occurs in Abulf. and Ibn Haukal. Ibn Haukal calls it the largest city of Kirmán.
Kirmán ...	91	30	30	5	
Ṭabas Kílaki, Khurásán...	92	...	33	...	A town in the desert between Naísabur, Isfahán and Kirmán. It is divided in two, one being called T. Kílaki and the other T. Masinán, but they form properly but one town. A celebrated silk of this name is exported. Abulf.
Zarand of Kírmán ...	92	...	30	40	According to Ibn Haukal, it exports a a stuff for linings known *Bitánah*; equiv. Pers. '*astar*.' See Dozy. Suppl. Dict. Arab. under بطانة
Bardsír „ ...	92	30	30	...	In Abulf. Bardasir. Bardashir and Kawáshir, between Sirján and the desert, two marches from Sirján, the name a contraction, it is said, of Ardeshir (Babegán) See. Dict. de la Pers. 90.
[illegible] „ ...	93	...	30	...	Marked in K. J.
Bam ...	94	8	28	30	One of the principal towns and has three large mosques. Marked in K. J.
Ṭabas Masinán, Khurásán	92	...	33	...	See above under Ṭabas Kílaki.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	M.	D.	M.	D	
Khûwásh, desert of Sístán	94	40	33	...	Pronounced by the inhabitants *khásh.* A town in Sijistán on the left of a traveller going towards Tustar (Bost?) at one day's march from Sijístán, watered by stream and canals and well wooded with palm trees. Yáḳút. This direction is obscure and the town is not in the maps. The Síjistán above-mentioned must be Zaranj.
Zaranj, ancient town of Sistán	97	...	32	30	Capital of Síjistán and called also by its name. Yáḳúb-b-Leith as Saffár, founder of the Saffaride dynasty had a castle here. Rám Shahristán on the Helmand, was the capital before Zaranj but the river having changed its course and abandoned the town, the inhabitants left it and built Zaranj at a distance of 3 farsakh. See these names in the Dict. dela Pers. or in Yáḳút.
Kíj, of Mekrán ...	99	...	23	30	Principal town of Mekrán and 5 days' march from Tiz its chief port. Dict. de la Pers.
Jáliḳ „ ...	99	...	30	...	An error probably for Jáliḳán, but the latter is placed by Yáḳút in Síjistán, and by some authorities in the territory of Bast. There is no Jáliḳ traceable
Kháltán Mekrán ..	99	...	28	30	Not traceable.
Ram ...	99	...	33	35	This name so occurs in Abulf. and corrected by Reinaud to Zamm. The latter is placed by Ibn Haukal on the borders of Khurásán, but reckoned as belonging to Máwarannahar. Yáḳút makes it a small town on the road to the Oxus leading from Tirmaz and Amol. De Slane makes Zemm to mean a cluster of Kurd villages. Ibn Khaldún I. 133 n.
Bust in the Garmsír of Ḳandahár, on the Helmand	100	...	33	...	The stages from Síjistán to Bust or Bost are given by Ibn Haukal (Ouseley, p. 209.)
Takítábád ? ...	101	5?	33		
Rukhkhaj of Sístán ...	103	...	32	50	In Abulf. Arrukhkhaj with the Arabic Art. the ancient Arachosia, comprehending the present provinces N. E of Baluchistan, Cutch, Gandáva, Ḳandahár, Sewistán and the S. W. of Kábulistán v. Dict. Geog. Smith.
Sarwín, Sístán ...	101	55	28	15	Abulf. and Yáḳút have *Zarwán.* It is two marches from Bust.
Maimand, originally of Zábulistán, now of Ḳandahár	102	40	33	20	This name is written *Mímand* in Abulf. and Yáḳút. The min. of Lat. are omitted or misprinted in the text.
Ghaznah, Zabulistan ...	104	20	33	35	
Ribáṭ Amír ...	105	...	34	...	Not traceable.
Ḳandahár ...	107	50	38	20	
Nahlwárah, India ...	108	20	28	30	See p. 59 when this is written as Nahr-

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					walah but with a different location. The name was originally Anhilpúr (v. Vol. X. p. 262) and Anc. Geog. India, p. 320.
Multán India ...	106	25	29	40	
Laháwar (Lahor) ,, ...	109	20	31	15	
Dahli (Delhi) ,, ...	114	38	28	15	
Tánesar ,, ...	94	..	30	...	
Sháhábád ,, ...	94	...	30	12	
Sambal ,, ...	105	30	28	35	This must be the Sambalaka of Ptolemy, in Rohilkand. See McCrindle. Ptol. p. 133.
Amroha ,, ...	95	15	29	...	
Pánipat ,,	108	10	28	52	
Baran ,, ...	94	15	28	48	Vol. II. p. 2´6.
Bághphat ...	94	30	28	12	Vol. II. p. 286.
Kol ...	95	2	28	20	
Himálya Mons ...	95	...	31	50	
Kót Kror ? ...	...	...	21	...	
Siálkót ,, ...	109	...	33		
Sultánkoṭ ,, ...	...	...	28	30	
Jhelam ,, ...	90	35	33	15	
Rhotás ...	90	30	38	15	
Fort of Bandnah ? ...	...	...	33	10	
Parasháwar (Peshawar) ,,	83	40	38	28	
Farmul ,, ...	...	...	32	15	Kabul being presumably counted in Hindustan. See Vol. II. p. 399.
Sunnám ,, ...	110	25	30	.30	In the I. G. occurs Sunam town in Karmghar *tahsíl* of Patíala State.
Sírhind ,, ...	111	33	30	30	So spelt in every MS.
Rúpar ,, ...	93	40	31	...	See Vol. II. p. 310. Súbah of Lahor for this and following name.
Máchhiwárah ,, ...	...	...	...	...	
Páel ,, ...	98	5	30	15	v. Vol. II. p. 295.
Ludhiánah ,, ...	98	...	30	55	
Sultánpúr ,, ...	94	25	32	...	
Kalánúr, where the accession of His Majesty took place	.	...	...	...	See Vol. I. and Emperor Akbar. Graf Noer. p. 70 and Vol. II. p. 319.
Désuhah ,, ...	...	...	...	...	v. Vol. II. p. 316.
Parsaror, near Dera Ghazi Khán	87	...	30	...	Vol. II. p. 110-320.
Amnábád ,, ...	91	15	32	...	In the Sarkár of the Rechnau Doáb. II. p. 319 where the name should be Amná not Uminábád. The text has پنجاء for پنجاب
Súdharah ,, ...	...	...	...	...	Vol. II. p. 321.
Defhnah ? ,, ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Dalfiah. Difhah.
Bhérab ,, ...	...	...	..	...	Vol. II. p. 322.
Khusháb ,, ...	84	20	33	20	Do. 323.
Hazárah ...	...	...	...	...	Do. 322.
Chandniwaṭ ...	...	...	...	...	Do. 320.
Aṭak, Benares, founded by His Majesty.					

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Hardwâr, Mangláur and the fort of Galer ? ancient cities	...	...	...	...	Vol. II. p. 292.
Charthấwal ...	94	...	29	15	Vol. II p. 292.
Kairánah ...	94	30	29	15	Do.
Jhinjhánah ...	94	30	29	15	Do. 286.
Baghrah, near Muzaffarnagar	85	30	29	30	Do. 291, where it is spelt Baghrá.
Chahat „ ...	90	...	32	...	Vol. II. p. 296.
Bangash „ ...	87	5	38	15	I find no other name but the Tumán of Bangash which is scarcely applicable here.
Derálah „ ...	...	...	...	...	Vol. II. p. 296.
Nahtaur „ ...	...	...	...	...	Do. 291.
Kethal „ ...	93	30	29	59	Do. 296.
Rohtak „ ...	98	50	29	...	Do. 287.
Jhajhar ...	94	...	28	15	Vol. II. p. 286.
Máhim ...	93	20	28	58	Do. 243.
Haibatpúr ...	...	...	...	...	Do. 318.
Púrbi, in the Punjáb ...	92	...	31	20	So in the text, but Gladwin omits this name and to Haibat adds Pati which is its proper designation. I believe the MS. of the text corrupt here and for *Púrbi* should be read Pati and prefixed to the name above it The *form* of the entry adds to the suspicion that it is an error.
Khizrábád „ ...	94	15	30	20	The text is in error in the degree of Lon. v. Vol. II. 296.
Sadhúrah „ ...	94	20	30	25	Do. Do.
Safídan „ ...	98	15	29	25	Do. 287, where it is written Safidún.
Jínd „ ...	93	25	29	15	
Karnál „ ...	95	4	29	15	
Hánsi Hişár „ ...	112	15	22	45	Do. pp. 294-295.
Saháranpúr „ ...	94	15	30	..	
Deoband „ ...	94	47	29	15	
Ambálah „ ...	98	55	29	25	
Bhúmah „ ...	...	...	...	...	Do. 291, where it is written Bhúnah.
Hatnáwar „ ...	...	...	...	...	Do. 104.
Sampat; here the reference to India ceases	89	55	29	...	I do not find this name ?
Şanjar ? ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Janḥah. The only approach to this name in Abulf. is the ancient Sangarius, the present Sakaria which flows into the Black sea, E. of Constantinople, called also the river of Angora from its passing near that town; 54° Lon. and 41°. Lat. in the Resm u'l Mámúr. Abulf. II. 64.
Aghmát, extreme W. of Mauritania	...	...	...	...	Lon. 11° 30′ Lat. 28° 50′ N of the Daren Mts. and the capital of the country before Morocco and S. E. of it. Abulf. II. I. 188. Between it and Morocco

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					the distance was three fasahk, and 14 marches thence into Miknessa, 182.
Hadiyán ? ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Tadela. already mentioned.
Raḥ ...	...	...	...	...	Var. Rúḳah; var. Daraḥ mentioned p. .
Riyásah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Maufalúṭ, Upper Egypt...	62	20	27	40	On the Nile a little N. of Usyút.
Fusṭáṭ „ ...	63	...	30	10	
Abu Tíj „ ...	62	30	28	...	On the W. bank of the Nile in the Usyút territory, abounding in the poppy-plant, 24 miles from Usyút and Ikhmím Abulf. Reinaud considered the name pronounced by the Arabs Abu Tíg. to be probably a corruption of *Αποθήκη*, pointing to a Greek origin.
Ushmúnain „ ...	62	45	28	...	The 4 in min. of Lat. omitted in text; marked Eshmoom in K. J. It is in the dual form of an Arabic noun, meaning the two Ushmúns, so named, Reinaud supposes, from its greater importance, there being other towns similarly designated. It was the ancient Hermopolis Magna and there are still some striking remains of its former magnificence. The principal deities worshipped were Typhón and Thoth. The former represented by a hippopotamus on which sat a hawk fighting with a serpent. Thoth, the Greek Hermes, the Ibis-headed god, was with his accompanying emblem the Ibis and Cynocephalus or ape, the most conspicuous among the sculptures on the great portico of the temple. This portico was a work of Pharaonic times. v. Geog. Dict. Smith.
Munyah „ ...	63	...	28	45	Min. of Lat. in text 5′ for 45′, called also Munyat u'l Khusaib. but in K. J. as Miniet Ebn Khaseeb. Yaḳút however carefully points its orthography.
Ḳábis, Africa ...	42	40	32	...	Cabes in the Gulf of that name. In Ptolemy *Τακάπη* or *Κάπη* in the Regio Syrtica. Pliny describes the surrounding country as very fertile but the harbour bad. In its neighbourhood were warm mineral springs the Aquæ Tacapitanæ, now El Hammat el Khabs v. Geog. Dict. Smith.
Súsah, coast of Africa ...	44	10	32	40	N. of Monaster, and direct S. of Tunis. It was from here that the Moslem fleet set sail for the expedition against Sicily. Abulf. II. 199.
Safáḳus Do. ...	45	30	31	50	40′ Lon. omitted in text. In K. J. Sfákus, and pronounced Sfaks. Rein. II. 200.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Ghadámis, in the Jaríd country	49	10	29	10	Or Ghudámis, on the borders of the Tripoli and Algerian territory to the extreme south. Yáḳút describes the process of tanning here as incomparable, skins becoming as soft as silk. The *Beled el Jaríd* in K. J is marked considerably above Ghudámis W. of the Shott Kabír.
Nábulus, of Jordan ...	67	30	32	10	Nábulus in Samaria, the ancient Neapolis supposed to be identical with Sichem of the Old Test. Traditions of Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb still survive and its connection with the adjacent sacred Mount of Gerizim and identification as the city of Samaria where Philip preached, distinguish its remarkable history. See Smith's Geog. Dict.
Ṣalt, of Jordan ...	63	10	32	3	Text has Lon. 68° for 63°. Es Salṭ or Ramoth Gilead, but in the Geog. Dict. the site is said to be uncertain. Eusebius describes it as 15 miles W. of Philadelphia. *Ibid.*
Azraát, (the two Azrás) of Damascus	...	...	...	...	The name is incorrectly spelt and should be عذراء. There are two villages of the name in the Ghúṭah of Damascus, both marked in K. J.
Ṣarkhad Do. ...	70	20	32	15	A fortified town and tract near the Ḥaurán country, according to Yáḳúṭ. In K. J. Sulkhad or Salcah.
Hal? ...	...	...	...	...	A note in the text considers this an error for Ḥillah already mentioned.
Ḳádisíyyah, in Iṛák ...	79	25	21	45	Misprint, in min. of Lat. of 5 for 45′, Cadesia with Ḥiráh and Khawarnak, says Abulf., are all three on the borders of the desert on the W. and Iṛáḳ on the E. This famous field determined the fate of Persia under the Caliphate of Omar.
Ṣarṣar „ ...	79	55	33	20	Text; misprint of deg. of Lon. Between Baghdad and Kúfah and at 3 parasangs from Baghdád. There are two, an Upper and a Lower. Abulf. II. II. 75.
Ḥírah „ ...	79	27	31	30	The text has Khírah for Ḥirah and a misprint of the min. of Lon. The misprints or errors in Lat. and Lon., the deg and min. of which are expressed in the notation of Arabic letters, are two frequent for further notice. They are as often inexact as correct. Ḥírah is one parasang from (III) Kúfah It was the residence of the kings of Ḥíráh of which one Mundhir-b. Imri 'l Kais became a Christian and adorned his

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">NAMES.</th><th colspan="2">LONGITUDE.</th><th colspan="2">LATITUDE.</th><th rowspan="2">NOTES.</th></tr>
<tr><th>M.</th><th>D.</th><th>M.</th><th>D.</th></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>capital with fine churches. Abulf. but Caussin de Perceval (Essai. sur l' Hist. Arab.) doubts his Christianity, his persecution and protection of his Christian subjects alternating according to his caprice, II. 79.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Basá of Fárs ...</td><td>89</td><td>15</td><td>29</td><td>...</td><td>In Arabic Fasá and now so-called. The relative noun in Arabic is Fasáwi, in Persian Basásiri which cognomen was given to Abu'l Hárith Arslán the Turk whose master was of Basá. Abúlf. The short lived success of Al Basásiri who captured Baghdad for the Fatimite Caliph, Al Mustansir, from Al Káim bi'amrilláhi, is briefly recounted by Weil Gesch. der. Cal. pp. 92, 102: see also my Hist. of the Caliphs, p. 437, and his life in Ibn Khall.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dárá ..</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>In Abulf. this is in the 4th Climate, a small town at the foot of Mt. Maridín in Mesopotania. There is another of the name in the mountains of Ṭabaristán. Abulf.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ghaznah ...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td></td><td>This has already been mentioned.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tíb, in Khúzistán ...</td><td>83</td><td>...</td><td>32</td><td>...</td><td>Between Wásiṭ and Ahwáz. Abulf.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ḳurḳúb in Ahwáz, said by some to be in Irák</td><td>84</td><td>43</td><td>33</td><td>...</td><td>Seven parasangs between Ḳurḳúb and Ṭib and ten between it and Sús. Abulf.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Jubbi, Khúzistán ...</td><td>84</td><td>35</td><td>30</td><td>50</td><td>Jobba in Abulf. and Jubbah in Yáḳút. There are several of this name given by Yáḳút; a cluster of villages between Damascus and Baalbak: a village in Nahrwán; a village in the Khurásân dist. and also a place in Egypt the birth-place or home of the grammarian Sibawaih. Jubbi is the relative adjective and not the name.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Khansá, China ...</td><td>174</td><td>45</td><td>23</td><td>30</td><td>Lon. illegible in text. This in Abulf. is Khánkou or properly Khánfou, a port of China on *the* river. According to Guyard, Khansa is Haug-tcheon-fou, the Kinsay of Marco polo. II. II. 122. visited by Ibn Baṭúṭah II. 284.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Salá, Mauritania ...</td><td>14</td><td>10</td><td>33</td><td>30</td><td>Now Salee or Sla, in K. J. on the W. coast.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Samairam, near Isfahán...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>In Yáḳút Sumairam, a town half-way between Isfahán and Shiráz.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bam ...</td><td>.</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>Already preceded.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Balnán ? ...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td></td><td>...</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Balzam (بلرم) ...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>...</td><td>The text suggests (بلرم) Palermo, which seems plausible as the simple omission of the dot over the ر would effect the change, but the name is in strange company and Abulfeda places it in the 4th Climate.</td></tr>
</table>

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Baiḍá, Fárs ...	83	15	30	...	According to Yáḳút a well-known city called Dár Saféd the white city, Arabicised into Baiḍa, the white, on account of its citadel which was seen at a long distance; Istakhri describes it, as the largest town of the district of Istakhar and called the white. Its Persian name was Nasáik; it was nearly as large as Istakhar and was 8 *farsakhs* from Shiráz.
Jausén or Júsain ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Kínah ? ...	...	...	...	.	
Jor, in Fárs ...	...	...	...	...	Lon. 78° 30′. Lat. 31° according to Yáḳút who places it at 20 *farsakh* from Shiráz, pronounced by the Persians Gor. It is said that Malik Aḍdu'd Daulah-b. Buwaih used to make frequent excursions of pleasure to it and the people used to say that he had gone to 'Gor' *i. e.*, the grave. The ominous sound induced him to change the name to Firozábád. The original city is ascribed to Ardeshir-b.-Bábak, who gave it the name of Ardeshir Khurrah. Yáḳút's notice of this town is interesting.
Damindán, in Kirmán ...	...	...	...	...	The name of a large town in Kirmán with mines of iron, copper, gold, silver, sal ammoniac and tutty in a mountain in the vicinity. This mountain is called Dumbáwand, lofty and volcanic. It contains a huge cave in which is heard the sound of rushing waters. When the vapourous smoke is thick around its sides, the people of the town assemble to obtain the sal ammoniac which is deposited, of which ⅕ is taken by the Sultan and the rest divided amongst the people *pro ratâ*. Yaḳút from Ibn u'l Fakih. This must not be confounded with the mountain of Dumbáwand on the frontiers of Rayy of which marvellous legends are recorded by Yáḳút.
Sabḳah ...	...	...	...	...	I do not trace this name.
Ṣalabah ...	...	...	...	...	
Ain u'sh Shams, Egypt ..	...	..	...	...	Lon. in Abulf. varying according to different authors between 53°, 30′ and 61°, 50′ and Lat. between 29°, 30′ and 30°, 20′; said to be the residence of Pharoah, of which some ruins still remain, among them the needle of Pharoah, at half a day's journey from Cairo. Abulf. II. 167. This is the famous Heliopolis, with the semitic names of Beth Shemesh and On (Gen. xli. 45.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					Ezech. xxx. 17.) which may dispense with a description. The two needles of Pharoah were seen and described by Ạbdu'l Latif in his monograph on Egypt. Edit. Joseph White, p. 60.
Ain Járaḥ ...	...	...	...	...	Said by Yáḳút to have been a small village near Aleppo with which a gross legend is connected but the position is obscure.
Kadwál ?	...	...	..	...	
Kafarṭáb ...		...	...	...	Aṭwál, Long. 61°, 30′ Lat. 34°, 45′, placed by Abulf. in the 4th Climate. Yáḳút locates it in the desert between Aleppo and Marrah; there are no walls and it is dependent on rain water. ●
Kafartúthá ...	...	..	..	...	Atwal Lon. 66°, 35′, Lat. 37°, in the 4th Climate in the Diyár Rabíạh. Yáḳút places it at 5 *farsakh* from Dara in Mesopotamia. Also the name of a village in Palestine.
Najdah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Kawárah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Marbúṭ ...	...	...	...	..	Mentioned by Yáḳút as one of the villages of Alexandria without further particulars.
Daha ? ...	...	...		...	The text suggests Dahna.
Daskarah, in Iráḳ ...	81	8	38	40	In the environs of Baghdad or according to another account, a large village in its dependency on the road to Khurásán and called Darkarat u'l Malik; contains marvellous ancient ruins. Abulf. Yáḳút gives two of the name, one a large village W. of Baghdad, and another on the road to Khurásán near Shahrábad and called Darkarat u'l Malik, on account of the frequent residence there of Harmuz son of Sapor, son of Ardeshír, son of Bábek. Two others are also mentioned by Yáḳút one, opposite Jabbul, between Nuạmaníyah and Wásiṭ and a fourth in Khúzistán.
Manf, Egypt ...	63	20	30	20	Memphis. The text has Minf. Yáḳút points the word Manf which is doubtless correct, the Noph of the Old Testament. Its antiquity is unquestionable, but Yáḳút's authority, an undistinguished Ạbdu'r Raḥmán, makes it the first city peopled after the flood. Its first settlers were Baisar, son of Ham, son of Noah with his family 30 in number, and their colony called Máfah from a Coptic word signifying 30, and turned by the Arabs into Manf.
Múrján ? ...	...	...	...	...	

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Náṣarah, Palestine ...	...	...	...	...	Nazareth.
Maghrárah or Maghráwah ?	...	...	...	...	

THE FOURTH CLIMATE.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Ṭanjah, a dependency of Fez, on the Atlantic	18	...	35	...	Tangier.
Ḳaṣr i Abdu'l Karím, Mauritania	18	30	37	40	A town 4 marches from Ceuta, N.-W. of Miknessa, built on the river Luccos. The chief town of the province was formerly Al Basra, but on its destruction, the castle of Ạbdu'l Karím took the rank of the capital and was known as the castle of Ketáma. Abulf. Reinaud observes in a note that Ạbdu'l Karím is a branch of the Berber tribe of Ketáma and this castle was also surnamed Alḳaṣr al Kabír. This name is retained in K. Johnst. as applying to the modern town Lxor.
Ḳurṭubah, capital of Andalusia	18	30	35	...	Cordova.
Ishbilíyyah, Andalusia ...	18	50	36	50	Seville.
Sabtah, Mauritania ...	19	15	35	30	Ceuta, anciently Lepta. The deg. and min. of Lon. are inaccurate in the text and seem generally to have been entered without discrimination or care and impossible localities assigned.
Jazírat al Khaḍhrá, (the Green Isle) Andalusia	19	15	35	50	Algeciras. The epithet of the 'isle' was given to it, says Ibn Sayd, from an island in the vicinity. It is now joined to the continent. The epithet of "the island" is also given to Mesopotamia and the difference by which the relative adjectives of these localities is distinguished is, that the former is Aljazíri, the latter Aljaziri. Abulf. II. 347.
Márida, Spain ...	28	15	38	15	Merida, the ancient Augusta Emerita, built by Publius Carisius legate of Augustus in B. C. 23, who colonised it with the veterans of the 5th and 10th legions whose term of service had expired (emeriti) at the close of the Cantabrian War. It became the capital of Lusitania and one of the greatest cities in Spain. Geog. Dict.
Ṭulaiṭulah Do. ...	10	40	35	30	Toledo, the ancient Toletum, (Τώλητον, Ptol.) According to an old Spanish tradition it was founded in 540 B. C. by Jewish colonists who named it Toledoch, *i. e.*, mother of people, *Ibid.*
Gharnáṭah „ ...	21	40	37	30	Granada.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Jayyán „ ...	21	40	38	50	Jaen.
Almaríyyah „ ...	24	40	35	50	Almeria.
Medínatu'l Faraj „ ...	25	...	36	40	Now Guadalajara, Wáda'l Hajárah the river of stones, Amnis lapidum of Rodericus Toletanus. Gayangos. Mahom. Dyn in Spain, I. 319. The name in the text signifies the 'city of the opening or gap' which Reinand supposes to convey the meaning of *frontier city*. This meaning of فرج as equivalent to ثغر is borne out by Belazuri v. Gildemeister. De Reb. Indicis, p. 37.
Máláḳah „ ...	26	...	37	30	Malaga, the ancient Malaca of which Avienus says. Malachæqueflumen, urbe cum cognomine, Menace priore quæ vocata est seculo. Oræ Mar. 426-7. In the second line he is in error as Mænaca is the modern Almuñecar, in Arabic Munaḳḳab.
Mánaḥ, var Maltah ...	...	...	...	...	Gladwin has here Malta, with the degrees of Lon. and Lat. which are absent from the text; perhaps a misscript for Minorca (منرقة).
Island of Yábisah, Mediterranean	36	62	38	30	Iviza, anciently Ebusas.
Island of Mayurḳah, Mediterranean	34	7	38	30	Majorca, „ Balearis Major.
Búnah, Africa ...	28	...	28	50	The modern Bona on the coast of Constantine prov. in the vicinity of the ancient Hippo Regins.
Island of Sardániyah, Africa, Mediterranean.	41	...	38	...	
Capital of the Island of Sicily	45		38	10	Palermo.
Balraghdámis, Mediterranean	49	10	39	10	Barghademá is the nearest approach to the name in Abulf. but the Lat. is 57° and Reinaud considers the country between the Oder and Dnieper to be meant, but the text mentions it in the Mediterranean.
Island of Shámus, Mediterranean	52	40	38	10	Samos.
„ Iḳriṭish „ ...	55	...	36	40	Crete.
„ Ḳubrus „ ..	62	15	34		Cyprus.
„ Rúdis „ ...	61	40	36	...	Rhodes, mentioned elsewhere with a different deg. long. *i. e.*, 44°.
„ Hamaríyá „ ...	64	15	38	35	I suspect this to be Morea; in Abulf. Lamoreya but the location does not correspond as to Lat. and Lon.
„ Saḳliyah „ ...	65	...	36	...	Sicily. Thus in the text but according to Yáḳút, the orthography is Siḳillíyyah.

Names.	Longitude. M.	Longitude. D.	Latitude. M	Latitude. D	Notes.
Atheníyah, the city of philosophers, Greece	63	40	57	20	
Jarún ...	66	30	30	35	An old castle in ruins opposite Constantinople. Reinaud gives its Lon. 50° and Lat. 45° and writes the name Aljeroun, suggesting a better reading, Aljedoun, by which Chalcedon would be implied, II. 39, Guyard doubts whether the Arabic article before Jarún is admissible (II II. 142) and his objection is well founded.
Ṭarsús ...	68	40	35	50	
Bayrút, Asia Minor ...	69	30	34	..	
Ayás, Armenia ...	69	...	36	40	In the Gulf of Iskanderún.
Aḍanah Do. ...	69	...	36	50	
Maṣiṣah Do. ...	69	15	36	45	The ancient Mopsuestia.
Bars Birt Do. ...	69	23	37	...	One march N of Sís between little Armenia and Carmania. A strong citadel on a hill commanding the country.
Aṭrabolos, Syria ...	69	40	34	...	Tripoli.
Baghrás Do. ...	70	...	36	43	The ancient Pagræ near the Syrian gates on the Syrian side of the Pass. Through these gates the *τῶν 'Ασσυρίων πύλαι* of Arrian, Alexander passed and recrossed turning back to meet Darins at Issus. Arr. I. VI. VIII.
Báb Sikandarúnah „ ...	70	...	36	10	Alexandretta or Iskanderún.
Ládhakíyyah „	70	40	35	15	Latákia.
Ḥimṣ „ ...	70	15	34	20	Hems.
Shughr Bakás „ ...	71	...	35	30	Two strong fortresses within a bow shot of each other, half way between Antioch and Fámyah. The former name occurs in K. J. supposed to have been Selencia ad Belum.
Snwáidíyyah „ ...	71		36	...	The ancient Selencia.
Maliṭiyyah „ ...	71	...	37		Properly Malaṭyah, according to Yáḳút and is in Asia Minor not Syria proper.
Shaizar ...	71	10	34	50	A corruption of *Καισάρεια* (*πανεύς*) or Cæsarea Phillipi. In his remarks on Ḥámáth, Shaizar is said by Abnlf. to be remarkable for the number of its norias.
Anṭákiah, on the Roman frontier	71	26	35	40	Antioch.
Sarmín, dependency of Aleppo	71	50	35	50	One march south of Aleppo between it and Maạrrah.
Ḳinnasrín ...	72	...	35	30	
Ḥalab, one of the chief cities of Syria	72	10	35	8	Aleppo.
Sumaisáṭ, Syria ...	72	15	37	30	Anciently Samosata.
Ḥiṣn Manṣúr Do. ...	72	25	37	...	Near Sumaisát, named from Manṣúr-b.-Jaunah-b. al Ḥárith al Áámiri to whom was intrusted its construction under Marwán, the Ass.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Sarúj „ ...	72	40	36	3	In Mesopotamia, now in ruins, in the environs of Ḥarrán: it is marked in K. J.
Mambij ...	72	50	36	30	Hierapolis, a name given by Seleucus Nicator in substitution of Bambyce (βαμβύκη) as it was called by the natives, being the chief seat of the worship of the Syrian goddess Astarte. It is the Mabog of Pliny. See its hist. in Smith's Geog. Dict.
Raḳḳah, Diyár Muḍar ...	73	...	36	...	After the great inundation of Aram, famous in Arabian history, which is assigned to a period shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, eight tribes were forced to abandon their homes, from some of which arose the kingdoms of Ghassán and Híra. About this time also occurred the migration of colonies led by into Mesopotamia by Bakr, Mudhar and Rabíạh, the eponymous chiefs of the three provinces still named after them, Diyár Bakr, Diyár Mudhar and Diyár Rabíạh. See Sale. Prel. Dis. 7.
Ḥarrán „ ...	73	...	37	40	Anciently Carrhæ, the Haran or Charran of Genesis; xi. 31. xxiv. 10. v. Geog. Dict.
Ḳáliḳalá, Armenia ...	73	45	38	...	In the text 8. for 38. Lat. and Lon. 5′ for 45′. In Diyár Bakr; Guyard (II. II. 54) says that it also bears the name of Arzan, not to be confounded with Arzan u'r Rúm or Erzeroum.
Márdín, Diyár Rabíạh ...	74	...	37	50	
Mayyá Fáriḳín Diyár Bakr	74	15	38	...	The capital of Diyár Bakr. Here is the tomb of Saifu'ddoulah-b.-Ḥamdán.
Hattákh „ ...	74	30	37	45	Close to Mayyá Fáriḳín. Yáḳút.
Ḳarḳísiyá „ Mudhar	74	40	36	...	The ancient Circesium, situated on the Euphrates and Khábúr, near Raḳḳah. Marked in K. J.
Jazírah, Ibn Omar, Mesopotamia	75	30	37	30	Marked in K. J.
Naṣíbín, Diyár Rabíạh .	75	20	37	40	The capital of Diyar Rabíạh. Its roses have the peculiarity of being white, no red roses are found there. Ibn Baṭuṭah quotes Abu Nawás in praise of it and is himself of his opinion. Another poet finds the place sickly and quotes the pallor of its roses in proof. Vol. II. 141, Travels.
Makisín, Mesopotamia ...	75	32	35	...	On the Khábúr, 7 parasangs from Ḳarḳísiyah and 22 to Sinjar. Abulf.
Sinjár, Diyar Rabíạh ...	76	...	36	...	
Maạrrat u'n Nụamán, Syria	71	44	35	...	The name is from Nuạmán-b.-Bashír a companion of Muḥammad, who died while his father was Governor of

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					Emesa and was here buried. It had been previously named Dhát u'l Ḳaṣur, "possessing palaces," and it is also said that Nuamán is the name of a mountain overlooking it. Ibn Baṭuṭah, I. 144.
Irbil, a large city with a strong fortress, a dependency of Mausil	69	30	30	8	Arbila, now Erbil, Yáḳút gives the Lon. 69°, 30′ Lat. 35° 30′, describes it as a large city with a strong fortress two days' march from Mausil of which it is a dependency. This name must be pronounced Irbil and not Arbil which he says is not admissible.
Áánah, Mesopotamia ...	76	30	34	..	
Madínah i Balad, Diyár Rabíah	76	40	37	30	A small town on the W. of the Tigris, 6 parasangs from Mausil, Abulf. It is commonly written Balad, simply.
Mausil, Mesopotamia	76	...	36	50	Mosal in the maps.
Arjísh, Armenia ...	76	...	38	30	A fortress situated on the N. of the Lake of Van identified with the ancient Arsene.
Ḥadíthah, on the Euphrates	77	20	38	35	There are two of the name. (New Town) one in Mesopotamia below Áánah and another of Muasil. The former is here meant. (It is marked in K. J.) The latter follows.
Ámid, Diyár Bakr ...	77	20	36	12	The present town of Diyár Bakr.
Ḥadíthah, on the Tigris	77	20	36	15	
Naushahr, Iráḳ ...	71	30	36	35	This is a Persian name, synonymous with Ḥadíthah. (Villeneuve) but I do not trace it in Abulf. or Yáḳút.
Tikrít, Mesopotamia ...	71	25	34	30	
Sámarrá, Iráḳ ...	79	...	34	...	Originally Surraman ráa, *viz.*, "rejoiceth him that seeth it," built by the Caliph Al Muataṣim-b'illáhi in 218. A. H., (A. D. 833) see my Hist. of the Caliphs for its origin, 330.
Salmás, Ázarbíján ...	72	...	37	40	Situated on the extreme W. of Ázarbíján at 7 parasangs from Khowayy. Abulf.
Khowayy, Ázarbíján ...	79	42	37	40	12 parasangs N.-W. of Marand ; 21 miles from Salmás.
Urmíyyah Do. ...	29	45	37		Or Urmíyah, on the borders of the lake of the same name.
Irbil, capital of Shahrazúr	78	...	39	20	The district or hill country called by the geographers Jabal, is part of Persian Iráḳ, and according to Ibn Ḥaukal is its distinguishing feature. The inhabitants are all Kurds. Shahrazúz according to Yáḳút is a large town in the mountains between Irbil and Hamadán, the chief of a cluster of towns and villages comprised under the same name. (See also Ibn Khaldún, De Slane I. 145.) This is certainly the same town as the Irbil mentioned a little

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					above, *viz.*, Arbela, which has been inadvertently entered twice. I account for the difference in Lon. between the two by Abul Fazl's confusing the first meridians, taking the Fortunate Isles in one instance and the W. coast of Africa in the other. Abulf. gives Lon. 69°, 50′ Lat. 36°, 20′ which is approximately that of Abul Fazl's first mentioned Irbil.
Marand, Ázarbíján ...	80	43	37	50	N. E. of Tabríz, the ancient Maranda.
Shahrazúr, one of the towns of the Jabal	80	20	35	30	The town was named after Zúr-b.-Zohák who founded it. Yáḳút.
Ardabíl, Ázarbíján ...	80	30	38	...	Yáḳút visited it in A. H. 617 (A. D. 1220) and remarks the extraordinary fact, that notwithstanding its good air and many streams, not a fruit tree was to be seen in or near it in the plain on which it stands. Fruit has to be brought from a day's journey the other side of the hills and no fruit tree will thrive there. According to the Ḳánún the Lon. is 73° 50′, and the Aṭwál 72° 30′, and both make the Lat. 38°.
Auján, Ázarbíján ...	81	30	37	20	A small town of little importance, and little noticed by Abulf. In the Dict. de la Perse it is said to have received from Ghazán Khán the name of the city of Islám.
Nakhchuwán, in Arrán ...	81	45	37	49	Yáḳút permits two spellings of this name نخجوان and نقجوان. Anciently Ṇaxuana on the N. bank of Araxes. In Armenian tradition it is connected with the first habitation of Noah and his landing from the ark. Geog. Dict.
Ḳaṣr-Shírín, Ázarbíján ...	81	50	36	40	Near Ḳirmísín, between Hamadán and Hulwán on in Baghdad road. It was named after the beautiful Shírín wife or mistress of Khusrau Parwíz. The legend of its building is told by Yáḳút who says that this monarch was famed for three incomparable treasures, his horse Shabdíz, his mistress Shírín and his minstrel Balahbad.
Ṣaimarah, in the Jabal district	81	50	31	40	See under Shahrazúr for Jabal.
Marághah, Ázarbíján ...	82	...	37	20	The name of this town was originally Afráz Haroz. The army of Marwán, Governor of Armenia and Ázarbíján under Hishám the Umayyad Caliph here encamped in one of his expeditions. The stable litter of the cavalry and beasts of burden covered the plain and the animals constantly rolling

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
					themselves about in it (tamarrugh, تمرغ), it received the name of the "village of Marághah" and subsequently Marághah only, (Yáḳút.) Its chief fame is derived from its connection with the famous astronomer Naṣíru'ddín Ṭúsi to whom this town was assigned by Hulaku for his observations, and Abulfeda notices a hill outside the city where Naṣíru'ddín used to observe the stars.
Tabríz, Ázarbíján ...	82	...	37		Tauris, the seat of the royal residence of the Tartar dynasty of Hulagu till its transfer to Sulṭániyyah the new capital founded by Khudábandah. Abulf. See its history in D Herbelot.
Ardabíl, Ázarbíján ...	82	25	37	20	A note to the text says that this name occurs twice in every MS. and that here Dabíl in Armenia is probably meant. Ab[illegible]ives the Lon. 72° [illegible] Lat. 38° [illegible]nd Lon. 73° 30′, [illegible] 25′ (Aṭwal) and calls it the capital of Interior Armenia.
Mayánah, Ázarbíján ...	82	30	37	...	Two days' march from Marághah, in K. J. Miana.
Kirmísín, or Kirmán Sháh in the Jabal dist.	83	...	34	30	Kermánsháh in K. J.
Dainawar Do. ...	83	...	35	...	In Yáḳút Dínawar, N.-W. of Hamadán, near Kirmísín. It is placed by the author of the Ázízi at 40 parasangs from Mausil, 10 from the source of the Záb. and 40 from Marághah.
Hamadán, Mah u'l Baṣrah	83	...	36	...	Hamadán (or dán) with its districts formed what was called the Máh of Baṣrah, as Dínawar and its dist. formed the Máh of Kúfah. The word Máh (ماه) is derived from the same name as Media (Máda) according to Lagarde and Olshausen (Guyard II. II. p. 163, n.) and employed by geographers in the sense of province. In the Dict. de la Perse, (v. Máh Dinár) the word is the Persian 'Moon' given to many towns and countries on account of its influence on their fertility, a derivation given by Yáḳút under Máh Dinár and evidently fictitious. Zamakshari has a simpler explanation. The people of Baṣrah, he says, call a town 'Máh' and they employ Mah u'l Baṣrah, Máh u'l Kúfah, as they would use Ḳaṣabatu'l Baṣrah, &c. The grammatical niceties of inflection connected with

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					this construction are too long to transcribe (v. (ماه البصرة). Hamadán with Naháwand and Ḳumm form the Máh u'l Başrah.
Zanján, Jabal. dist. ...	83	...	36	30	The most northern of the Jabal villages, on the borders of Ázarbíján.
Múḳán, borders of Arrán	83	...	38	...	Two marches distant from Derbend according to Ibn Ḥauḳal, but Abulfeda states that the town exists no longer and the name is applied to a tract of country bordering the Caspian, visited as winter quarters by Tartar hordes.
Sohraward, Jabal dist. ..	83	20	36	...	Near Zanján, a little town inhabited by Kurds, Abulf.
Nuháwand, Máhu'l Başrah, Jabal. dist.	83	15	34	20	According to Yáḳút, Naháwand or Niháwand. Its situation is well known, its idle derivation from Noah (Núh Awánd) may be read in the extract from Yáḳút in the Dict. de la Perse.
Bímánshahr, of Hamadán	84	30	37	30	A mere village. Abulf.
Burújird, Do. ...	84	30	36	20	18 parasangs from Hamadán on the Jabal dist., produces saffron. Abulf.
Abhar, Jabal. dist. ...	84	30	36	55	The text has incorrectly Ubhar. Yáḳúṭ correctly places it between Ḳazwín and Zanján and Hamadán, the latter forming the apex of the triangle of which the base is Ḳazwín and Zanján, almost equally bisected by Abhar. It is said to be called Aubar by the Persians and a fanciful derivation given of *Ab.* water and '*har*' a millstone, which latter signification I do not any where find. v. Dict. de la Perse.
Kautam, Gílán	84	40	37	20	At one day's march from the sea, said to have been a considerable town, but it is not marked in the map.
Karaj, Jabal. dist. ...	74	45	34	...	The text has erroneously ق for ف in the Lon. It is a town *half* way between Hamadán and Işfahán—called also Karaj-i-Abi Dulaf, having been founded by this general of the Caliph al Mamún. Abulf. Yáḳút.
Sáwah, Do. ...	85	...	36	15	Situate W. of Rayy, and S. of Tálaḳán, and 12 parasangs from Ḳumm.
Ḳazwín, Do. ...	85	...	36	30	
Sultáníyyah, Do. ...	85	...	36	30	In Ázarbíján. Its ruins are marked on K. J. It is immediately south of Zanján, a town founded by Khudabandah son of Arghún, 12th of the Ilkhán dynasty D'Herbelot. art. Al Giaptu and Ibn Baṭúṭah. II. 114 Abulf. places it in the 5th Climate.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	M.	D.	M.	D.	
Ábah or Áwah, Jabal. dist.	85	10	34	40	In K. J. Avah, at the foot of the Karaghan Mts. 27 parasangs north-east of Hamadán.
Ḳumm Do. ...	84	40	34	45	Kúm in K. J. directly S. of Teherán. The inhabitants are all Shíahs and Yáḳút amusingly describes the attempt of a Sunni Governor to find any one named Abu Bakr in the whole town. A wretched tatterdemalion was at length produced after a long search as the only specimen the climate could grow of that name.
Jarbádḳán Do. ...	85	35	34	...	Between Karaj and Hamadán. There is another of the name between Astarábád and Jurján.
Káshán Do. ...	86	12	36	...	A smaller town than Ḳumm and in its vicinity Its houses mostly constructed of mud and their inhabitants Shíahs. Abulf.
Naṭanz Do. ...	86	30	38	13	A small town 20 parasangs from Isfahán. Abulf.
Dumbáwand Do ...	86	20	35	35	Demavend in K. J. It marks the frontier of Rayy.
Rayy Do. ...	86	20	35	53	The ancient Rhágæ.
Kálár, in Dailam ...	8	50	36	35	With Kalár is coupled in the text کجور a corrupt name, perhaps, a misscript for Salous from which it is only a march distant. Kálár is a town S. E. of Lahaján, which is S. E. of Resht.
Khuwár, Jabal dist. ...	87	10	35	40	A dependency of Rayy between that town and Simnán.
Ṭálaḳán	85	45	36	30	Between Ḳazwín and Abhar, not to be confounded with the Ṭálaḳán of Khurásán.
Hausam, Gílán	85	10	37	10	In the Jabal district beyond Ṭabaristán and Dailam is all the information in Yáḳút.
Dailamán (Iṣfahán) ...	...	...	...	...	Yáḳút describes it as one of the villages of Iṣfahán *in* the Jurján territory.
Dasht (Do.)	...	...	...	...	A village of the Iṣfahán district—also a small town in the mountains between Irbil and Tabríz populated by Kurds. Yàḳút.
Lahaján, Gilán	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál, Lon. 74° Lat. 36°, 15′.
Wímah, town of Dumbáwand.	...	...	..	...	Do. ,, 77°, 20′ ,, 36°, 10′. Ḳánún, Lon. 76°, 35′ Lat. 36°, 20′. A small town between Rayy and Ṭabaristán. Abulf.
Ámul, Ṭabaristán ...	...	...		...	Aṭwál, Lon. 77° 20′ Lat. 36°, 35′. Capital of Ṭabaristán.
Dámaghán, Kúmis ...	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál, 78° 55′ Lat. 36°, 20′. The largest of the towns in Ḳúmis territory according to Ibn Ḥauḳal called by Yáḳút.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Simnán, Capital of Ḳúmis	...		...	...	Aṭwál, Lon. 78°. Lat. 36°. Ḳánún Lon. 79°. Lat. 36°.
Biyár, Mázandarán ...	...	...	...	...	A picturesque town between Baihaḳ and Bisṭám, two days' march from the latter. Dict de la Perse.
Sári, Do.	88	...	37	...	Also written and more commonly Sáriyah, its derivation from سری "Travelling by night" according to Yáḳút but the reason is not evident. It lies 3 parasangs from the sea and 18 from Ámul.
Bisṭám, Ḳúmis	89	30	36	10	According to Guyard, properly Basṭám and vulgarly Bisṭám; but Yáḳút gives only the latter orthography. He adds that its apples known as Bisṭámi are beautiful and ruddy and are sent to Irák. It is celebrated also for two characteristics and fatal to two disorders which have little in common except blindness, namely, love and opthalmia. A lover is said to have been unknown and a draught of its waters is sufficient to still the ardour of any unsuspecting visitor. But romance is not a necessity of existence and the continuity of the population is not affected. Taken fasting, for a *δυσῶδες στόμα*, the bitterness of the water is likewise salutary, and effectual when used medicinally against hemorrhoids. The town deserves to be recommended as an excellent Spa.
Asṭarábad, Mázandarán ...	89	35	36	50	
Jurján, Capital of its province.	90	...	36	50	Its ruins alone are marked in K. J.
Furáwah, Khurásán ...	90	...	39	...	On the frontier of Khwárizm; it is called Ribát Furáwah, a fort constructed by Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir in the Caliphate of Mamún. Abulf.
Sabzawár	91	30	36	15	The chief town of the canton of Baihaḳ a position previously held by the town of Khusraujird.
Isfaráin or Mihrján, Khurásán	91	40	36	55	In the environs of Naisábúr half way to Jurján. The name of Mihrján is said to have been given to it by Khusrau Kubád, father of Nushirwán, on account of the beauty of its climate and the freshness of its air. (Abulf.) Abu'l Ḳásim al Baihaḳi according to Yáḳút, says that the ancient form of the name was Isbaráin, from *isbar*, a buckler, and *Áin* custom, on account of the traditional usage of this weapon of defence from the time of Isfandiyár.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Abaskún, Mázandarán ...	89	55	37	10	The text has Abisgún, I follow the safer direction of Yáḳút; situated on the borders of the Caspian; 24 parasangs from Jurján.
Mazínán, frontier of Khurásán	90	35	36	...	On the extreme frontier of Khurásán bordering on Ịráḳ.
Turshíz ...	90	15	35	...	The text has turned the Lon. into a series of 3 figures and marked the town as unknown. A reference to Yáḳút would have shown that Turshísh or Ṭursithíth, celebrated for its savants and devotees, is a town and district dependent on Naisábúr. The Persian orthography of the name is correctly represented in the text, (v. Dict. de la Perse. 390. n.) In the Zínat-u'l Majális, it is said that in one of its boroughs called Kashmír, is a cypress celebrated for its beauty and height and said to have been planted by Gushtasp the sage, and alluded to by Firdausi in his Sháh Námah, (Mohl. t. IV, p. 364). It was uprooted by the order, it is said, of the Abbaside Mutawakkil, who was certainly capable of the barbarity.
Naishábúr, one of the chief cities of Khurásán	92	30	36	20	One figure too many in the Lon. Yáḳút writes Naisábúr-vulg. Nasháúr.
Ṭús, Khurásán ...	92	30	34	20	
Mashhad, it adjoins Núḳán	92	33	34	29	Known as Meshed. It stands on the ruins of Nauḳan and takes its name from the Mausoleum (Mashhad) of Ạli, son of Músa ar Ridha, and is too well-known for description.
Tún ...	92	30	34	30	Town of Kohistán near Ḳáin. Dict. de la Perse.
Núḳán, not the Nauḳán of Mashhad	92	...	38	...	The Lon. of both this and the preceding are misprinted in the text, this must be the Nuḳán in the environs of Naisábúr.
Ḳáin, Khurásán ...	93	20	37	30	The capital of Ḳohistan. Ḳayn in K. J.
Zúzan, Ḳôhistán ...	93	30	35	20	Between Herát and Naisabúr.
Buzján, Khurásán ...	94	...	36	...	A small town 4 marches from Naisábúr.
Marw, Sháhjahán, Do. ...	94	20	37	40	I refer the reader to the Dict. de la Perse for the lengthy extract from Yáḳút of this celebrated town, destined perhaps to become more celebrated under another Tartar invasion more permanent than those that preceded it. Its fevers, dysenteries; guinea-worm and its horseflies detract from its convenience as a residence. Yáḳút had it not been for the devastations of the

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					Tartar, would willingly have spent his days there.
Herát, Khurásán ...	94	20	34	30	
Sarakhs Do. ...	94	30	37	8	In the text read 8, for 3, min. of Lat.
Bádaghís Do. ...	94	30	34	20	Yáḳút writes it with ذ which I follow; a dependency of Herát, the chief town or towns of the canton being Bamíín and Baun بون وبامئين that adjoin each other.
Marw ár Rúḍ, known as Murgháb	94	...	36	30	The word مرو signifies a white flint that gives fire, and *rúd* is a stream, (the Murgháb). The town is 4 days' march (Abulf. says five) from its more celebrated namesake. The relative adjective of this name is Marwarúdi, and that of the other is Marwazi, to distinguish them.
Málín, of Herát ...	94	30	34	35	Name of a cluster of villages at 2 parasangs from Herát, and called at Herát, Málán. Yáḳút.
Bushang ...	95	40	36	3	Bushanj in Yáḳút, a picturesque town, 10 parasangs from Herát. According to the Dict. de la Perse, the Persian name is Fushanj deriving its origin from the son of Afrásiáb.
Baghshúr, Khurásán ..	96	25	36	...	A small town between Herát and Marw ar Rúd. Yáḳút passed by this in A. H. 616 and it was then nearly in ruins. The name of Bagh is also given to this town and the relative adjective Baghawi formed from it, not quite according to grammatical rule. Yáḳút.
Ḳarínain, Marw Sháhjahán	97	25	36	55	Situated on the Marw river, formerly called Barkadír, but changed to Ḳarínain, (dual of Ḳarín, the two neighbours) because it was joined to Marwar Rúd from which it is 4 marches distant.
Dandánḳán Do. ...	97	30	37	...	A small locality two marches from Marw in the Sarakhs direction. Its cotton is said to be of excellent quality and it produces silk.
Sharmaḳán ...	104	...	36	41	By the Persians called Jarmaḳán, a small town in the Iṣfaráin dist. four marches from Naisabúr, in the Khurásán hills.
Tálaḳán, Khurásán ...	98	...	36	30	Not to be confounded with the Ṭálaḳán between Ḳazwín and Abhar in the Jabal Dist. This one is said by Yáḳút to lie between Balkh and Marw ar Rúd, at three days' march from the latter. It is not marked in the maps. Another

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					Ṭálaḳán is in Badakshán near Ḳunduz below the spurs of the Hindu Kush.
Fáryáb ...	99	.	36	45	The text omits the tens in the min. of Lon. but similar errors are almost too numerous to notice. Fáryáb is a well-known town of Jarjan, 6 marches from Balkh, 3 from Shubrukán and 3 from Tálaḳán. Zahír Fáryábi was from this town.
Balkh, capital of Khurásán	101	40	36	41	
Bámián, Zábulistán ...	102	..	34	35	
Haláward ...	101	40	37	30	A town of Khuttal, a province of Khurásán in Transoxiana of which the chief towns are this and Láwakand. Khuttal is comprised between the Waksh and Badakhshán rivers.
Balásághún ...	101	30	37	40	This is placed by Abulf. in the 7th Climate. A frontier town of Turkestán across the Jaxartes, near Káshgar, (Abulf.) in whose time it was in the hands of the Tartars. De Guignes, speaks of Maliksháh, son of Alp Arslán, in 1089, as taking Samarḳand and passing on to Ouzkend, compelling the king of Káshghar to read the Khuṭbah and mint the coin in his name and forcing tribute from the princes of Taraz, Balasgoun and Isfíjáb.
Siminján, Ṭukháristán ...	102	...	36	...	A small locality in Ṭukharistán wedged in in between Balkh and Baghlán in the defiles, inhabited by a branch of the Bani Tamím. It is 2 marches from Balkh to Khulm and 5 on to Anderabah by Siminján. Yáḳút.
Ḳubáḍián, territory of Balkh	102	...	37	45	A pleasant spot full of orchards, Abulf. the town and district are marked in the survey map, across the Oxus directly N. of Khulm.
Walwálij, in Ṭukháristán	102	20	36	...	The capital of Ṭukháristán according to Abulf. which was anciently the kingdom of the Ephthalites (Hayáṭilah) 4 parasangs from Ṭáikán.
Ṣaghányán, Transoxiana	102	40	38	50	Pronounced Jaghányán in Persian; the name of the town is extended to the country about it, larger than Tirmiḍ but not so rich or populous, Abulf.
Ṭaiḳán, Ṭukháristán ...	102	50	37	25	In the environs of Balkh. It is separated by a distance of 7 parasangs from Khuttal, Abulf.
Anderáb, Khurásán ...	103	45	36	...	Between Ghaznah and Balkh, the road by which caravans enter Kábul. Adjacent is the moutain of Panjhir with its mines of silver.
Badakshán ...	104	40	37	20	

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Kábul	104	40	34	30	
Banjhír, Kábulistán	104	40	34	30	Properly Panjhír, Yáḳút, see Vol. II, p. 399. n.
Lamghán „	104	50	34	3	
Karwez, Badakshán	105	20	36	...	The text has کرو بز marking the word as corrupt and the place unknown. Gladwin writes Gardiz, but this Túmán is S. of Kábul and S. E. of Ghazni. I would propose Kunduz though I find no trace of this name in Yáḳút, Abulf., or Ibn Ḥauḳal. Richardson (Dict.) calls Kunduz, a city built by Jamshíd, Its striking similarity to the famous castle of Gangdíz, and the name Kang or Gang signifying Sogdiana, (Reinaud Abulf. I, ccxxiii) suggests inferences which are attractive to pursuers of verbal analogies but are oftener fallacious than otherwise. In the Burhán i Ḳáti, Kunduz is said to be a contraction of Kuhan diz, *i. e.*, the ancient citadel, and is a town in Túrán built by Feridún, now called Baikand. Yáḳút, under Baikand, makes no allusion to the former name.
Jirm, Badakshán	104	20	36	...	
Kashmír	93	40	36	15	I read صج for صح of the text for deg. of Lon. and يه for min. of Lat. These alterations which the similarity of the letters and the constant inaccuracies of the text justify, will bring this town approximately to the location of Tarshíz (p. 86) of which it is a neighbour. Yáḳút places it near Naisábúr.
Source of the Mihrán, (Indus)	125	...	36	...	
Sarfatain	...	...	...	...	From this name to the end, the degrees of Lon. and Lat. do not occur in the principal MSS. Many of the names are repetitions of those preceding and very corrupt.
Jisr	...	...	...	...	A place near Ḥírah, the scene of a battle between the Persians and Arabs in A. H. 13, in which the latter were defeated. The word signifies a bridge, which was thrown across the Euphrates by which the Arabs advanced to the attack. Yáḳút.
Ḥarrán	...	...	...	...	Preceded.
Ḳarádah	...	...	...	...	
Fárhán ?	...	...	..	...	

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Malán ?	...	...	...	...	
Abrakhis ?	...	...	...	...	
Audmiyyah ?	...	...	...	...	
Ḳarmásín	...	...	...	...	Preceded as Ḳirmísín.
Daurák̤	...	.	...	...	This is mentioned by Abulf. as a dependency of Khúzistán, 10 parasangs from Básyán and 18 from Arraján, in the 3rd Climate.
Diyár Bakr	...	...	...	...	Preceded.
Ḳarínain	...	...	...	...	Do.
Nínawá	...	...	...	...	Nineveh, the lat. of this place is the same as Mauṣil which it faces on the opposite bank of the Tigris, Lat. 36° 30′, Lon. 67°. Abulf.
Palangán ?	...	...	...	..	
Ḳaisar	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál, Lon. 60°, Lat. 40°. Ḳaisaríyyah in Asia Minor, capital of the Ottoman Sultans, concurrently or alternately with Iconium. Abulf.
Bijáyah, Mauritania	...	...	...	...	Placed by Yáḳút on the sea-shore on the borders of Africa proper and the Maghrib or N.-W. Africa, three days' journey from Milah. It is the modern Bougie.
Balansia	...	...	...	...	Valencia, Lon 20° Lat., 38° 6′. Abulf.
Sámus	...	...	...	...	Samos, preceded, as Shámus.
Ayás	...	...	...	...	Do.
Irḳah, Syrian coast	...	...	...	...	Erek, Lon. 60° 15′, Lat. 34°, a small town defended by a citadel, 12 miles S. of Tripoli, a parasang from the sea, the most northern part of the Damascus territory.
Raḳbah ?	...	..	...	...	
Ṣahyún, Ḳinnasrín	...	...	...	...	Lon. 60° 10′, Lat. 35°, 10°, celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses of Syria, W. of Laodicea (Ládikiyeh) and one march from it (Abulf.) It is Sajun in K. J.
Ḥárim, *of Aleppo*	...	...	...	...	Lon. 60° 30′, Lat. 35° 50′, a small town 2 marches W. of Aleppo, and one from Antioch, Abulf. It is marked in K. J.
Fámyah, (Apamea)	...	...	...		Lon. 61°, 8′, Lat. 35°, district of Shaizar, pronounced also with a prosthetic Alif. Another Fámyah, a town situate on the Famu's Ṣilḥ near Wásiṭ, Abulf.
Shaizar	...	...	...	...	Has preceded.
Ḥamát, Syria	...	.	...	...	On the Orontes between[2] Emessa and Ḳinnasrín, Lon. 61° 55′, Lat. 34°, 45′ (Abulf.) Epiphaneia; the location of Plotemy is Lon. 69° 36′, Lat, 30° 26′. It is supposed to be identical with Hamath (2, Sam. viii, 9, Kings, viii, 65, Is x, 9,) called also Hamath the Great. It was called Hamath in St. Jerome's day (see Smith Geog. *Dict.*) Abulf. says

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					it is remarkable like Shaizar for the quantity of its norias; even among the Syrian cities.
Maraṣh, a fortress of Syria	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál, Lon. 61°, Lat. 36° 30′. One of two fortresses, the other Hadath, on the Syrian frontier. They were both captured by Khálid, A. H. 15, Maraṣh dismantled and its inhabitants driven out. Abulf. Annals I. 227. De Sacy in his Chrest. Arab, says, that its ancient name was Germanicia corrupted by the Syrians into Baniki, I. 130.
Aintáb, dependency of Ḳinnasrín	...	...	...	...	Lon. 62° 30′, Lat. 36°, 30. It is 3 marches N. of Aleppo, and at no great distance is the ruined fortress of Dolúk,* which name frequently recurs in the history of the wars between Saladin and Núr-u'ddín. Doluk or Delouc as he writes it, De Sacy identifies with the ancient Doliche, (Chrest. Arab III. 109) but this name was applied (Doliche or Dolichiste, a long island) to the present Kakava S. of Lycia by Ptolemy, Pliny and Alexander in his Periplus of Lycia. There is no other Doliche mentioned in the Geog. Dict.
Hiṣn Kaifa, island in the Euphrates	...	...	...	...	It is a town and fortress of considerable size, overlooking the Tigris between A'mid and the Jazírat-i Ibn Omar of Diyár Bakr. Yáḳút says the river there is crossed by a bridge, the largest he had ever seen of a single span, flanked by two smaller ones. A'mid is now Diyár Bakr. The location in the text is strangely in error. It is marked in K. J. as Hosn Kefa.
Siịrt, Diyár Rabíạh ...	...	...	...	...	Lon. 68°, Lat. 37°, 20′, a town situate on a hill N. E. of the Tigris, one day's march and a half from Mayyáfáriḳín, and 4 from A'mid, to the S. of which Siịrt stands, Abulf.
Ḥiṣnu'ṭ Ṭáḳ, Sijistán ...	...	...	...	...	Lon. 80°, 30′, Lat. 34°, 40, a fortress on a high mountain near an elbow formed by the Helmand in Sijistán. Abulf. Yáḳút does not mention it.
Mílinj ? (Mayánij, Mayánah)	...	...	...	...	Has preceded, (p. 82.)
Karún ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Gilán ...	...	...	...	...	
Jawain ...	...	...	...	...	This district dependent on Naisábúr of which Azádhwár is the chief town. It is called by the Persians Kowán or Gowán, Abulf. II. II. 191.
Jájram, (between Naisábúr and Jurján	...	...	...	...	

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Jám, in the Naisábúr territory,	...	...	...	...	
Farjistan ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Marú ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Karaj i Abi Dulaf ...	...	...	...	...	Has preceded.
Nasá, Khurásán ...	...	...	...	...	Lon. 82°, 8′, Lat. 38°, in Khurásán on the confines of the desert, 67 parasangs N. of Sarakhs. Yáḳút gives the origin of its name from the abandonment of the town by the male population on the advance of the Muḥammadans. Seeing women, but only women, they exclaimed. "These are women (هؤلاء نسا) let us go and fight elsewhere," and the name Nisá or Nasa was thus commemorated. He places it at 2 days' journey from Sarakhs; 5 from Marw; 1 from Abivard and 6 or 7 from Naisábúr.
Abíward, Khurásán ..	...	...	...	...	Abivard in Ḳ. J.
Shahristán, frontiers of Khurásán	...	...	...	...	This is another name for Iṣfahán, which followed the ancient name of Jayy. It fell into ruin and was replaced by Yahúdíyyah, a mile distant from Shahristán and two from Jayy. The name of Yahúdíyyah arose from the tradition that Nabuchadnezzar, after the destruction of Jerusalem transported its inhabitants to Iṣfahán. Jayy-Iṣfahán fell into decay but the Jewish quarter prospered. This tradition according to Guyard is to be found in the Talmud, v. Abulf. II. II. 160. There is a long article in Yáḳút on this city.
Iskalkand, Ṭaḳháristán ..	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál. 92° 20′, Lat. 36° 30′. A small town of Takharistán. The prosthetic alif is sometimes dropped and the word pronounced without it. Abulf.
Fárabr or Firabr, on the Oxus.	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál 87° 30′, Lat. 38° 45′. On the Oxus towards Bokhára. Abulf. According to Yaḳúṭ, it is a small town between the Oxus and Bokhara, and one parasang from the river; formerly called Ribáṭ Ṭáhir b. Ạli.
Fármyáb ?	...	...	...	...	
Ṭamgháj	...	...	...	...	This is the name of Northern China. Abulf., II, III, 230 n. According to D'Herbelot, Tamgag or Tamgaz (his transliteration of names defied even the penetration of Gibbon) is the name of a race of Turks or Turkomans, the same nation as the Gaz., who took prisoner Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúk.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Khuttlán. Transoxiana ...	...	...	...	...	The name of a group of places beyond Balkh, a district distinct from Waksh, but under one and the same government. Its capitals are Haláward and Láwakand, Abulf. II, II, 228. It has been previously mentioned.
Waksh, Do. ...	...	...	...	...	Aṭwál Lon. 90° 30′, Lat. 38° 20′, a town of the Sagháríyán dist. in Transoxiana. Abulf. Of this latter mention has been made.
Shumán, in Ṣaghányán ...	...	...	...	...	
? جحفه و منه ...	...	...	...	...	
The Fifth Climate.					
Ushbúnah, Spanish Peninsula	86	45	42	40	Also called Lashbunah. Yáḳúṭ 'Ολιοσείπων of Ptol. Lisbon. The deg. of Lat. in the text for this and the next name are inaccurate.
Shantarin Do.	18	10	42	45	Ancient Scalabis, now Santarem. After the fall of the empire, it received the name of St. Irene, from St. Iria, who there suffered martyrdom. Reinaud. The text has incorrectly Santerín.
Centre of the Isle of Cadiz ,,	21	2	48	50	
Madínah i Walíd ,,	21	52	29	20	Valladolid.
Mursyah ,,	28	...	43	...	Murcia.
Madínah i Sálem ,,	29	10	39	20	Medina Celi.
Dánya, Spain ...	81	30	41	30	Denia, anciently Dianium or Artemisium from a temple of Diana that stood on a lofty promentory of the E. coast of Hispania Tarraconensis.
Tuṭelah, East Do. ...	30	30	43	55	Tudela.
Saraḳústah ,, ,, ...	31	30	42	80	Read سرقوسطه and the deg of Lat. مب for مسب Saragossa, Cæsar Augusta.
Ṭurṭúshah ,, ,, ...	31	30	40	...	Tortosa, Colonia Julia Augusta Dertosa.
Jazírah i Mayurḳah, Mediterranean	34	10	39	40	Majorca, see p. 77, a different location given.
Haikal, known as Haikal i Zuhrah (Temple of Venus) N. Spain	34	...	43	...	Port vendres, Templum Veneris.
Barshalonah, country of the Franks	34	30	42	...	For Lat. read مب for مسب, Barcelona, ancient Barcino, traditionally founded by Hercules and rebuilt by Hamilcar Barcus who gave it the name of his family, G. D. Smith.
Arbúnah, Spain or beyond it	36	15	43	...	Not Urbunah as in the text, Narbo Martins, the Roman colony was founded in B. C. 118, D. E. The Arab geographers are divided as to its position whether in Spain or beyond it.

Manes.	Longitude.		Latitudd		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Ṭarrakúnah, country of the Franks	33	...	43	22	Tarragona, Tarraco, a Phœnician colony, its name Tarchon said to mean a citadel, probably derived from its situation on a high rock above the sea, v. Geog. Dict.
Jenua, in Frankish territory	41	...	41	20	Anciently Genua, the orthography Janua to support the tradition of its foundation by Janus has no authority.
Rúmiyah, city of the Pope	33	...	41	21	
Rabúsah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Madínah i Ṭabarḳah ...	55	12	48	15	On the Mauritanian coast, E. of Bona but this lat. does not harmonize with previous latitudes in Mauritania. Yáḳút gives but one town of Tabbarḳah and places it with accuracy near Beju and to the east of the town are the castles Benzert (Biserta.)
Jazírah i لعررنب ...	58	50	42	15	The word is not pointed in the original and no indication is given.
Jazírah i, Sabályá ? ...	55	15	48	15	
Mansályá ...	45	30	45	1	
Middle of the Pontus Euxinus.	35	15	46	5	
عيون اسفرس	35 36	45	48	32	I have little doubt that for Asfaras should be read Bosporus and the waters of this channel are here intended. The origin of the Thracian Bosporus attracted attention from the earliest times and it was the received opinion that the union of the Euxine and the Mediterranean was effected by a violent disruption of the continent in the deluge of Deucalion, v. G. D. Smith.
......	...	...	...	...	The name in the text is without vowel points.
مقابض نورسناس ...	...	...	...	...	I do not hesitate in the emdendation Borysthenes (Dnieper) and the mouths of the river are here intended. There may be ingenuity, there is no profit in the discovery; the whole list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer.
Middle of Mánus ? ...	...	...	...	...	Marmaros ?
The extreme of the Yarḳáhi territory. ?	...	...	...	...	
؟ مقابض نرمس ...	...	...	...	...	The name is unpointed. Perhaps Istros.
Mouths of the Tanais ...	...	...	...	...	The Don.
... ؟ موضع برنيا نيطس	...	...	...	...	The second word is a corruption of Palus Mæotis, which occurs in Abulfedah in another similar form as Maniṭasch, II, II, 143.
Ạláya, in Rúm (Asia Minor)	62	...	39	30	The ancient Coracesium, the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilicia, v. Ibn Baṭúṭah, II, 255.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Ammúríyyah Asia Minor...	64	...	43	...	Read deg. of Lat مج for نج: The ancient Amorium.
Akúryah, called also Ánkarah, Do.	64	40	41	45	In Abulf. Ankúryah. Now Angora.
Mákedúnyah, prov. of Constantinople.	60	55	41	...	*Μακεδονία.*
Akshahr, Asia Minor	65	...	41	40	The white city, 3 days' march, N.-W. of Iconium.
Kúnyah „ ...	66	30	41	40	Iconium.
Kaisaríyyah „ ...	60	15	40		Cæsarea, originally Mazaca, afterwards Eusebeia, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia. The name was changed to Cæsarea by Tiberius. G. D.
Aksarái „ ...	67	45	40	...	The white Palace, the ancient Archelais.
Siwás „ ...	71	30	40	10	Sebasteia on the Halys; Pompey increased the town and gave it the name of Megalopolis; it was made the capital of Armenia Minor.
Tarábazún ...	78	...	43	...	Trebizonde. Anciently Trapezus named probably from its situation on a table land above the sea. Its annals are of historical interest from the time of Xenophon's retreat to its fall under Mahomed II in 1460.
Shimshát ...	73	15	40	...	Samosata, the birth-place of Lucian. Its situation on the Euphrates gave it, great strategical importance and it was seized by Vespasian when Antiochus, king of Commagene, meditated an alliance with the Parthians to throw off the yoke of Rome. It contained the royal residence.
Malázjird, Armenia ...	75	...	39	30	A small town near Arzun and N. of Bidlís. Abulf.
Akhlát Do. ...	75	50	39	10	Now Aklat on Lake Van.
Bábu'l Hadíd ...	76	...	41	...	Read Lat. ما. Darband or the famous Iron Gates called the Gate of Gates, Bábu' l Abwáb. The long article of Yákút translated in the Dict. de la Perse, p. 71, is an epitome of eastern knowledge or legend of its origin.
Arzanján ...	73	...	39	50	In Armenia, between Siwás and Erzeroum at 40 parasangs from either Abulf.
Arzan 'ur Rúm, Armenia	76	...	39	55	Erzeroum.
Bardah, in Arrán ...	83	...	40	30	For Lon. فغ read فج and the capital of Arrán at the extreme of Ázarbíjan nearly in ruins in Abulfeda's time.
Shamkúr do. ...	83	...	41	50	Correct the Lon. and Lat. in the text, which are misscripts. Gladwin's MS. has the true reading; a fortress near Bardah.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Khankarah ? ...	83	...	38	40	
Arzandrúm ...	79	...	41	15	Marked doubtful in the text, but it is evidently a replica of Arzan úr Rúm, by an ignorant copyist.
Taflís, Garjistán ...	83	...	43	...	Tiflís, or Taflís (Yáḳút permits either vowel) capital of Georgia. The text omits two necessary points in the Lon. and Lat.
Bailaḳán, Arrán ...	83	30	39	50	Situate in the defile of Khazarán, near Shirwán, six parasangs from Warthán.
Bákúyah, Shirwán ...	84	30	40	50	Báku.
Shamákhi do. ...	84	30	40	50	Now Shemákha in K. J.
Rúmiya Kubra ...	85	...	41	50	This must be Madáin Kisra, which has already preceded in the 3rd Climate, but with a different location. The practical use of these tables is not very evident. Madáin, the ancient Ctesiphon had many names. Its name signifies 'cities' and was formed of the union of 7. Asfápúr, Weh Ardashír, Hombou Shahpúr, (Jundisabúr) Darzindán, Weh Jundíkhusrau (Arab Rúmiyah) and Nuniábad. Guyard, II, II, 76.
Bábu'l Abwáb, Arrán ...	89	...	43	...	This is the same as the Babu' l Ḥadíd or Darband. The difference in Lon. is no doubt caused by the change in the 1st Lon. and probably an error in the units both in the Lon. and Lat.
Jazírah i Síah Koh, in the Caspian	89	...	43	30	The Siáh Koh or Black mountain appears from the indications in Ibn Khaldún, (Proleg. I. 152, De Slane) to be the Caucasus. Abulf. places this island in the 6th Climate and this mountain in an island on the Caspian, and states that it is a range of mountains to the E. of the Caspian and circling round it to Darband. The eastern chain is called the Caucasus by Arrian. V.
Hashtar Khán ...	...	...	...	...	Astrakhan, the orthography in Ibn Batúṭah is Hájj Tarkhán. حاج ترخان Voyages II. 446. De Guignes, Haji Tarkhán, I. 296.
Agharjah ...	...	...	...	...	Probably Georgia.
Káth, Khwárizm ...	95	...	41	36	On the E. of the Oxus, a large town according to Yáḳút, most of the Khwarizm territory lying to the W. ~~It is 20 parasangs from~~ Kurkánj. Its meaning in the Khwarim tongue is a wall or enclosure in an open plain which is comprised within no other surrounding.
Kurkánj Sughra Do. ...	94	...	42	30	So in the MSS. but changed to Gurganj by the editor. Yáḳút confirms the orthography of the text. There are two

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					of the name, Kurkánj the Great, capital of Khwarizm (now Khiva) and Kurkanj, the Less at 10 miles distance. The Persian form is Gurganj, the Arabic Jurjáníyyah. In 1216 it was a flourishing and populous town, Abulf.
Jurjáníyyah, Do. ...	94	...	42	45	See note above. The labours of Abul Fazl were confined to transcribing without investigation.
Kurkanj, the Great, a capital of Khwarizm	94	30	42	17	The deg. of Lat. in the last 3 names should be read صب for مسب and the min. in the last name يز for نز. Similar gross errors which give impossible figures are frequent.
Házárasb Do. ...	95	20	41	10	A strong citadel on the W of the Oxus, 6 parasangs from Káth, Abulf.
Lamakshar „ ..	94	30	4	...	A large village of which the famous commentator of the Korán Abu'l Ḳásim Maḥmud az Zamakshari was a native.
Darghán, Transoxiana ..	96	...	40	30	Marks the frontier of Khwarizm towards Marw, 24 parasangs from Házárasb.
Bukhárá, one of the chief cities of Transoxiana	97	30	39	30	
Baikand, a dependency of Bukhárá now in ruins	97	30	39	...	
Ṭáwawís, dependency of Bukhárá	97	40	39	...	Seven parasangs from Bukhárá.
Jand, Turkistán ...	97	45	43	30	Placed by Abulf. in the 6th Climate. It is on the Jaxartes on the frontier of Turkistán, close to Yenghi-kent.
Nakhshab, called Nasf ...	98	...	39	...	The former is the indigenous, the latter the Arab form of the name. A town in the plain, 2 marches from the mountains towards Kash and a desert intervenes between it and the Oxus.
Samarḳand, one of the cities of Transoxiana	99		40	...	Its position is defined in detail by Ibn Ḥauḳal. Ouseley, 260.
I'láḳ, Bukhárá ...	99	10	43	20	Ilák forms a district of Shásh, extending from Naubakht to Farghánah, according to Yáḳút, and the town of the name in the environs of Bukhára. Abulfeda makes it almost coextensive if not identical with Shásh and its chief town Tunkat. I believe the word to signify summer station, in opp. to Ḳishláḳ, winter station.
Kash, or Shahr-Sabz, Badakhshán	99	30	39	30	Yákút places it near Nakhshab. Its situation is given by Ibn Ḥauḳal. It is well-known by its name of Sháhr i Sabz and lies directly S. of Samarḳand.
Zámín, dependency of Usrúshnah	92	40	40	30	Pronounced also Zámij, on the Farghánah road to Soghd, a small locality in the environs of Samarḳand, Abulf.

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Isfíjáb, of Shásh ...	92	50	43	35	On the Turkestán frontier.
Usrúshnah, a chief city of Transoxia ...	100	...	41	...	Beyond Samarḳand on the Jaxartes. Yáḳút mentions it as a town, which Istakhri denies, allowing it to be applied only to the territory. It is bounded on the E. by Farghánah, W. by Samarkḳand, N. by Shásh, Abulf.
Sháwakath, of Shásh ...	100	30	41	10	No further notice in the geographers than the text affords.
Usbáníkath, territory of Isfíjáb	100	30	40	...	At one march distance from Isfíjáb, 9 parasangs E. of Usrúshnah.
Khojand, on the Jaxartes	100	35	41	25	7 marches to Samarḳand and 4 to Shash, Abulf.
Khawáḳand, of Farghánah	100	50	62	...	Or Kháḳand, vulgarly, Khokand.
Tunkat, a capital of Táshkand	101	...	43	...	Correct Lon. of text from ف to ق, capital of Ílák, beyond the Jaxartes, Ibn Ḥanḳal says he has heard it pronounced also with the long a; Yáḳút writes Tankut. It is marked in K. J.
Tirmiḍh, on the Oxus ...	101	15	37	35	The birth-place of the great Traditionist al Tirmiḍhi.
Akhsíkat, capital of Farghánah	101	20	62	25	Situate on the bank of the Jaxartes. It is mentioned by Baber in his Memoirs, (p. 5) as the strongest town in Farghánah.
Kásán, a town beyond Shásh	101	35	62	15	This district is described by Baber, Memoirs, p. 5. In consequence of its gardens being sheltered along the banks of the stream, it was called the mantle of five lambskins.
Ḳubá, Farghánah ...	101	50	42	50	Correct Lon. and Lat. in text. A large town of Farghánah. It is the next largest to Akhsikat; the citadel in ruins, Abulf.
Farghánah ...	102	...	62	20	Now Khokand.
Rús ...	102	20	43	20	To what part of Russia this refers there is no indication. Abulf. has a town 'Roussye' (Reinaud), its capital but in the 7th Climate, Lon. 57° 32′, Lat. 56°.
Khotan ...	107	...	40	...	Extremo of Turkistán, celebrated for its musk, beyond Yuzkand and cis Kashghar. Abulf.
Chách, or Shásh ...	109	...	42	30	
Tibbet ...	110	...	40	...	
Khájú, N. of China ...	123	32	42	...	Caiyon of Marco Polo. Kwatcheon. (Guyard). Abulf. places it 15 days' journey from Pekin, between Khata (N. China) and Kaoli, province contiguous to the Corea.
Sankju do. ...	107	...	40	...	Sou-tcheou.
Sakhas ? ...	130	...	29	10	
Mahri, of Khatá ...	140	...	30	...	Khata is N. China. I do not trace the name in Abulf., but Khuta, according to Yáḳút, is a town near Darband.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Nashawa or Naḳjowán, in Arrán.	101	30	39	...	Ancient Nuxuana, on the W. bank of the Araxes, already preceded in 4th Climate with a different location.
Kushányah, in Soghd of Samarḳaud.	98	20	39	50	The Kushán country is identified by M. St. Martin with Bactriana. Hist. du Bas Empire III, 386 (Reinaud).
Yumán ? ...	...	...	...	...	Yunán ?
شحرنحاس ? ...	...	...	...	...	City of brass !
Raḳḳán ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Kabs ? ...		...	...	...	
Abrúḳ ...	...	...	...	...	On this city Yáḳút says 'It is a locality in the Bilád ur Rum, (Asia Minor), visited from distant parts by both Moslems and Christians. Abu Bakr al Harawi who saw it, says that it is situated at the foot of a mountain, the entrance to it being through the gate of a fort. A subterranean passage leads to a wide space in the side of a hill with an aperture to the sky. In the middle is a pool round which are houses or chambers for the peasantry, whose fields are without. A church and a masjid are hard by for the needs of both religions. In the Crypt are several dead men with marks of spear and sword wounds, the bodies dressed in cotton garments. In another spot four bodies are buried with their backs against the wall and with them a boy whose hand is on the head of a very tall man, the face of the latter is sallow, the palm of the hand open as if he were about to take the hand of another, and the head of the boy leaning on his breast. By his side is a man with his upper lip cut open, showing his teeth. They all wear turbans. The body of a woman suckling her child, is near. Five other bodies are standing with their backs against a wall, and apart on an eminence is a couch on which are 12 men and a boy, whose hands and feet are stained with *hinna*. The Greeks claim them as their own people but the Muḥammadans say that they were Muslims, slain in the wars of Omar b-ul Khaṭṭáb. Some pretend that their nails have grown long, and that their heads are shaven. This is not the case, but their skins have dried and shrivelled on their bones without other alteration." I suppose this to be Prusa ad Olym-

Names.	Longitude.		Latitude.		Notes.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					pium in Bythinia, the modern Brusa, but the history of this town affords no clue to the above narrative and Ibn Baṭúṭah, who describes it under the name of برصي, II, p. 321 makes no mention of a curiosity which would scarcely have escaped his notice.
Ufsús ...	...	...	...	...	Ephesus.
Basṭah, dependency of Jaen in Spain	.	...	.	...	Baëza.
Kubá ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Saksín ...	...	...	...	...	The author of the Kitabu'l Aṭwál mentions a town called Saḳsín, Lon. 162°, 30′, Lat, 40, 50′. The people meant were the Saxons or Goths who shared the possession of the Tauric regions with the Khozas. Reinaud refers to M. d'Ohsson's Hist. of the Mongols for Sacsín, v, II. I. 286.
Khuttlán ...	...	...	...	...	Has preceded.
Mikhláṭ ? ...	..	...	...	...	
Rúm ...	...	...	...	...	
Shámas ...	...	...	..	...	The island of Samos, has preceded.
Sháyab ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Sintarah, West ...	...	...	...	...	Thus in the MSS. but changed by the Editor to Santriyyah. The former signifies Cintra, of which the pronunciation on the middle age was Syntria, (Reinaud II. 244). There is also a Santriyyah to the W. of Fayyúm, which cannot here be meant.
Ḳabrah, Spain ...	...	...	...	...	Cabra in Andalusia.
Kasṭalúl ...	...	...	.	...	Castile, properly Kastilyún.
Surḳah ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Murghzá ? ...	...	...	...	...	
Scoṭíslah ...	...	...	...	...	In Ibn Khaldún Skousya stands for Scotland, v. De Slane I. 105.
Baṭalyús, Spain ...	29	...	38	50	Badajos, Pax Augusta.
City of Wálid ? ...	...	...	...	...	A corruption of Madínah i Walíd (Valladolid) already preceded.
Mursia ...	...	...	...	...	Murcia, preceded.
Danya ...	...	...	...	...	Denia, preceded.
Sálem ...	...	...	...	...	Medina Celi preceded.
Sarakusṭah ...	...	...	...	...	Saragossa Do.
Núḳáb ? ...	...	...	...	...	Túkát, Tokal ? in Asia Minor.
Músh, Armenia ...	94	30	29	30	Ancient Moxoene, two marches from Mayyafáriḳín and 3 from Khaláṭ, Abulf.

The Sixth Climate.

Names.	Longitude D.	Longitude M.	Latitude D.	Latitude M.	Notes.
Jallíḳiyyah, capital of the Kingdom of Gallicia, Spain	20	...	46	...	The capital of the Galician country according to Abulf. is Zamora.

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Banbalunah, Spain ...	34	15	45	15	Pampeluna, or Pamplona, anciently Pompelo.
Burdál, Frankish territory	30	15	44	15	Anciently Bardigala, Bordeaux.
Lumbardyah Do. ...	40	30	43	50	This location in Abulf. is that of Milan capital of Lombardy, which is here meant.
Benedeḳyah ...	42	..	44	..	Not Bunduḳyah as in the text, Venetia,
Bíza, N. of Spain ...	42	...	47	...	Pisa.
Borshán ...	50	..	45	...	"Name of the capital of the Borjans, noted for their valour, exterminated by the Germans, and no trace of them is left." Ibn Sayd quoted by Abulf. He places the town to the N. E. of Athens and extends the country as far as Constantinople. Reinaud's conjectures point to the Balgarians, but they were known as the Bulghars, v. his references, II. 313. De Slane, however, interprets the word similarly, in Prolog. Ibn Khaldún, I. 161.
Abzon, belonging to Constantinople	59	45	50	.	Correct the Lon. for deg. and min. in text. This is Abydos, Abulf. II. 36.
Buzanṭya, *i. e.* Constantinople	59	50	43	...	*βυξάντιον.*
Kasṭamúnyah ...	65	30	46	20	Corrupted in the text to Kalsutah. It is Kastamúni in Anatolia, v. Ibn Baṭúṭah II. 342.
Sinúb, on the Pontic coast	65	...	47	...	Sinope.
Hirḳalah Do ...	67	20	46	20	Heraclea Pontica; now Erekle.
Amásyah Do....	57	30	45	...	Amasia S. E. of Sinope on the Irmak.
Sámsún Do....	69	20	46	40	Still Sámsún, anciently Amisus.
Furḍhat u'r Rúm ..	74	30	46	90	For روم I would read قرم, Furdḥat signifies a port. The meaning would then be a Crimean port, see *post* Kafa.
Sarír Allán, near Darband	83	...	44	...	Now Daghestán. The Sarir is said to be a territory of the Allân (Allains) the capital of which is located in Lon. 74°, (or 72°) Lat. 43°, but in Ibn Khaldún, I. 161, is Sinope.
Balanjar, capital of the Khazars	85	20	46	30	The passage relating to this name in Abulf. from Ibn Sayd is contradictory, placing the town on the S. of Darband, of Jorzán and then on the Volga Reinaud believes it to have been situated between the Volga and the Caucasus. Some maintain that it is the same as Itil, a town taking its name from the Volga (Itil) and which stood where now is Astrakhan. Jorzán is probably the Khorzene of Strabo, R.
Kersh, on the sea of Azac (Azof)	87	...	46	50	Kertch on the straits of Yenikale, v Travels of Ibn Baṭúṭah, p. 355, II.
Yenghi-kent, Turkistán...	96	30	47	...	
Ṭaráz, Turkistán frontier	99	50	25	...	Near Isfinjáb.

44214

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Fáráb „	98	...	...	...	Probably a repetition of Faryáb preceded in the 4th Climate.
Shalj, Ṭaráz territory	100	30	44	...	A small town on the Turkistán frontier, Yáḳút.
	102	20	44	...	
Almálíḳ	102	20	44	...	
Uzkand, Turkistán	102	50	44	...	Yúzkand in Transoxiana, both forms are correct according to Yáḳút.
Káshghar, one of the chief cities of Turkistán	106	30	44	...	
Artan Kalorán ?	106	...	46	...	
Katáligh	108		44	...	Probably for Khánbáligh, (Pekin) which follows lower down and has preceded in the first Climate under a third form.
Kúráḳurúm, mountain in Kohistan	...	...	...	...	
Khánbáligh, capital of China	...	...	...	...	
Abúldah ?	...	...	...	...	
Asht ?	...	...	...	...	
Antazakht	...		..	...	
Fartanah ?	...	...	...	...	Probably a corruption of Ḳurtubah, Cordova.
Taṭlyah ?	...	...	...	...	Tudela ?
Asnút ?	...	...	...	...	Sinúb ? (Sinope) ?
Sámún ?	...	...	...	...	Sámsún ?
Kasṭamunyah, in Asia Minor	...	...	...	...	Has preceded.
Tarábazún	...	...	...	...	Do.
Jandah	...	...	...	...	Genoa ?
Samúrah, Spain	...	...	...	...	Zamora, read ص for ع.
Lumbardiyah	...	...	...	...	Has preceded.
Borshán	...	...	...	...	Has preceded.
Balanjar	...	...	...	...	Do.
Jábulisa	...	...	...	...	Zábulistán ?
Desert of Ḳipcháḳ	...	...	...	...	The plain of Kipzac, says Gibbon, extends on either side of the Volga in a boundless space towards the Saik and Borysthenes and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks, CLXIV, v. Ibn´ Baṭúṭah, II, p. 356, who describes its character.

THE SEVENTH CLIMATE.

Shant Yáḳú, frontier of Spain	19	...	49	...	St. James of Compostella.
Ṣaḳji, near the Euxine	58	37	50	...	Now Isakdje on the Danube, Ilistria.
Aḳja-Kirmán, Bulgaria	55	...	50	...	Now Akerman at the mouth of the Dniester.
Ḳarḳar, in the Áṣ country	65	30	50	...	In the interior of the Crimea, now called Tchoufout-kalé or fortress of the Jews

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					from a colony of Caryate Jews, near the Chádir Dágh mountain. Reinaud, II, 319.
Kafá, port in the Crimea	67	50	50	...	The ancient Theodosia, a colony of the Milesians, v. Ibn Baṭúṭah, II, 357.
Ṣolghát, *viz.*, Kirim ...	67	10	50	10	That is, that the name of the country Kirim was also given to Solghát which Abulfeda calls the capital of the Crimea and bearing also its name, so that when the word Kirim is used by itself, it signifies Ṣolghát It still bears the name of Eski Kirym, Reinaud, n. p. 320, v. Ibn Baṭúṭah, II, 354.
Tirnan, in the Ulák (Valak) country	67	30	50	...	Ternovo or Ternovaia in Wallachia.
Bulár, *i. e.*, Bulghár on the shores of the Itil Sea (Caspian)	90	...	50	30	The actual position of this town was on the W. bank of the Volga, 135 versts, S. of Kasan. From the fact of coins having been found bearing the name of Bolgár-aljadíd or New Bulghar the existence of two towns has been supposed, and Erdmann professor of O. Languages in the Univ. of Kasan, proposes or establishes a distinction between Bolár and Bulghár. Ibn Baṭúṭah passed three days in the town, II, 399.
Azaḳ, a port on the Sea of Azaḳ	75	...	48	...	Azof at the mouth of the Don.
Ṣarái, capital of the Barakah country	85	...	48	...	Ibn Baṭúṭah visited this town from Astrakhan (II 446). The town was called Sera Barakah, the capital of Sultan Uzbec. This name is also given to the Prince by Abulf. The town stands on an E. branch of the Volga where the Tsarewka and Solœnka streams join that river. It was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1403. See Reinaud's notes and references on this name, II, 323. The lat. is that of Paris.
Alukak, in the Sarái country	85	...	49	55	On the W. bank of the Volga between Sarái and Bulár at 15 marches from each. The horde of the Tartar prince of Barakah advances as far as this, but does not pass beyond, Abulf.
Nahád? Aral Sea ...					
Middle of the lake, the source of the Oxus	...	...	...	...	This is either Sarikol on the Pamir tableland, the source of the northern Oxus which Wood discovered on 12th February 1838, or Barkat Yásin, the source of the southern branch traced in 1868, by the Mirza an employé in the G. T. S. It is doubtful which of these two should rank as the chief source of the Oxus.
Báṭik ? ...	...	...	...	...	

NAMES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
Bajnah ? Turkistán	...	...	...	...	
Şiḳláb	...	...	...	...	Slavonia. The Şaḳlab peninsula جزيرة الصقلب. Reinaud considers to comprise the country between the Oxus and Dnieper, but Norway, Sweden and Finland are included on it by Abulfeda, II, 314.
Mushḳah, in the Slav country on the sea	...	...	...	...	Ibn Sayd gives the Lon. 43°, Lat. 58°, 20′. This country is also placed by Kazwíni on the shore of the ocean, but it is probable, as Reinaud supposes, that Moscow is intended, its real position being unknown.
Ṭabr ?	...	...	...	...	
Kálak ?	...	...	..	...	
Sarikirmán, Bulghár and Turk country	...	...	...	...	Lon. 55° Lat. 5°, east of Akerman, five days' march of Şolghát, Abulf. Sarou or Şari Kirmán is the Tartar name of the old town of Kherson, the cradle of Russian Christianity. Its ruins still called by the same name, are near Sebastopol.
Jábalḳ, extreme W. of Mauritania	.	...	...	...	Jabulká and Jabulsá are mythical cities placed at opposite sides of the mountain of Káf which is said to encircle the earth, but Jabulká is generally placed at the extreme E and Jabulsá to the W. They are employed in a religious sense to signify the first stages of a contemplative life, v. Burhán i Ḳáṭi or Vuller's Lex. and Yáḳút, also Ṭabari Chron, pp. 27, 36, I.
Shore of the Ocean	10	...	34	..	
Marí Kirman ?	...	...	...	..	Probably Şari Kirmán
Şudáḳ, on the Euxine	...	...	...	...	Lon. 56°. Lat. 51° A town in the Crimea, a rival to Kufá in trade ; opposite Samsún in Asia Minor, Abulf. now Novo Shudák.
Islands of Urdujard ?	...	...	...	...	In some MS. Rudjard.
„ Budan ?	...	...	...	...	
„ Ḳúni	...	...	...	...	Probably miscript for Thule. The Shetlands.
Nibánah ? on the Ocean	...	...	...	...	
Taniah, by some said to be on the Ocean, by others rising above the Ocean	...	...	...	..	
Bór, a city near the regions of darkness.					
Cupola of the earth	90	...	...	...	
Middle of the οἰκουμένη	90	...	...	...	
Middle of the sea of Manus ?	...	...	...	...	Already preceded. Perhaps Marmora.
Extreme of the country of Barḳányah	36	20	51	20	Brittany or Armorica, according to Reinaud is here intended and Ibn Sayd's

NAMES OF PLACES.	LONGITUDE.		LATITUDE.		NOTES.
	D.	M.	D.	M.	
					language reproduces that of the text, 'the extreme of the Bretagne country' which he places at Lon. 9°, Lat. 50°, 30′.
Mouths of the Ṭánánís ...	36	55	52	50	Preceded, for Tananis, read Tanais.
" Ṭámánísh	37	...	54	1	Lon. almost illegible. It is probably a repetition of the above.
Locality on the Niá Natís	37	55	55	...	Preceded: corruption of Máníṭash, (Palus Mæotis.)
Villages called Nablús ...	5	45	...	...	Deg. of Lon. and Lat. illegible.
Country adjacent to Lesser Britain	18	...	58	...	
Middle of Great Britain...	17	20	56	...	
" Lesser Britain	29	...	61	...	
Extreme point of Lesser Britain	29	...	62		
Islands called Anúda ...	29		6	...	In some MS. Aluh or Alwah, الوة.
" " Thule ...	20	...	63	...	
Afam, in the Slav country	64	...	...	...	
Parts of the Slav country	...	...	...	...	
Uninhabited ...	...	...	...	...	
Extremest point of the world; here all the Zodiacal signs rise and set	...	...	90	...	

TO FIND THE DISTANCES OF PLACES.[1]

The longitude and latitude of the given places are ascertained. The excess difference between each is multiplied into itself and the products which are called squares (for the square of a number is that number multiplied by itself) are set down and the two squares added together and their square root extracted. This root is then multiplied into $56\frac{2}{3}$ *Karoh* which is the extent of a degree according to the moderns, or into $66\frac{2}{3}$ which is the degree according to the ancients, and the product is the distance of the two places from each other. As long as a variation in the extent of longitudes and latitudes arises, the excess is multiplied proportionately and the result ascertained; where the longitudes and latitudes are equal, the rule does not hold good. This distance is calculated on the straight line, but some discrepancy will occur from the curve in direction. Abu Raiḥán Birúni has calculated this approximately and added a fifth of the result found.

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[1] In his XXI Chap. of the Indica, Albirúni refers to several of his publications in which the method of finding the distances has been worked out. These are not repeated but he gives the calculation of the *deśântara* i. e, *difference between the places* according to the Hindu method as reported by Alfazári, in his Canon, *viz.*, "Add together the squares of the sines of the latitudes of the two places and take the root of the sum. This root is the *portio.* Further square the difference of these two sines and add it to the *portio.* Multiply the sum by 8 and divide the product by 377. The quotient is the distance between the two places according to a rough calculation. On this Albiruni remarks, "This method is found in the astronomical books of the Hindus, in conformity with the account of Alfazári save in one particulars. The here-mentioned *portio* is the *root* of the *difference* between the squares of the sines of the two latitudes not the *sum* of their squares." I do not find the calculation mentioned by Abul Fazl, of this astronomer.

SINGULAR RESULTS ARISING FROM ACCIDENT OF LOCATION.

At the equator all the stars rise and set and the periods of both are equal. Night and day are constant in twelve hours each, and the movement of the celestial sphere is circular. In the first of Aries and Libra the sun is in the zenith and casts two shadows, and at these two periods where the temperature is equable over the greater part of the *οἰκουμένη*, at the equator the heat is excessive and the gnomon has no shadow. When the sun passes the first of Aries and inclines to the north, the shadow is thrown to the south, and when he passes the first of Libra and moves southwards, the shadow is cast to the north. The year has six seasons. Two summers, from the 1st° of Aries to the 15th° of Taurus, and from the 1st° of Libra to the 15th° of Scorpio; two winters, from the 1st° of Cancer to the 15th° of Leo, and from the 1st° of Capricorn, to the 15th° of Aquarius. At the change of the Sun into Cancer, the temperature rises in the climatic zones inclined from the equator, whereas at the equator it is the beginning of winter. It has also two springs, from the 16th° of Leo to the end of Virgo, and from the 16th° of Aquarius to the end of Pisces; and two autumns, from the 16th° of Taurus to the end of the Gemini and from the 16th of Scorpio to the end of Sagittarius. Avicenna and some learned men maintain that the equator is the most equable in temperature of all countries, because the seasons of cold and heat follow in close succession and the sun does not remain long in the zenith. Fakhr-Rázi[1] and another school select the fourth climate and say that "although the sun's stay in the zenith is but for a short period, on the other hand he is never more remote than 23 degrees and a fraction, and we observe that in places where the greatest altitude of the sun is less than its altitude at the equator, as for instance at Khwarizm, where his altitude on the first of Cancer is 71° which is 5° lower than his altitude at the equator, the people are much inconvenienced by the heat, while at the equator it is the cold season. But as the altitude there is 5° greater, it follows that the winter of the equator should be hotter than the summer of Khwarizm; what then would its summer be? And the colour and appearance of the Ethiopians who are near the zone of the equator support this view." The partisans of each school, maintain their several opinions at considerable length. The true resolution is this, that equability in the sense of approximate similarity of conditions is more apparent at the equator, and great heat on account of this assimilation, is to a certain extent unfelt, because the sensations caused by physical impressions succeeding each other rapidly have less force, while sensations directly antagonistic are more perceptible though disregarded in view of the equality in the constant proportions of heat and cold. In the first mentioned sense, therefore, Avicenna is correct, while in the latter, the opinion of Ar Rázi is tenable. Every place which has not the equinoctial and its pole directly in the zenith is accounted among climatic zones inclined from the equator, and these are specially differentiated in five classes. The first is in a latitude less than the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator: the latitude of the second is equal to the greatest declination: that of the third is greater than the declination but less than its complement *measured from the equator*: that of the fourth is equal to

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[1] Muḥammad Ibn Zakaríyyá ar Rázi is known in the Schools of Medicine of the middle ages as Rasis, Rhazes or Rhazis, and accused of having become a Pyrrhonian from misunderstanding the teaching of Aristotle. D'Herbelot says that he had the reputation of a great philosopher and being as distinguished in Chemistry and Astronomy as in Medicine, but the wit of the envious asserted that he was an indifferent chemist since he could not cure his own blindness, and a worthless astronomer since he could not foresee the misfortunes that befell him.

He is the reputed author of many works in Chemistry and Medicine, and of a commentary on Aristotle. The catalogue is noticed by Sachau, II, 342, Albirúni, Indica. He died under the reign of Al Muktadir in A. H. 310. The works of Rasis translated into Latin or French were accounted among the treasures of the library belonging to the faculty of Medicine in Paris in the fifteenth century. In 1471 Louis the eleventh of France borrowed them from that learned body and deposited in pledge a quantity of valuable plate and was moreover, compelled to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed by which he bound himself to return them under great forfeiture; v. Robertson's Hist. Charles V. Notes to Sec. I. But this fictitious value was due to the extreme rarity and therefore high price of books in general and not to the merit of the author. His name occurs also among the books which Chaucer's Doctor of Physicke is said to have studied.

Well knew he the old Esculapius.
And Dioscorides and eke Rufus.
Old Hippocrates, Haly, and Galen.
Serapyon, Razis, and Avycen.
Averrois, Damascien, Constantyn.
Bernard, and Gatesden and Gilbertyn.
Prolog. Cant. Tales.

the complement: that of the fifth is greater than the complement but less than 90°. In the first, the sun is twice in the zenith, from the 1st of Aries to Cancer and from the 1st of Cancer to Libra and casts here also two shadows. In the second he is only once in the zenith, in Cancer. Here and in the remaining zones where the sun does not culminate, the shadow is thrown to the north. At the spot where the pole of the equinoctial is directly perpendicular it is 90° and the movement of the celestial sphere is like a mill. The year there forms a nycthemeron as has already been explained. There is no doubt that the fabled darkness[1] which is the tradition of the vulgar, refers to the gloom of these nights. The points of the east, west, north and south are not here distinguishable.

Some divide the *οἰκουμένη* into three parts. The first is from the equator to a position the latitude of which is equal to the greatest declination of the sun from the equator. The inhabitants of this region are called *Sudán* (blacks), because the sun shining directly above them, they are coloured by its rays and their hair is curly. Those who dwell proximate to the equator are called Zingis.[2] They are absolutely black and scarce resemble human beings. Those who live near the region of the greatest declination, are less swarthy and being of moderate stature and equable disposition, are more of a class with the natives of Hindustan, and Yemen and some of the Mauritanian Arabs. The second is the region of which the latitude extends from the greatest declination to a quarter parallel with the Great Bear.[3] The colour of its inhabitants is inclined to fairness and as the sun does not shine perpendicularly above them and yet is never far removed, their bodies are fashioned in a naturally-adjusted mean, as the Chinese, the Turks, and the people of Khurásán, Irák, Persia and Syria. Of this race, those who dwell nearest to the south have a subtler intellect because they are nearer the zodiac and the orbits of the five planets, while those are of a more powerful build who inhabit the regions to the west. Proximity to the east produces a softness of frame and by such as these great deeds are never accomplished. The third region is parallel with the orbit of the

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[1] It is here that eastern fable locates the fountain of the water of life, which the as mythical prophet, saint, or bard al Khidr is said to have discovered and tasted, and received his immortality. He is alluded to in the 18th Chapter of the Koran in the adventure with Moses from which may be traced the story of Parnell's Hermit.

[2] The inhabitants of Zanguebar, including the "Zingis" of Ptolemy near the entrance of the Red Sea and a large portion of inner Africa, v. Lane. Lex.

[3] According to the *Vishnú Dharma*, the orbit of the Great Bear lies under the pole: under it the orbit of Saturn: then that of Jupiter: next, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. They rotate towards the east like a mill in a uniform motion peculiar to each star,

Great Bear such as the country of the Sclavonians and Russians, and as it is distant from the Zodiac and little affected by the heat of the sun, the cold impels to hardihood, moisture is predominant, and natural living products do not mature. Their colour is fair, their hair red and worn long, their bodies sleek, their temper fierce and their disposition inclined to evil. Hermes,[1] the most celebrated of the name, divides the earth into seven parts analogous with the seven spheres, one within the other. The first towards the south is the continent of India: the second, Arabia, Yemen, and Abyssinia: the third, Egypt, Syria and Mauritania: the fourth, Persia: the fifth, the Greeks, Sclavonians, Franks: the sixth, the Turks and the Khazars: the seventh, China, Khotan and Tibbet.

It is said that Noah apportioned the length of the habitable globe into three lots. The southern he gave to Ham, and this is the country of the blacks and the Arabs: the northern to Japhet, where the fair-skinned, ruddy faced races dwell: the middle portion was assigned to Shem, inhabited by the wheat-coloured people. Feridún divided the breadth of his dominions into three parts; the eastern he gave to Túr: the western to Salm and the intermediate tract to Iraj. Some of the Greeks have made two sections of the habitable earth latitudinally from Egypt. The eastern they call Asia, the western which is the Mediterranean Sea, they subdivide into two, that on the south being named Libya, the country of the negroes, and that on the north Europe[2] where dwell the white and

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some moving rapidly, others slowly. Albirúni criticises this statement with his usual intelligence. See Indica. Cap. XXVII, Sachau, p. 288.

[1] The Hermetic books are said by Fabricius to be the forgeries of a Jew or of a semi-Platonic semi-Christian writer of about the 2nd century after Christ. Hermes Trismegistus himself is a fiction of the Neo Platonists and was the offspring of the Oriental and Hellenic philosophies. He was the supposed mystic author of all knowledge and the author, on the authority of Manetho, of 36,525 books. As this number corresponds with the total number of years of Egyption Chronology in the "Ancient Chronicle," obtained by multiplying the 1461 years of the Canicular Cycle by 25, the coincidence is suggestive that the computation of the books was of late date. Bochart understands by books, lines, and Hornius, pages of papyrus. Galen regarded the Hermetical books of astrological botany as the work of an impostor. See Sir G Lewis. *Astron. of the Anc.* His principal works published under this name are given in the class Dict. of Dr. W. Smith.

[2] This tripartite division into Europe Asia and Libya was unknown to Homer, and the earliest allusions to it are found in the writers of the 1st half of the 5th century B. C., *viz.* Aeschylus and Pindar and the logographers Hecatæus and Pherecydes; v. Art Asia, Smith C. D. Herodotus discusses it in Melpomene (42) with some wonder at the character of the division.

ruddy-complexioned races. Bisecting Asia from the angle between the east and north transversely in a southerly direction, they divide it into two segments, of which the inner is the less and the outer the greater. The middle is called Asia Minor and comprises the country of Irán, Ḥijáz, Yemen and Khurásán. The outer is Asia Major, comprising China,[1] India and Sind. Some say that Hindu philosophers partition the habitable earth into a diagram of nine parts, *viz.*, the south (*dakkhin*) the Arabian country; the north (*uttar*), that of the Turks; the east, (*púrab*), China; the west, (*pachchim*), Egypt and Barbary; the north-east (*isán*), Khata and Khotan; the north-west (*báyab*), the Greeks and Franks; the south-west (*nairit*) the country of the Copts and Berbers, Africa and Spain. The middle country was called *Madhya-desa.*[2] But this account is not found in this order in any Sanskrit work nor is it thus handed down by any of the learned of this country.

θωυμάζω ὦν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί. μήκεϊ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη· εὔρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβαλέειν ἀξίη φαίνεταί μοι εἶναι.

[1] This partition into A. Major and A. Minor was not made, according to a writer in the Cl. Dic. till the 4th century of our era. Asia Major (A. ἡ μεγάλη) was part of the continent E. of the Tanais, the Euxine, an imaginary line drawn from the Euxine at Trebizond to the Gulf of Issus and the Mediterranean. It included Sarmatia Asiatica, with all the Scythian tribes to the E., Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persis, Ariana, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, India, China. Asia Minor (A. ἡ μικρά, Anatolia) was the peninsula on the extreme W. of Asia, bounded by the Euxine, Ægean and Mediterranean.

[2] He has omitted the S. E. The diagram will be found in Albirúni's Indica Ch. XXXIX, 262, Sachau, with the authorities. Abul Fazl's ill-digested knowledge is heaped up indiscriminately without order or method and without heed or consciousness of the worthlessness of so much of it.

THE SCALE OF NOTATION.

Units up to 9	Ekam.
10 „ 100	Daśa.
100 „ 1000	S'ata.
1,000 „ &c.	Sahasra.
10,000 „ &c.	Ayuta.
100,000	Laksh vulg. lakh.
1,000,000	Prayuta.
10,000,000	Koṭi, vulg. Kroṛ.
100,000,000	Arbuda.
1,000,000,000	Abja.
10,000,000,000	Kharba.
100,000,000,000	Nikharba.
1,000,000,000,000	Mahápadma.
10,000,000,000,000	S'aṅku.
100,000,000,000,000	Jaladhi.
1,000,000,000,000,000	Madhya.
10,000,000,000,000,000	Antya.
100,000,000,000,000,000	Parárdha.

The Brahmans have not more than eighteen places of notation, the first being units, *Ekam*, and the rest proceeding by multiples of ten. All above units have a separate designation as above noted, thus differing from the Greek compounds of notation. An intervening number of this scale, for instance, fifteen, is included in the second, one hundred and twelve, in the third place, and so on.[1] And further by the addition of eleven places *to the eighteen*, they reckon up to twenty-nine places and employing the terms of six of the series, the remainder are suffixed as compounds, as will be seen from what follows. Thus: Tens, hundreds, thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, kroṛs; kroṛs tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, kroṛs of kroṛs; kroṛs of kroṛs tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands—nineteen places from the unit's place, and this illustrates the foregoing description. Kroṛs of kroṛs tens of thousands is 1,000,000,000,000,000,000, up to nine tens of thousands of kroṛs of kroṛs, and in a descending scale, nine thousand krors of krors and nine hundred so on to nine. Again, krors of krors lakhs, tens of krors of krors of lakhs, krors of krors of krors; krors of krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors of krors of krors,[1] which series proceeds in the manner above given.

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[1] Read the 16th Chapter of Albirúni's India in connection with this reckoning. He says some maintain a 19th order called Bhúri. According to others the limit of reckoning is *koṭi* and starting from koṭi the succession would be koṭi, tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. Sachau has inadvertently reversed this order. Albírúni adds that *Dasá sahasra*, and *Dasá laksha* are used for the 5th and 7th orders respectively, as the terms *Ayuta* and *Prayuta* are rarely employed.

The Greeks have their scale of notation from one to nine and the recurring ternary series they call a cycle. Thus from one to nine are units, from ten to ninety, tens, and from one hundred to nine hundred, hundreds. This is termed the first cycle. From one thousand to nine thousand are units of thousands, from ten thousand to ninety thousand are tens of thousands, and from one hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand are hundreds of thousands. This they call the second cycle. And thus at the end of each cycle the word "thousands" is added, as for instance, the third cycle begins with units of thousands of thousands, *i. e.*, a thousand thousand, followed by tens of thousands of thousands, *i. e.*, ten thousand thousand up to ninety thousand thousand. Next follows hundreds of thousands of thousands, *i. e.*, a hundred thousand thousand. The beginning of the fourth cycle is units of thousands of thousands of thousands, and so on throughout the remainder of the series. The designations in all are but three, *viz.*, tens, hundreds, thousands, and as to what is said in ancient books of this system being borrowed from the Greeks, the version above given certainly does not support it.

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[1] 10, 000, 000;000;000,000;000;000;000;000. Twenty-nine places from the units.

THE QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE.

The Hindus term a quarter *diśá* and also *dig*[1] and of these they reckon ten. Each of them they consider to be under a tutelary spirit whom they name *Dig-pála* as will appear in the following table:—

Sanskrit name of quarter.	English.	Regent.
Púrva ...	East ...	Indra.
Agni ...	South-east ...	Agni.[2]
Dakshiṇa ...	South ...	Yama.
Nairṛita ...	South-west ...	Nairṛita.
Paśchima ...	West ...	Varuṇa.
Váyavíya ...	North-west ...	Vayu.
Uttara ...	North ...	Kuvera.
I'śána ...	North-east ...	I'śána.
U'rddhva ...	Above ...	Brahma.
Adhaḥ ...	Below ...	Nága.

Some assign a quarter to the interval between the upper and lower regions and thus reckon eleven. The regent of this is Rudra.

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[1] Hind. दिग from दिक, Sansk. दिश्.

[2] Indra is the Indian Jupiter; in Sansk. Dyaush-pitar, or that one among the many Jupiters which personified the firmament and whose epithets, in Sanskrit, are according to Sir W. Jones, the same with those of the Jove of Ennius as expressed in the line.

Aspice hoc sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Agni is the god of fire, and one of the most ancient objects of Hindu worship who answers to the Vulcan of Egypt. Yama in the Vedas is the god of the dead with whom the departed spirits dwell. The S. W. regent is a demon or Rákshasa. Varuna is one of the oldest vedic deities, and like its derivative Οὐρανός a personification of the all-encompassing sky. The name also designates one of the lunar mansions. The god of the air, the Hindu Eolus is represented by Vayu and is associated in the Vedas with Indra, riding in the same car. Kuvera, as living in the shades and being the god of wealth, unites the characteristics of Pluto and Plutus. Iśána is a name of Siva or of one of his manifestations. The serpent worshipping Nagas may boast of their connection with or descent from this regent of the nether world. I shall not pursue the legend of their origin and refer the reader for the more particular history of the above names, among numerous sources of information, to Sir W. Jones' Essay on the Gods of India and Greece, to Dowson's Dict. of Hindu Mythology, and to Lassen, Indisch Alterthum.

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ANIMAL LIFE.

This subject cannot be altogether omitted and shall be cursorily touched upon. In what relates to man, somewhat has already been set down. In distinguishing the finer shades observable in the measure of divergence in the dispositions of men in this region of the globe, investigation points to little discovery. Judges of character, generally, when considering the Hindu people, incline to the ancient opinion that each of them is a presentment of the race contained in the individual. One, from the eminence of his virtues will be beyond price; another will be dear at the basest coin. If regarded with the eyes of impartiality, the sincerely devout of this country are unlike the seekers of God in other lands and in warring with interior spiritual foes that wear the guise of friends, they are rarely to be matched. Their knowledge of affairs, capacity in execution, recklessness of valour, fidelity, especially in times of difficulty, their devoted attachment and disinterested service, and other eminent good qualities are beyond measure great. And yet there are many obdurate and pitiless spirits, devoid of gentle courtesy who for the merest trifle will rise to the shedding of blood, and marvellous are the tales told of these ravening fiends in the guise of angels.

The Hindu philosophers reckon four states of auspiciousness which they term *varṇa.*[1] 1. *Bráhmaṇa.* 2 *Kshatriya* vulgarly, *Khatri.* 3. *Vaiśya* vulgarly *Bais.* 4. *S'údra*, vulgarly *súdra.* Other than these are termed *Mlechchha.* At the creation of the world the first of these classes was produced from the mouth of Brahma, a brief account of whom has already been given: the second, from his arms; the third, from his thigh and the fourth from his feet; the fifth from the cow *Kámadhenu*,[2] the name of Mlechcha being employed to designate them.

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[1] The term in its primitive meaning signifies 'colour, the Aryans from the north priding themselves on their fair complexion, in contradistinction to the 'black skin' typical of the indigenous races. The term subsequently was applied to caste. The various theories critical and legendary of the origin of castes are carefully stated by Muir (Sansk. Texts, Vol. I.) who may be compared with Lassen, I. 794.

[2] The granter of desires,' said to have been produced at the churning of the ocean, belonging to the sage Vasishtha. Called also Káma-duh, Savalá and Surabhi. Dowson.

The *Brahmans* have six recognised duties. 1. The study of the Vedas and other sciences. 2. The instruction of others (in the sacred texts). 3. The performance of the *Jag*, that is oblation of money and kind to the Devatas. 4. Inciting others to the same. 5. Giving presents. 6. Receiving presents.

Of these six the *Kshatriya* must perfom three, 1. Perusing the holy texts. 2. The performance of the Jag. 3. Giving presents. Further they must, 1. minister to Brahmans. 2. Control the administration of worldly government and receive the reward thereof. 3. Protect religion. 4. Exact fines for delinquency and observe adequate measure therein. 5. Punish in proportion to the offence. 6. Amass wealth and duly expend it. 7. Supervise the management of elephants, horses, and cattle and the functions of ministerial subordinates. 8. Levy war on due occasion. 9. Never ask an alms. 10. Favour the meritorious and the like.

The *Vaiśya* also must perform the same three duties of the Brahman, and in addition must occupy himself in: 1. Service. 2. Agriculture. 3. Trade. 4. The care of cattle. 5. The carrying of loads.

From birth to the time of investiture with the sacred thread, these ten duties may be performed by all the three castes above-mentioned.

The Súdra is incapable of any other privilege than to serve these three castes,[1] wear their cast-off garments and eat their leavings. He may be a painter, goldsmith, blacksmith, carpenter, and trade in salt, honey, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter and grain.

Those of the fifth class, are reckoned as beyond the pale of religion, like infidels, Jews and the like. By the inter-marriages of these, sixteen other classes are formed. The son of Brahman parents is acknowledged as a Brahman. If the mother be a Kshatriya, (the father being a Brahman) the progeny is called *Múrdhavaśikta*. If the mother be a Vaiśya, the son is named *Ambaṣṭha*,[2] and if a Súdra girl, *Nisháda*. If the father and mother are both Kshatriya, the progeny is Kshatriya. If the mother be a Brahman, (and the father a Kshatriya) the son is called *Súta*. If the mother be a Vaiśya, the son is *Máhiṣya*. If the mother be a Súdra, the progeny is *Ugra.* If both parents be Vaiśya, the progeny is Vaiśya. If the mother be a Brahman, (which is illicit) the progeny is *Vaideha* but if she be a Kshatriya, which also is regarded as improper, he is *Mágadha.* From the Vaiśya by a Súdra mother is produced a *Karaṇa.* When both parents are Súdra, the progeny is Súdra. If the mother be a Brahman, the progeny is *Chaṇḍála.* If she be a Kshatriya, it is called *Cḥattá.*[1] From a Súdra by a Vaiśya girl is produced the *Ayogava.*

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[1] See these duties in the Institutes of Manu, I, 88, and ff., p. 12, Barnell.

[2] The text has *Antaṭ*. The term I have employed is taken from the ordinances of Manu and is found in the texts of Sir W. Jones and of Barnell These names and many other variations of the progeny of inter-marriages will be found in the tenth chapter of the Institutes of Manu. The management of horses and driving wagons, is therein said to be the occupation of Sútas; the practice of medicine that of Ambaṣṭhas; attendance on women, that of Vaidehakas; trade that of Mágadhas; killing fish that of Nishádas; carpentry of Ayogavas. Catching and killing animals that live in holes, is the occupation of Kṣattaṛs, Ugras, and Pukkasas.

In the same away still further ramifications are formed, each with different customs and modes of worship and each with infinite distinctions of habitation, profession, and rank of ancestry that defy computation.

The Brahmans, in regard to the study of the Vedas, are of four classes, and each occupies himself with the perusal of a special sacred work.[2] There are twenty ways of reading the *Ṛigveda;* the *Yajurveda* has eighty-six; the *Sámaveda,* one thousand, and the *Atharvaveda,* five, and their several disciples fall into distinct categories. There may be also ten distinctions of Brahmans, according to their occupations. 1. Deva. 2. Muni. 3. Dvi-ja. 4. Rájá. 5. Vaiśya. 6. Súdra. 7. Biḍálaka. 8. Paśu. 9. Mlechchha. 10. Chánḍála.

The first named perform the *Hom*[3] for themselves, not for others, and give presents, but do not receive them, and learn, but do not teach. The second perform the *Hom* for others as well as for themselves and receive gifts and teach. The third class[4] have twelve distinctive notes. The six aforesaid and 7. Meekness. 8. Restraint of the five senses from things unlawful. 9. Unshrinking from austerities. 10. Attachment to the precepts of the Vedas. 11. Taking no life. 12. Attributing the possession of nothing to themselves. The fourth class perform the same offices as the *Kshatriya*. The fifth, those of the Vaiśya. The sixth, those of the Súdra. The seventh class have the characteristic of cats,[1] go from door to door and mix with high and low. The eighth, like brutes[2] know not good from evil. The ninth follow the practices of the Mlechchhas (barbarians or non-Aryans), and the tenth are low outcasts and eat carrion.

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[1] According to Burnell, (X. 306) the term is Kṣattar, Sir W. Jones writes Cshattri. Muir (Sans. Texts, I. 174), Kshattṛi.

[2] According to Albirúni, Vyása divided the Veda into the four parts named below, and to each of his four pupils, he taught a separate Veda to be learnt by heart. They are enumerated in the same order as the four parts of the Veda: Paila, Vaiśampáyana, Jaimini, Sumantu.

[3] This oblation consists in casting clarified butter, &c., into the sacred fire as an offering to the gods, with invocations and prayers according to the object of sacrifice.

[4] The three castes of the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaiśya, were called, *dvi-ja,* twice-born, from their title to investiture with the sacred thread which literally constitutes the second birth, but the term is particularly applied to the Brahmans, who maintain that their caste alone remains, the other three having been lost or degraded and it is generally accepted that the pure Kshatriya or Vaiśya does not now exist. The intercourse and inter-marriage of various castes have produced the mixed castes called Varna-Sankara, see Dowson, 336.

The Kshatriya form two races, the *Súrajbanśí* (Solar dynasty) and the *Somabanśí* (Lunar dynasty). The first mentioned are descendants of the Sun. It is said that by the volition of Brahma, *Maríchi*[3] was created, who begot *Kaśyapa* (Muni), from whom the Sun (Vivasván or Súrya) sprung. From him was produced *Vaivaswata* from whose nose *Ikshwáku* came forth by a sneeze and from him the succeeding generations proceeded. Three princes of this race ruled the world and extended their dominion over the seven climes. These were Rájá Sagara,[4] Rájá Khaṭwánga, and Rájá Raghu.

The second race is descended from the Moon. From Brahma was born *Atri*, from whose right eye came forth the Moon (Soma) who begot Mercury (Budha) and from him proceeded the succeeding generations. Two princes of this race held universal sway, namely, *Rájá Yudhisthira* and *Rájá Satánika*. There are more than five hundred tribes of the Kshatriyas of whom fifty-two are preeminently distinguished and twelve are of considerable importance. At the present day, no trace of the true Kshatriya exists. Some of their descendants, abandoning the profession of arms, have taken to other occupations and this class is known to the world by this name. Another body of them adopting the sword as their calling are designated Rájpúts, and are divided into thousands of septs. I record the names of a few of the most renowned, that are now in His Majesty's service.

1. The Ráṭhor; there are several tribes of this clan in service. They number sixty thousand cavalry[5] and two hundred thousand infa

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[1] The Biḍálaka, from Sansk बिडाल a cat.

[2] The Paśu from Sansk. पशु a quadruped.

[3] Abul Fazl's names and transliterations are incorrect. I substitute the true readings of the names as far as I am able to discover them.

[4] Notices of these three legendary princes will be found in Dowson. After Raghu the line practically loses its original name of the Súrajbanśí and is known as Raghubanśí or Rag
from whom Ráma Chandra
and whose epic the Raghu-v
cantos was sung by Kálidá
was a king of Ayodhyá
Sumati was delivered of a
ing 60,000 seeds which
and grew. The anxi
them on milk but
each with a nurse a
they were all able

[5] See Vol. I, p

2. The Chauhán are divided into several[1] branches, *viz.*, Súngira, Khíchí, Deora, Háḍá, and Narbán. The troops of the clan number fifty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry. 3. The Paṅwár. In ancient times, of this tribe was the royal dynasty in Hindustán, and it numbered many clansmen. At the present time their force consists of twelve thousand cavalry and sixty thousand foot. 4. The Jádoṅ. Fifty-thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand foot. 5. Bháṭi. 6. Járejah. 7. Janúhah, to which clan the Khánzádahs of Mewát belong. 7. Gehlót. Twenty thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand foot. 8. Sesodia. 9. Chandráwat. 10. The Kachhwáhah, who are celebrated among the Ráj-púts, and number twenty thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand infantry. 11. The Solankhi. Thirty thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry. 12. Parihára. 13. Tonwar, for a time the sovereignty of this country rested in this tribe. They number ten thousand horse and twenty five thousand foot. [illegible] Badgújar. Ten [illegible] forty thousand foot. Each of these tribes claims an ancestry trace back to hundreds of thousands of years, a source of splendid pride t the intelligent judgment and is indeed a theme far above the level of a idle tale to distract the mind.

The Vaisya and the Súdra are in the same way divided into numer-ous branches. For instance, there is one caste of the Vaiśyas called *Banik*, more commonly termed *Baniyá*, (grain-merchant). The Persians nam them *Baḳḳál* and of these there are eighty-four divisions.

There are besides troops of astonishing sorcerers, cunning jugglers, wonder-working magicians, and conjurers of such sleight of hand, performing such extraordinary feats that not the vulgar alone, but the acutest minds are deceived into a belief in their miraculous powers. For instance, one of them will say in broad day-light to one of the specta- " I have just returned from heaven, and having there been assured ır honour and probity, I entrust my wife to your care." Then placing his charge, he takes a coil of rope of untanned hide, one end of e holds in his hand, and flings the coil to such a height that the becomes invisible. By means of this he mounts up and is lost to ter a little time his limbs one after the other come falling from ı which the woman, after their national rite, burns herself in he spectators and is consumed to ashes. In a brief space of

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the Ráthor Cavalry
or its true significa-

names of twenty-
four branches, I, Chap. V. The deeds of many of these famous clans are preserved by Tod in his Rájasthán.

time, the man himself reappears and claims his charge. The spectators relate to him what has happened which he affects to disbelieve, and hastening to the house of the person to whom he had entrusted her, calls to his wife from the door. She comes forth, giving thanks for his safety, and leaves the spectators in bewilderment. Again he will cut a man up into forty pieces, and cover him over with a sheet. Then at his summons, the man will appear unhurt and answer for his reality.[1]

Or, he will place some grains of mustard seed in the palm of his hand, and by some incantation, will make it straight way shoot and bear leaves and fruit. In the same way they will produce mangos and melons out of season. In short, the marvels of their sorceries, and snake-charming and the like, are beyond expression.

LANGUAGES.

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan, many are the dialects that are spoken, and the diversity of those that do not exclude a common inter-intelligibility are innumerable. Those forms of speech that are not understood one of another, are the dialects of Delhi, Bengal, Multán, Máṛwáṛ, Gujarát, Telingánah,[2] Maṛhaṭṭa, Karnátik, Sind, Afghán of Shál (between Sind, Kábul, and Ḳandahár), Beluchistán, and Kashmír.

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[1] Similar performances are described by Ibn Baṭúṭah who witnessed them at an entertainment of the Viceroy of Khansa (Kinsay of Polo). Another witness to similar feats is Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller who was present at a like scene in Batavia in 1670, where the limbs that fell successively were caught up and cast into a basket. The last fragment was the head and no sooner had it touched the ground than the man who had gathered up the limbs into the basket, turned them all out topsy turvy. Melton continues as follows: "Then straightway we saw with these eyes, all those limbs creep together again, and in short, form a whole man who at once could stand and go just as before without showing the least damage. Never in my life was I so astonished as when I beheld this wonderful performance and I doubted now no longer that these misguided men did it by the help of the Devil." The Memoirs of the Emperor Jahángír furnish further testimony of similar performances by seven jugglers from Bengal. In one feat, a man is severed limb from limb and decapitated and reproduced from under a sheet. In the other the Emperor says, 'They produced a chain 50 cubits in length and threw one end of it towards the sky where it remained as if fastened to some thing in the air. A dog was brought forward and being placed at the lower extremity of the chain, immediately ran up and disappeared in the air. In the same manner, a hog, a panther, a lion and a tiger were successively sent up and all equally disappeared. At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no one discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish. Yule's Marco Polo. Ed. 71, p. 281.

[2] See Vol. II, pp. 228-30, notes. By

FAUNA.

A summary description of the noblest of the animal creation having been given, I proceed to notice the lower types of animal life.

The Ban-mánus is an animal like a baboon, dark in colour, and in stature and face resembling a human being and walks on two feet. Although it has no tail, its body is slightly covered with hair. One of these was brought to His Majesty from Bengal which performed the most astonishing antics. Elephants, lions,[1] leopards, panthers, tigers, bears, wolves and dogs of various breeds, and monkeys, lynxes, hyænas, jackals, foxes, otters, cats, white and tawny and even winged that will fly for a short distance, and other kinds of animals are numerous. *Sardól* is the name of an animal smaller than a dog but preys upon lions and other wild beasts. Through the encouragement of His Majesty, the breed of horses is as fine as those of Irák and Arabia. The rhinoceres is a stupendous creature. He is twice the size of a buffalo and much resembles a horse in armour. His feet and hoofs are like those of an elephant, and his tail similar to a buffalo's, and he has a pastern-joint like a horse. On the point

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the Telingánah is meant Telegu, which was called by the Sanskrit writers Andhra, the ancient name applied at one time to the whole country of Telingána. Most of the languages enumerated are but dialects of Hindi. As Mr. Beames states in his introduction to the comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan Languages, Gujaráti is a dialect of the Sauraseni Prákrit, the parent of Hindi. Panjabi is but an old Hindi dialect. Bengali, perhaps the most modern of the Indian vernaculars, three centuries ago closely resembled the Hindi still spoken in eastern Behár. Oriya is in some respects more like Hindi than Bengali. Sindhi is fundamentally distinct, but with unmistakeable traces of kinship which are far more pronounced in Marathi. I refer the student to this able synopsis of the languages and literature of Hindustan. The place of Sanskrit and the Prakrits in the history of the Indian vernaculars is briefly outlined for the general reader in Sir W. Hunter's India, (I. G. IV) with his usual crispness of touch and treatment.

[1] Lions are mentioned, according to Lassen, in the oldest Indian writings. They have now nearly disappeared, as they have from Persia, Syria, Asia Minor and Macedonia. Alexander found them in the Eastern Panjab. Lassen supposes the tiger to have advanced as the lion disappeared. The Indian hounds were famous and a Babylonian satrap had so many that four villages were specially taxed for their maintenance. They were considered worthy to be presented to Alexander the Great by king Sopeithes. See Lassen's note on this.

The winged cat is probably the flying squirrel which Mr. Routledge informs me is called by the natives *urli billi.*

Sardól in Sanskrit signifies a tiger, but here is perhaps meant some species of wild dog which in packs of 6 or 7 will hunt down the fiercest game.

of his snout he carries a single horn and his hide is so thick that an arrow will not pierce it. Of this, breast-plates and shields and the like are made, and he is bold enough to charge a man on horseback. The black antelope, has two long horns and for beauty and swiftness is unrivalled among his kind. The deer, from which the musk is taken, is larger than the fox, and his coat is rough. He shows two tusks and protuberances in place of horns. They are common in the northern mountains. The Yák approximates to the domestic cow but of its tail is made the *ḳutás*[1] or fringed tassel, and many they join together. There is also the civet cat.

The *Shárak*[2] is an astonishing talker, and listeners would not distinguish its tones from human speech.

The *Mynah*[3] is twice the size of the *Shárak*, with glossy black plumage, but with the bill, wattles and tail-coverts yellow. It imitates the human voice and speaks with great distinctness.

Parrots are of different colours, red, white and green and talk like human beings. At the present time, under His Majesty's patronage, animals of all kinds from Persia, Turkestán, and Kashmír whether game or other, have been brought together to the wonderment of beholders.

The *Kóél*,[4] is like a mynah, jet black with crimson irides and a long tail. Romance sings of its loves as of those of the bulbul.

The *Papíhá*,[5] is smaller than the Kóél, with a shorter and slenderer tail. Its love is chanted in story. It is in full song in the beginning of the rainy season and has a peculiar note and its plaintive strain is heard oftenest at night, and makes love's unhealed wounds bleed anew. It is from its note that the word *píu* is taken, which in Hindi signifies 'beloved.'

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[1] See Vol. II, p. 172, n. 2, Vullers distinctly (Lexicon) names the Gáo Ḳutás as the Yák Tibetanas or Bos grunniens.

[2] In Sansk. Shárika, Hind. Shárik, Sárik or Sárak. In Bengal the word is written and pronounced *Sálik* and applied to the common Mynah, the Acridotheres tristis, which is occasionally a fine talker.

[3] Eulabes intermedia. Jerdon. The Nepal Hill Mynah, found also in Assam, and about the Chittagong tracts, more or less with these characteristics. There are various species not easily distinguished by the inexpert.

[4] Eudynamys Orientalis, Jerdon. The Cuculus according to Linnæus. It is well-known throughout India. Its name is from its cry of koil-koil which increases in volume of sound as it goes on. The female lays its eggs in the nest of the common crow, generally only one and sometimes destroys the eggs of the crow at the time of depositing her own. The crows appear to be aware of the fact when too late and often pursue these cuckoos with great fury.

[5] Coccystes Melanoleucos, Jerdon. The piedcrested cuckoo. It is found all over India, and is above of a uniform black with a greenish gloss. Jerdon unromantically describes it as very noisy with a high pitched metallic note, which would appear highly calculated to re-open any old wounds or cause a fresh one. It is best known in Hindu poetry under the name of Cháṭak.

The *Háríl*[1] has green plumage with a white bill and crimson irides, smaller than the ordinary pigeon. It never settles upon the ground and when it alights to drink, it carries with it a twig which it keeps beneath its feet till its thirst is quenched.

The *Baya*[2] is like a wild sparrow but yellow. It is extremely intelligent, obedient and docile. It will take small coins from the hand and bring them to its master and will come to a call from a long distance. Its nests are so ingeniously constructed as to defy the rivalry of clever artificers.

The astonishing feats which the animals of this country can perform and their beautiful variety of colouring is beyond the power of my inexperience to describe. Former romancers have related stories in abundance of their extraordinary characteristics but the writer of this work mentions nothing that he has not himself seen or heard from accurate observers.

I write of things within my ken
Nor tell a twice-told tale again.

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[1] Also Hariyál, the Crocopus Phœnicopterus, or Bengal Green Pigeon, (Jerdon). The text is evidently in error, omitting the negative before the word 'settles,' which stultifies the sense of what follows. Gladwin confirms me in this opinion, but whether the fact is so or not, is another point. Jerdon does not allude to it. It is incorrect to say that it is smaller than the ordinary pigeon; the reverse is the case, with regard to this particular species though some kinds, of which there are many, may be and are smaller.

[2] Ploceus baya or common weaver-bird. Its long retort-shaped nest is a familiar sight in India. Jordon says that it can be taught to pick up rings or such like articles dropped down a well or carry a note on a given signal. Mr. Blyth has seen it fire off a miniature cannon and apply the match five or six times before the powder ignited, which it finally did with a report loud enough to frighten all the crows in the neighbourhood, while the little bird remained perched on the gun without moving. In their breeding plumage, the old males have the crown of the head yellow, the rest of the upper plumage with the wings and tail, dull brown, edged with pale fulvous brown; the breast is bright yellow, but in the younger, pale rusty; while the females and the males in winter dress totally want the yellow head, the crown being brown with dark streaks.

LIBRARY OF THE

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Measures.

6 Atoms[1] = 1 *Maríchi.*
6 *Maríchi* = 1 *Khardal*, (Brassica nigra).
3 *Khardal* = 1 *Sarshaf*, (Brassica juncea).
8 *Sarshaf* = 1 Barley corn.
4 Barley corns = 1 Surkh (Abrus precatorius).
6 *Surkh* = 1 *Máshah.*
4 *Máshah* = 1 *Ṭánk.*

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 16, n. and p. 36, for some of these measures and the weights that follow. The 15th Chapter of Albirúni deals with the metrology of the Hindus and may be compared with those measures. I append a very valuable note by Dr. Prain, Curator of the Herbarium, Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, on the distinction between the kinds of mustard called 'Khardal' and 'Sarshaf' in the text and which remarkably confirms by actual experiment the accuracy of the weights. To Dr. King, the distinguished Superintendent of the Gardens, to whom I have already expressed my many obligations in the 2nd Vol. of the work, I am again indebted for the learned co-operation of Dr. Prain.

"Khardal" and "Sarshaf" are both names that are applied to BLACK-MUSTARD (BRASSICA NIGRA).

The former name is, *Watt* says, (in *Dict. Econ. Prod.* I, 521) applied, with a qualification, to WHITE MUSTARD; the latter apparently is not.

There is little doubt that by the lower unit of the two (KHARDAL) the seed of Black or true mustard is meant.

The question is as to the identity of the other unit.

Had "Sarshaf" been applied to both and "Khardal" restricted to black mustard, one would have felt inclined to say that white mustard (*Sinapis alba*) was intended. But it must be remembered that white mustard is an uncommon plant in Asia; and that Boissier only speaks of it as a plant of waste places and groves in Greece, Palestine and Taurus, (not even admitting it as a Persian species) and that its seeds, though much larger than those of *B. nigra*, do not suit the conditions required better than those of another species to be mentioned immediately. This is *Brassica juncea*—the well-known Indian mustard or *Rái* which is cultivated in Persia, as it is in India, for its oil. The vernacular names given by Watt do not include "Khardal" alone or qualified, but apparently the "Sarshaf" appears (*e. g.*, in the Bengali name "Rái Sarisha") and this, therefore, seems to be the species that best suits the conditions; for *Abul Fazl* would be most probably referring to a well-known and common plant by his second word.

As regards the physical conditions, *Rai* seeds seem to suit very well, so far as the Calcutta Herbarium material goes. For in weighing 3 ripe seeds of *Brassica nigra* from Madeira against *one* ripe seed of India *Brassica juncea*, the scale shows very close approximation in weight; and 8 ripe seeds of *Brassica juncea* from

2 *Tánk* = 1 *Kaul.*
2 *Kaul* = 1 *Tólchah.*
2 *Tólchah* = 1 *Sukti.*
2 *Sukti* = 1 *Pal.*
2 *Pal* = Palm of the hand.
2 Palms = 1 *Anjali,* (two hands joined with the palms hollowed.
2 *Anjali* = 1 *Mánika.*
2 *Mánika* = 1 *Prastha.*
4 *Prastha* = 1 *Ádhaka.*
4 *Ádhaka* = 1 *Drona.*
2 *Drona* = 1 Súrpa.
2 Súrpa = 1 Khári.

The *Khári* of the present day is three times this measure.'

[illegible] 3 kands (i.e. [illegible] 3 kands of weights [illegible])

India exactly balance a ripe grain of barley from Afghanistan, though a ripe barley-corn from Europe outweighs them.

Attached are notes of synonyms of the two species:—

(*a*) BRASSICA NIGRA *Koch, Deutsch. Fl.* iv, 713.
Boiss. Fl. Orient. I, 390.
Hooker fil. and Thoms., Jour. Linn Soc. v, 170.
Hooker fil. and T. Anders., Flor. Brit. Ind. I, 156.
Watt, Dict. Econ. Prod. Ind. I, 530.

BRASSICA (melanosinapis) nigra; the "true" mustard, or "black" mustard; the "Khardal" of the Arabs, but also the "Sarshaf" of Indian medical practice.

SYNONYMS. *Sinapis nigra* Linnæus, Sp. Pl, 933.
Wall. Cat. 4790.
S. erysimoides Roxb., Fl. Ind. iii, 123.

This is cultivated in Europe generally; in Northern Africa, from Madeira to Egypt and Abyssinia; in the Orient., Arabia, Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan; in Turkestan and Tibet; and (locally) in India.

Three seeds of this = one seed of *Rai,*

(*b*) BRASSICA JUNCEA *Hook. f. and Thoms., Jour. Linn. Soc.* v, 170.
Hook. f. and T. Anders., Flor. Brit. Ind. I, 157.
Watt, Dict. Econ. Prod. Ind. I, 528.

BRASSICA (Ceratosinapis) *juncea;* the "Indian" mustard; the "Rái" of Indian cultivators.

SYNONYMS, *Brassica Willdenovii* Boiss., Ann. Sc. Nat., (1842), 88.
Sinapis juncea Linnæus, Sp. Pl., 934.
Boiss., Fl. Orient. I 394,
S. integrifolia Willd., Hort. Berol., t. 14.
S ramosa Roxb., Fl. Ind. iii,
S. rugosa Roxb., Fl. Ind. iii,
S. cuneifolia Roxb., Fl. Ind. iii.

This is cultivated ("Colitur olei causa" *Boiss. Fl. Orient., l. c.*), in Egypt; Arabia; Persia (sparingly); Afghanistan; India (generally).

One seed of this = three seeds of *Black mustard.* Eight seeds of this = one barley-corn.

1 Jeweller's Weights.

These are based on the *Ṭáṇk* and the *Surkh.* A Ṭáṇk is equal to twenty-four *Surkh,* and the ordinary Miskál is two *Surkh* more. The *Surkh* is divided into twenty parts, each part being termed a *biswah.* Formerly two and a half *biswah* were reckoned to one rice-grain, but the grains of that time were larger. His Majesty's foresight and sagacity have adjusted the proportion of two *biswah* to the grain. Each *Surkh* was equal to ten rice-grains. His Majesty in his wisdom directed that the grains should be made of the cat's eye stone and thus obviated the defect of currency. The standard weights kept ready for use are the following: the *biswah,* the rice-grain, ¼ and ½ of *Surkh,* 2 *Surkh,* 3 *Surkh,* 6 *Surkh* (which is ¼ of a Ṭáṇk), ½, 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, and 50 Ṭáṇk. Any other gradations may be compounded of these weights, and for the imperial service, weights of cat's eye up to 140 Ṭáṇks have been made of such brilliancy that they cannot be distinguished from gems.

2 Banker's Weights.

These are based on the *Tolchah,* the *Máshah,* and the *Surkh.*

Formerly 6 now 7½ rice-grains = 1 *Surkh*
8 *Surkh* = 1 *Máshah*
12 *Máshah* = 1 *Tólchah.*

The ordinary weights in use are ½, 1, and 4 *Surkh:* 1, 2, 4, 6, *Máshah:* 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500 *Tólchah.* But in the imperial Exchequer, the gradations of weight kept ready are very numerous.

3 Other Trade-weights.

Formerly in Hindustán, the *sér* weighed 18 and in some places 22 *dám.* In the beginning of His Majesty's reign it was current at 28 and is now fixed at 30, each *dám* being 5 *Ṭáṇk.* In the transactions in coral and camphor the dám was reckoned at 5½ *tánk,* but the price of these articles having fallen, it is valued at five only. The weights in ordinary use are ⅛, ¼, ½ of a *sér;* 1, 2, 5, 10 *ser;* ½, 1 *man* which consists of 40 *ser.*

The Learning of the Hindus.

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan there are three hundred and sixty systems of philosophy and conduct. By such means is the warfare with the malice of the spirit carried on, and the hand of violence extended against the deceits of our internal foes. The desire unto evil leadeth to perdition and the worship of the Lord exalteth the heart. The writer of this work has mixed with many of the leaders of thought and has made himself acquainted to some extent with the discussions of the different schools. A considerable body do not rise beyond the experience of sight and hearing. They consider argument as idle discussion and accept no proof other than tradition of the past. Another school profess acceptance of demonstration, but from interior blindness remove not the rust of doubt. Another sect urge on the swift and light-paced dromedary of vision to the halting-place of truth in some questions, and from self-esteem imagine that they have likewise attained the same goal in others. And yet another body submit their intellects to those who affect stoicism and indifference, and in pursuit of their desire, lend to what is not the deceptive gloss of what is. Volumes would not contain the full tale of these. Who thinks to break his fast at the board of the parasite? But for the benefit of real seekers of knowledge, I here set down the series of fundamental systems which may be considered as nine in number and present the doctrines of each without discussion of their merits. It is my hope that inquirers may carefully study them and compare them with the principles of the Platonists, the Peripatetics, the Ṣúfis and dogmatic theologians, and removing the obstructions of prejudice, seek alone for demonstration, and putting aside the estrangements of ignorance, exercise scrutiny with caution.

In this country there are eight sects who professedly teach the doctrines of the emanation of the world, of a life to come, of the essence and attributes of the verities that underlie superior and inferior cosmic phenomena, and the ceremonial and modes of worship and the forms of monarchical government both visible and symbolic: the ninth denies the existence of God and rejects the belief in a beginning or end of existence. Each of these have their special doctrines and rules of conduct and an ample nomenclature, but the system is that of the Greeks before the time of Aristotle. Formerly they wrote with an iron style on the leaves of the palm and the *túz*,[1] but now on paper, and from left to right. The leaves are kept separate and it is not the practice to stitch them together. Their mystic idealism enlightens the understanding and invigorates the soul. But how shall I proceed? for my heart inclines from speech to silence. Time after time, the ordinary subjects of knowledge, sinking deep into any mind oppress me to use true science, by which stair the soul might rise to insight into truth, as a means to procure rank and wealth, and again, at times, my understanding is luminously inspired not to make bread-winning and pencraft the end of knowledge. The searcher after a formula is unable to express it, or if discovered, the mind suffices not for its full cognition. For this reason, the tongue of speech adheres to the palate of silence and the head of thought sinks into the collar of depression, although it is said that he whose leisure is undisturbed, may in stillness be inspired to eloquence and the lover of taciturnity find voice though the inspired himself shall be dumb. But in truth to sully the tongue with utterance is to expose oneself to error. My own spirit is weary with discussion and my tongue oppressed by declaiming. I know not if this be lassitude of the disposition or the first revelation of truth, whether darkness overshadow my path with confusion or the leader of the caravan on this long journey be not yet arrived. Speech is a beverage filled with poison, and silence is a desert of sweet waters, the hidden source whereof flows from the possessors of truth. I have taken no quarry better than prayer and have seen no lamp brighter than silence. If my state were not one of such perplexity, and my mind not so averse from lengthened discussion, I would expound the philosophy of the Hindus after the systems of the Greeks, but as it is, in accordance with my design, I here set down what befits the scope of this work and my leisure permits.

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[1] See Vol. II, p. 351.

Description of the Nine Schools.

Naiyáyika is one who is versed in the Nyáya philosophy. *Vaiśeshika* treats likewise of philosophy and its professors will be later on noticed. *Vedánti* is one who is conversant with the Vedánta System. *Mímaṃsaka* is a follower of the Mímáṃsá philosophy. *Sánkhya, Pátanjala, Jaina, Bauddha, Nástika.* Each of these is distinct in its doctrine and their several principles will be hereafter explained. The Brahmans consider the last three as heretical and they admit no philosophical systems beyond the first six which they term *shaḍdarśana*, that is, the six modes of knowledge. The *Nyáya* and *Vaiśeshika* agree in many points, as do the *Vedánta* and *Mimáṃsá*, and the *Sánkhya* and the *Pátanjala.*

Nyáya. The founder of this school was the sage Gautama. It comprises within its field, physiology, theology, mathematics, logic and dialectics Its followers hold the Supreme Being to be exempt from plurality, neither begotten nor begetting, incorporeal and free from all defect. He is without beginning as without end, the Creator, the Preserver, and they regard Him as pure Spirit: but they assert that he created a bodily form and united Himself thereto in a determinate manner; and as the body is capable of action through its union with the soul, so does this corporeal form energize in union with the Deity without sullying the robe of its inviolable sanctity. This doctrine is akin to that of the Christians. The appellations of divinity are conceded to it, but it is not believed to be from all eternity. The Creator of the world, through the instrumentality of this Being, revealed His words unto men, and this revelation they call *Veda.* It consists of upwards of one hundred thousand verses (*śloka*) each of which comprises four feet (*charaṇa*) each foot being of not less than eight or more than twenty-six letters (*Akshara*). In this book it does not exceed twenty. An *akshara* consists of either one or two letters: if of two, the last is quiescent. A holy man named Vyása divided this book into four parts to each of which he assigned a separate name, *viz.*, the Ṛigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samaveda and the Atharvaveda. These four are considered divine books. Some assert that the First Being had four mouths from each of which a Book issued. Every Brahma who appears, wonderful to relate, delivers the same letters and words without diminution or addition.

They maintain that God is the absolute Efficient Cause and that the works of men are produced by these two sources of causation, (*viz.*, God and Brahma). The moral distinctions of good and evil in actions are deduced from the divine Books. They believe in hell and heaven. The former they term *Naraka* and locate it in the lower region. The latter is called *Svarga* and is assigned to the celestial region. They do not believe in a perpetual duration of existence in either paradise or hell, but that men in the measure of their evil deeds may descend into hell and receive condign punishment, and thence coming forth assume other bodies, and for their good works obtain happiness in heaven, and again issuing from it, return into new forms: thus they will come and go until they have fully received the recompense or punishment of their former deeds, after which freed from the necessity of these two states, they will be liberated from joy and sorrow as will be hereafter related.

Some believe that portions of the world are from eternity and that some are created, as will be afterwards mentioned. They assign eight attributes to the Deity which they call accidents. 1. *Gyána*, omniscience, by which He knows the future and the past, all that is secret or manifest, in whole and in part, and ignorance and forgetfulness cannot approach Him. 2. *Ichchhá*, will. All things at His pleasure are created or fall into nothingness. 3. *Prayatna*, providential order and the due procession of causes so that existence and non-existence may have their realisation. 4. *Saṅkhyá*, numerical series, and this is of three kinds, unity, duality and excess of these. The first named is an attribute of the Almighty. 5. *Pramáṇa*, extent, and this is of four kinds as will be hereinafter mentioned. As they believe God to be omnipresent, his extent must be infinite. 6. *Pṛithaktva*, severalty and individuality. As of Saṅkhya, this is of three kinds, the first being a Divine attribute. 7. *Samyoga*, co-inherence, because all things unite in Him. 8. *Vi-bhága*, disjunction. The last six of these are accounted to have been from all eternity.

Sixteen subjects called predicaments (*padártha*),[1] are discussed by this system and these topics comprise all the objects of thought. Although it does not strictly proceed beyond the second, nor, indeed, beyond its subordinate classification of *Artha*, yet a few details are here set down for information.

THE SIXTEEN PREDICAMENTS.

1 Pramáṇa. 2 Prameya. 3 Sanśaya. 4 Prayojana.
5 Drishṭánta. 6 Siddhánta. 7 Avayava. 8 Tarka.
9 Nirṇaya. 10 Váda. 11 Jalpa. 12 Vitáṇḍá.
13 Hetvábhása. 14 Chhala. 15 Játi. 16 Nigraha-sthána.

The First Predicament, *Pramáṇa*, (proof) is of four kinds. 1 *Pratyaksha*, (perception) by the six perfect senses, *viz.*, the five external senses together with *manas* which will be hereafter explained. 2 *Anumána*, inference. 3 *Upamána*, resemblance and analogy. 4 *Sabda*, tradition of trustworthy and pious men. These four are held to embrace a considerable extent of knowledge.

The Second Predicament. *Prameya* signifies the objects of thought, and this which is beyond the reach of numeration, is yet classed under twelve heads. 1 *Átman.* 2 *Saríra.* 3 *Indriya.* 4 *Artha.* 5 *Buddhi.* 6 *Manas.* 7 *Pravṛitti.* 8 *Dosha.* 9 *Pretyabháva.* 10 *Phala.* 11 *Duḥkha.* 12 *Apavarga.*

I. *Átman*, soul, is a subtile, all-pervading substance which is the seat of the understanding, and it is of two kinds. The first kind is *Jívátman* (the vital principle), which vivifies human bodies and the animal and vegetable creation. Each body is supposed to be informed by a distinct spirit whose perceptions, through the senses and operations of the intellect, can be exercised only in conjunction with the substance *manas*[2] to be subsequently explained. The second kind is *Paramátman*, the Supreme

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[1] This term is translated by Colebrooke indifferently as category or predicament, and by Dr. Röer as Category. Davies in his Hindu Philosophy, uses predicaments and categories as synonymous (p. 127) in his rendering of *padártha.* I have distinguished these sixteen subjects as predicaments to avoid confusing the numbers with the subordinate categories given by Abul Fazl under the heading of *artha*, the 4th classification of the second predicament, *prameya.* Of these sixteen, says Mr. Davies, the first two are the chief, the others being only subsidiary, as indicating the course which a discussion may take, from the setting forth of a doubt, to the final confutation of the doubter.

[2] The distinction between the sensitive material organ *manas* and the rational conscious soul *jívátman*, is the *θυμός* and *φρὴν* of Pythagoras, one perishing with the body, the other immortal, v. Colebrooke, Essays, I, 442.

Soul, which they hold to be One and from all eternity. Its intellectual cognitions are independent of the operation of *manas*.

II. *Śaríra*, body, is also of two kinds. *Yóni-ja* (uterine), sexually produced. *Ayoni-ja*, that which is not so produced. The first mentioned has two further subdivisions, *viz.*, *jaráyu-ja*, viviparous, and *aṇḍa-ja*, oviparous, and both are formed of the five elements.[1] The latter, *ayoni-ja*,

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[1] It may be instructive to transcribe the account of the elements taken from the *Kashsháf i Iṣṭiláhátu'l Funún*, and to compare it with Abul Fazl's description of the elemental spheres at p. 38 of this volume.

An element is defined as being a simple body with the quality of directness of tendency. By simple, is understood that which is not composed of bodies of really distinct natures, while a directness of tendency is the tendency of a body towards the centre or circumference. This is to exclude the heavenly bodies. The later philosophers affirm that the elements are four in number: 1, absolute tenuity, *i. e.*, fire; 2, relative tenuity, *i. e.*, air; 3, absolute density, earth; 4, relative density, water. Absolute density is that quality which necessitates the movement of a body to a point where its centre of gravity impinges on the centre of the universe, such as earth. Relative density is that quality which necessitates the movement of a body towards the centre throughout most of the distance between the centre and the circumference, but without reaching the centre. Absolute tenuity is that quality which necessitates the movement of a body to where its surface compactly underlies the surface of the concave side of the moon's sphere, such as fire. Relative tenuity is that quality which necessitates the motion of a body towards the circumference throughout most of the distance between the centre and the circumference but without reaching the latter, such as air. Some maintain that there is but one element, but differ as to the one, and the following are the five opinions on the subject: 1st, That it is fire because of its absolute simpleness, and because heat is the nourishing principle of the universe, while the others are produced by condensation. 2nd, That it is air because of its humidity and its subjection to external influences, fire being produced by the heat of rarefied air, and the other two by its condensing cold 3rd, Water, as its capability of being rarefied and condensed is evident. 4th, Earth, because the others are generated by subtilization. 5th, Vapour, because it is a mean between these four in tenuity and density, for when condensed in excess, it becomes earth and water, and if highly rarefied, fire and air. Others maintain that there cannot be but one, because a compound involves the plurality of its components. Hence they make the elements two in number, and three different opinions are entertained thereon. 1st, *Fire*, since it is the extreme of tenuity and heat, and *Earth* because it is the extreme of density and cold. Air, according to this theory is but fire inert, while water is earth in fluidity. 2nd, *Water* and *Earth*, because created things have need of humidity to be acted upon and to take form, and of dryness to retain the shapes assumed. 3rd, *Earth* and *Air* for the same reasons. Another opinion is that the elements are three: *Earth* and *Water* for the reasons above given, and (3) *fire* through its fostering heat. It is also asserted that has four subdivisions. 1. *Párthiva*, formed of earth; 2. *Ápya*, formed of water; 3. *Taijasa* of fire. 4. *Váyavíya*, of air.

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the elements of complex bodies are not four or even fewer but that they are solid, indivisible and infinite. Others again suppose that the elements of compounds are surfaces, since composition is the effect of junction and contact, and this first appears in plane surfaces. All the elements are spherical because the natural form of a simple body is circular. Water would spontaneously have encompassed the earth, but as hills and valleys were produced in parts of the globe, by reason of the celestial movements and conjunctions, the water flowed into the depressions and the high places appeared to view, water and earth becoming, as it were, one sphere through the wisdom of God and His mercy that it might be a growing-place for plants and a habitation for animals. The four elements are capable of undergoing generation and decay so that each may be converted into the other. Some of them undergo this change without external interference, because each element shares the quality of another in some particular while it differs in another. Thus earth may become water and *vice versa*, for alchemists profess to convert stones into liquid, while occasionally water is convertible into stone. So, too, water is changed into vapour by heat, and vapour into water by refrigeration, and air can become fire as instanced in the blacksmith's forge, and *vice versa*, as in a flame of fire, otherwise the flame would rise to the sky and consume whatever might be above it, which is not the case. Other elements undergo change by external agency; this happens when two elements differ in their several qualities as water and fire, and air and earth, for water does not become fire directly, but first is changed into vapour and then fire and so on. Philosophers think that the four elements are the components of all matter. The elements are seven in number. The highest is that of pure fire: its convex is impacted with the concave of the moon's sphere: below this is a stratum compounded of pure fire with heated particles of air. Here the ascending vapours are dissipated, and comets and Zodiacal lights are formed. Next succeeds the region of intense heat. This is simple air cooled by its proximity to the earth and to water which the solar rays do not touch. It is, however, generally supposed that clouds, thunder, lightning and thunderbolts are generated in this zone, so that it cannot be air pure and simple. Next follows the belt of vapour which is that of air permeated by fluid, succeeded by an earthy stratum of earth and air, followed by that of clay, which consists of earth and water, and lastly the earth itself which surrounds the centre of the globe. It is of earth pure and simple and is colourless. Another account more widely received, makes the elements nine. 1, Pure fire. 2, Fire and heated air. In this, the ascending vapours disperse, and stars and the like are formed, such as comets, Zodiacal lights and luminous streams. 3, Air mostly predominates and here meteors are formed. 4. The region of intense cold. 5. Earth mixed with air. 6. Dense air approximating to the region of earth and water. 7. Water, *i. e.*, the seas, save where a portion of this belt rises above the surface of the earth. 8. Earth mixed with other matter, the region of mountain, mineral, and vege-

III. *Indriya*,[1] signifies the five organs of sense together with *Manas* (the internal organ), a subtile substance intimately connected with the cone-shaped human heart. It is the source of perception, and it is by its action, they consider, that a man roams in imagination through distant countries. In contradistinction to *Átman*, it is not considered to be all-pervading, but the Mimáṃsa School maintain that it possesses this quality.

IV. *Ártha* (objects of sense.) Under this head are seven categories. 1. *Dravya*. 2. *Guṇa*. 3. *Karman*. 4. *Sámánya*. 5. *Viśesha*. 6. *Samaváya*. 7. *Abháva*.

The first signifies substance,[2] which they conceive to be all-pervading and eternal, while with regard to the four elements, its indivisible atoms only are held to be eternal in duration. (It is subdivided into) *Átman*: *Manas*: *Ákáśa*: the four elements, *kála* and *diś*.

The first two have been already mentioned. The third is a subtile fluid, all-pervading, and has the quality of sound. The four elements are recognised after the system of the Greeks, but air is regarded as the highest in

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table and animal life. 9. The stratum of earth pure and simple which surrounds the centre of the globe. See Art. عنصر.

The fifth element is Ether. See p. 12 of this volume.

[1] These are: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue and the skin; the five organs of action being the voice, the hands, the feet, the arms and the organs of generation. *Manas* or mind, is the organ of the bodily senses. By union with the external senses it produces knowledge of exterior objects. Its office is to separate the sensations and to present them singly to the soul; since the soul does not receive more than one perception at the same instant. The *Manas* is minutely small as an atom: for otherwise it might come into connection with many things or sensations at one time. It is eternal and distinct both from soul and body. Davies, Hind. Phil. pp. 21. 122.

[2] This first category *dravya* (substance) is subdivided by Davies into nine divisions. 1 Earth (*prithiví*). 2 water (*ápas*); 3 light (*tejas*); 4 air (*váyu*); 5 Ether (*ákáśa*); 6 time (*kála*); 7 space (*diś*); 8 Soul (*átman*); 9 mind (*manas*). p. 128.

Substance is defined by Kaṇáda to be the substrate of qualities and actions and possessing intimate causality. This is explained in the commentary of the Bháshá Parichcheda to be the substrate of qualities either in the relation of intimate union (*Samaváya Sambandha*) or in the relation of antecedent negation (*Prágabháva*) that is, of future existence. The latter definition is to obviate an objection which may be raised from the condition of substances at the time of their production. When substances are produced, they have, according to the Nyáya, no qualities. If they have no qualities, they are no substances according to the definition that substances are the substrate of qualities. By the second definition that they are substrates of qualities either in the relation of intimate union, or of future existences, this objection is removed. Categories of the Nyáya Philosophy. Dr. E. Röer. p. 8.

in order. *Kála* time,[1] is a substance impalpable and universal. *Diś*, space, has the same character.

Attributes are of the following six kinds. (1) *Karman*, action, the third category, is divided into five varieties, progressive action, upward and downward action, contraction and dilatation, and is non-eternal. (2) The fourth category is *Sámánya*,[2] community, and is one, expresses existence, and denotes qualities. Its generic character is eternal, and it resides in substance, quality, and action. It is also called *Játi Sámánya* (generic community) and secondly[3] *Upádhi* (discriminative or specific) *Sámánya;* it has an objective existence, having qualities common to all objects.

(3) The fifth category *Viśesha*,[3] particularity, is an attribute, being of its own essence dissociated from everything, has a separate resting-place, and is based only upon eternal matter. *Prithaktva*, individuality, is, on the other hand, a quality, and although it implies disjunction, it does not do so to the same degree, and is not in the same manner distinguished.

(4) The sixth category, *Samaváya*, denotes the co-inherence of five entities with their correlatives, such as (1) movement and its author; (2) quality and substance; (3) matter and the thing made, as clay and the vessel of clay, yarn and its cloth; (4) the whole and its component parts; (5) particularity and eternal matter.

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[1] Time is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of place. It is marked by association of objects with the sun's revolutions. Space is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of time. It is deduced from the notion of *here* and *there*. Davies, p. 130.

[2] Davies' definition is that it expresses only existence in its highest degree, and is the source of our notion of genus. It denotes also species as indicating a class, these genera and species having a real objective existence. The Bauddhas deny this, affirming that individuals only have existence, and that abstractions are false conceptions, a revival of the Realist and Nominalist controversy of the schoolmen. p. 131. This is differently explained in the Tarka Sangraha. "Community (Sámánya) is eternal, one, belonging to more than one, residing in substance, quality and action. It is of two kinds, the highest, and what is lower. The highest is existence (*Sattwa*), the lower is genus (*játi*, family or race) such as have the nature of substance and the rest." Ibid. p. 26.

[3] The difference between this and the following term is explained as follows by Prof. Cowell, "Particularity is the individuality which characterises simple substances,—it is 'their ultimate, and not further explicable difference.' All compound substances from jars down to the combination of two atoms, are mutually separated by the difference of their component parts, but particularity is the only mutual difference of atoms. This difference is differenced through itself only." *Siddh-Muktav.* Colebrooke. I. n. p. 308. Individuality is of two sorts, one of a pair, or manifold, as individuality of a triad. It is eternal in respect of eternal things, transient in regard to such as are tran-

Strangely enough they regard *Samaváya*[1] as one and eternal. This school classes co-inherence under three heads. The first as mentioned above, and if it occurs between two substances, it is termed *Saṃyoga*, simple conjunction, as is stated in the mention of qualities, and they consider it to possess plurality. Secondly. the connection of the immaterial with the material, as the soul with the body. This they call *Svarúpa*, natural form.

(5) The seventh category is *abháva*, privation or negation, and is of two kinds. *Saṃsargábháva* universal, and *anyonyábháva*, mutual negation between two things, as one might say " this is not that." This reciprocal negation must be one in time and place.

The first kind includes three species :[2] (1), *prágabháva*, antecedent negation ; (2), *pradhanasábháva*, emergent negation ; (3), *atyantábháva*, absolute negation, that is a negation of what is not one in place, while one in time as, " Zayd standing on the bank of the river, is lost in the desert."

(6) Attributes that do not come under these last five categories are qualities[3] and termed *guṇa*, (second category) of which there are twenty-four varieties: (1), *Rúpa*, colour (or form) of which five are elementary, namely, red, yellow, blue, black, white, the other colours being compounded of these: (2), *Rasa*, savour. This is of six kinds ; sweet, bitter,

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sitory. In a pair or triad it is transitory, resulting from comparison as a duad or a triad does. Colebrooke I. 302.

[1] Numerically it is one, and then it is the same *Samaváya* that connects a jar, and its colour in India, and another jar &c., in Europe, and that connected Adam's soul with its qualities, and that of the reader's with its own. They affirm that substance may want qualities altogether as the latter are not produced till after the production of the substances themselves, so that a jar, when first produced, may be devoid of colour, smell, taste and tangibility, and in the next moment become endowed with them. A whole has no qualities, whereas its parts have, by the relation called *Samaváya*. Smoke is said to reside in a place by relation of *Saṃyoga* and in its parts by *Samaváya*. Therefore by asserting that whenever there is smoke there is fire, they contradict it by this distinction, for smoke, besides residing in a given place by *Saṃyoga*, resides by *Samaváya*, in its own parts, where fire is not. V. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, p. 94–5.

[2] The illustrations of the three species are thus given by Davis: (1), antecedent ; a present negation of what will be at some future time, as in yarn before the production of cloth ; (2), emergent, which is destruction or cessation of an effect, as a broken jar ; (3), absolute, implying that which never existed, as fire in a lake. Mutual privation is an essential difference, a reciprocal negation of identity, as in cloth and a jar, p. 131.

[3] Quality is closely united with substance ; not, however, as an intimate cause of it, nor consisting in motion, but common : not a genus, yet appor-

acid, saline pungent and astringent. (3), *Gandha*, odour. (4), *Sparśa*, tangibility, that is the perception of touch which is of three kinds, cold, hot, and temperate: (5), *Sankhyá*, number which is also of three kinds, unity, duality, and plurality: (6) *Parimáṇa*, quantity, which is of four kinds, (*a*) *aṇu*, atomic, (*β*) *hrasvá*,[1] the measure of two atoms, also called *dvy-aṇuka*, (*γ*) *dírgha*, the measure of three or more atoms: (*δ*), *mahat*, (vast) the measure of the ethereal firmament and the like. (7), *Pṛithaktva*, individuality, distinguishes one of two things from the other. It is in itself common to all, and is not defined in the same manner as *viśesha*. It is of three kinds, as for instance, "one is unlike that," or "two or more are unlike it." (8), *Saṃyoga*, is the conjunction of two substances, eternal and non-eternal, which are united by a mutual attraction. They do not consider it to be one, like *samaváya*: (9), *Vibhága*, disjunction; (10), *Púrvatva*, priority in time and place. (11), *Aparatva*, posteriority: (12), *Buddhi* intellect. (13), *Sukha*, pleasure: (14), *Duḥkha*, pain: (15), *Ichchhá*, desire: (16), *Dvesha*, aversion: (17), *Prayatna*, volition or effort: (18), *Gurutva*, gravity. Lightness is not held to be quality, but the negation of gravity: (19), *Dravatva*, fluidity. (20), *Sneha*, viscidity: (21), *Sanskára*, reproduction (of thought) which is of three kinds. (*a*) *Vega* (*Sanskára*) (velocity) a quality which springs from mobility and produces motion, like the flight of an arrow from the bow,[2] for according to this school, motion is destroyed in the third

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taining to one. It is independent of conjunction and disjunction, not the cause of them, nor itself endued with qualities. Colebrooke, Essays, I. 296.

[1] This word in Sanskrit signifies, less, little, small, short, and in grammar a short vowel. *Dvy-aṇuka*, is transliterated by Abul Fazl, *dinuka*. *Dírgha* signifies the quantity of a long vowel.

[2] "Velocity abides only in bodies and is two-fold, produced by action or velocity." Categories of the Nyáya. Röer, p 78. The commentator observes on this that velocity in an arrow arises from action produced by conjunction without noise, and hence from the destruction of a former action, arises a second and so on. Without velocity, since one action is an obstacle to another, the destruction of a former action and the production of a subsequent one would be impossible. The translation of *sanskára* is not satisfactorily settled, Rajendralála Mitra in his translation of the Yogas of Pátaṇjali thus expresses himself:—"The most important word in the aphorism is Sañskára which has unfortunately not been explained in the commentary of Bhoja or in the Pátaṇjala Bháshya. In ordinary Sanskrit it has many meanings. In the Nyáya it occurs in three different senses, velocity (*vega*) thinking (*bhávaná*) and elasticity (*sthitisthápaka*). Adverting to the second meaning the Bháshá Parichcheda says: "Sañskára, called thinking (*bhávaná*) resides in sentient beings and is imperceptible to the senses. Certainty which has no inattention in its constituent, is its

moment after its production,[1] and hence this quality must of necessity be called into action and produce movement. (β) (*Bhávaná*) *Sanskára* thinking, is a special characteristic of the reasoning faculty, and since knowledge does not endure in the mind beyond the space of three moments of time, recourse to this quality is imperative, and through the operation of the intellect, analogy, induction or intuition becomes the effective cause of the recollection of what has passed from the mind. (γ) *Sthitisthápaka*, elasticity, that is the resilience of what is bent to the contrary direction. (22), *dharma*,[2] merit, or the state of rectitude in the intelligent soul. (23),

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cause. It is also described to be the cause of memory and recognition." Thus it is not memory as rendered by Dr. Röer. It is not sensation nor impression, for it is not transient but lasting. It is not perception, because that applies to the acceptance by the sensorium of something existing without, and does not serve as the cause of memory. It is not idea, for it is the result of former experience, and not spontaneous as an idea may be nor eternal, as the Greeks supposed ideas to be. Dr. Ballantyne renders it 'self-reproduction of thought' but there s nothing like self-reproduction in it, for it is said to be revived by external stimuli and not by its own effort. It is something, then, that perception, whether conscious or unconscious, leaves behind in the intellect to be revived afterwards under particular circumstances, and it is more or less connected with all intellectual acts as cause or effect. In the language of Dr. Morell (Mental Philosophy, p 95.) "When a given mental impression is produced, it remains for a time before the consciousness, and then gives way to others. We know, however, that it is not *absolutely lost*, for if proper conditions occur, the impression is renewed. The conclusion is, that there must be something deposited within us which subsists permanently whether it be at any moment, the immediate object of our consciousness or not. This something we term a *residuum* using the expression without implying any theory whatever." The Sanskrit counterpart of this residuum is Sañskára."

[1] The special qualities of ether and the soul are a state which does not pervade, and a state which has only momentary duration. A thing is defined to have momentary duration if in the third moment after its production it is destroyed. The special quality of ether is sound which does not pervade, for it is only locally produced, and it is destroyed in the third moment *after* it has commenced to exist, because the respective special qualities of pervading substances are destroyed by the same qualities which are afterwards produced; therefore the first sound is destroyed by the second. The same is the case with knowledge, for it is produced in the soul, a pervading substance, within the limited space of the body, and absent in any other part of space, and similarly, it is of momentary duration. Röer, p. 12.

[2] The commentators, who are generally under a Vedantic influence, explain virtue, *dharma*, as including humanity benevolence, acts of restraint (*yama*) and of obligation (*niyama*). Acts of restraint, according to Gaudapáda, are restraint of cruelty, falsehood, dishonesty, incontinence and avarice! Acts of obligation are purification, contentment, religious austerities, sacred study and divine worship. Davies, p. 57.

adharma, demerit. This school believes that souls through these two qualities, assume various bodily forms, and receive their due recompense in sorrow or joy. The first have their portion in Paradise: the second, in hell, and the world of death is the ultimate end of both. (24), *śabda*, sound.

The rational soul is distinguished by fourteen qualities: (1) intellect, (2) pleasure, (3) pain, (4) desire, (5) aversion, (6) effort, (7) merit, (8) demerit, (9) thinking, (10) number, (11) quantity, (12) individuality, (13) conjunction, (14) disjunction. The first nine are inseparable from it, while number (*viz.*, unity), quantity, individuality conjunction, disjunction, and sound, are referrible to ether. Sound is its chief characteristic. With the exception of sound, these five are qualities of time and space, and the eight formed by these four together, with priority, posteriority and velocity are qualities of *manas*: —Tangibility, number, quantity individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority and velocity are the nine accidents of air. Colour, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, fluidity, velocity, are the eleven qualities of light (fire), and motion and tangibility, are its characteristics. Colour, taste, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity and velocity are the fourteen qualities of water. Motion, viscidity, and tangibility are its characteristics. The same fourteen are likewise those of earth, substituting for viscidity odour which abides in earth alone.

Eternal qualities. Of these, six[1] characterise the deity, *viz*, intellect, desire, effort (one), number (*i. e.*, unity), vastness of quantity (one), and individuality. Three qualities connote the vital principle, (*jivátman*), the mind (*manas*) and ether, time and space, *viz.*, quantity (one), number (unity), individuality. Four belong to the indivisible atoms of air, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Five to atoms of light (fire), colour, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Nine to those of water; *viz.*, colour, savour, tangibility, viscidity (one), number, quantity (one), individuality, gravity, and fluidity. Four to those of earth, *viz.*, number (unity), quantity (one), individuality, and gravity. They affirm that qualities, in their non-eternal (transitory aspects, including desire, effort, and intellect, are sited in other than the Deity, and pleasure, pain, aversion and sound are produced in one moment[1] of time, do not endure to the second, and are lost in the third, and the rest are not of great length of permanence.

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[1] There are eight, of which five are qualities of time and place, namely, number, quantity, severalty, conjunction, and disjunction. These five with intellect desire and volition (or effort) are sited in the deity; the same five with priority, posteriority and velocity in the mind. Röer, p. 13. Quantity is the special cause of the use and perception of measure. It is a universal quality and common to all substances. Colebrooke.

Eight qualities are universal: number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity. Four are incident to all substances: namely, conjunction, disjunction, number other than unity, and individuality likewise not single. Those that alone are united in *manas*, are held to be intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and effort. Such as are cognisable by inference are merit, demerit, thinking and gravity.

This much will suffice for example from among a multiplicity of division of these qualities.

Having now discussed the various categories of *artha*, I come to the fifth classification of *Prameya*, namely,

V. *Buddhi.*[2] (intellect). Although it has been mentioned under the second category (*guṇa*) of *artha*, a somewhat more extended explanation will be of service. It is two-fold ; (1) *anubhava*, (notion or concept), which is produced by means of the four kinds of proof,[3] and (2) *smṛiti*,[4] recolection, which is effected through *bhávaná sanskára*, (present consciousness of past ideas.) *Anubhava* is of two kinds a right notion or a wrong one. A wrong notion *i. e.* (one not derived from proof) is threefold, namely, *sanśaya*, doubt; *viparyaya*, error, and *tarka*, false premises. This last is a *padártha* (predicament) and will be explained in its place.

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[1] *Vide* note 1, p. 136. This passage is marked as corrupt or doubtful in the text. The initial *alif* in the two words اني and ان should be prolated.

[2] In the system of Kapila, *buddhi* is the faculty or organ, by which outward objects are presented to the view of the soul in their proper and definite form, and he assigns to it every quality or state that is connected with the active life, as its primary seat and the first emanation of Nature (Prakṛiti). Davies p. 57.

[3] These are *pratyaksha* (perception) *anumána* (inference), *upámána* (analogy) and *śabda* (verbal testimony. To these four kinds of proof of the Nyáya or logical school, the Vedantic adds *arthápatti* (presumption) an informal kind of inference ; as, "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat, it is presumed therefore that he eats by night ;" and *abháva* (non-existence), a method of proof from an impossibility, or a '*reductio ad absurdum*' as, "there can be no flowers in the sky." Davies, p. 24.

[4] *Smṛiti* signifies also tradition, the institutes of law as opposed to *śruti*, the Veda or revelation. The laws of the Hindus, civil and religious, are believed by them to be founded on revelation, of which the Vedas are preserved in the very words. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who having revelations present to their memory, have recorded holy precepts for which divine sanction is presume . The latter is *smṛiti*, recollection, (remembered law), in contradistinction to *śruti*, audition, revealed law. Colebrooke.

VI. *Manas*,[1] although referred to under substance, requires to be mentioned next in order.

VII. *Pravṛitti*, activity, or employing the mind, tongue and other organs in good and evil works. They maintain that four functions are necessary to an outward action, knowing, willing, resolving and bodily motion.

VIII. *Dosha*, (fault) they assert to be a cause of *prayatna* (effort),[2] and is of three kinds; *rága*, passion or extreme desire, *dvesha*, aversion; and *moha*, delusion of mind.

IX. *Pretyabháva*, (transmigration) signifies life, after death and the union of the soul with the body, followed by death after life and dissolution succeeding connection.

X. *Phala*, (retribution) is the fruit of merit and demerit.

XI. *Duḥkha*, is the opposite of *Sukha*, joy, which is not here introduced, as the pleasures of this world are by them accounted misery.

XII. *Apavarga*, (emancipation) is eternal release from pain. There are twenty-one varieties of pain, or evil, and these reside in the six organs of sense, the six objects (*vishaya*) of sensation, the six mental apprehensions that proceed from them, the body which is the centre of evil, pleasure itself which is filled with pain, and pain. In short, pain signifies all that men are averse from and by which distress occurs. The attainment of that state where these effects disappear, is called *mukti*, or final emancipation, where the soul rests without perception or consciousness, is no longer connected with the body and is delivered from heaven and hell. They consider the union of the soul with body which they call *janman* (birth), as the source of pain. Its existence is due to merit and demerit, and through its companionship with the soul, it receives the recompense of good and evil. The cause of this is *karman*, (action), from which proceeds befitting time, or unsuitable deed and pain or pleasure. *Yatna* (effort), which is synonymous with *prayatna*, and *pravṛitti*, activity, produce these consequences, and this in turn results from *rága* or passion, which springs from *mithyájñána*,[2] erroneous opinion, originated by *bhávaná sanskára*. By mortification of spirit and body and by good works, the means of perfect knowledge are secured, resulting in the attainment of perfected capacities.[3] Ignorance is

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[1] Is the first of the internal organs receiving the impression made upon the senses. Primordial matter, the ὕλη of the Greeks, produced *buddhi* or intellect, from which proceeded *Ahankára* or egotism, and from this latter proceed the five organs of sense (*indriya*) and the five organs of action, and lastly *Manas*, the receptive or discriminating faculty. The tongue is classed as an organ of action, and the faculty of speech is as much sensation as touching or walking. The *Manas* has the nature of both classes, being formative or plastic and a sense organ. In the Sánkhya system of Kapila, it is not to be confounded with mind or the rational faculty of the soul, but is regarded as a form of matter. I refer the reader to Davies' work whence I have taken in scattered notices the substance of the above, and to Colebrooke. This dismal philosophy is curious as an intellectual product, the precursor of the ghastly metaphysics of Hartmann and Schopenhauer. The Hindu has the merit of originality and a better excuse.

[2] Pravartaná-lakshaṇá doshâḥ (Got. Sút. i. 18.) "The wise man, according to Gotama, is he who avoids the three mistakes of having a liking for a thing and acting accordingly: or of having a dislike for a thing and acting accordingly: or of being stupidly indifferent, and thereupon acting: instead of being intelligently indifferent and not acting at all" Ballantyne. V. Colebrooke, I. 311, note by Prof. Cowell.

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[1] In every form of earthly life, the soul is united to its own peculiar vehicle or body, but is not blended with it but enveloped by it. By this is meant, not the gross material body which perishes at each migration, but the *liṇga*, the subtle *umbra* or sheath formed from the substance of the three internal organs, and the finer elements of matter (*tanmátra*).

The *liṅga* enters the womb and forms the inner frame over which the bodily form derived from the matter is wrought. The *liṇga* survives the body until the soul, by knowledge, becomes prepared for a separate life, and then it is absorbed into the universal Nature from which it sprung. The theory of the *liṅga*, as Mr. Davies says (p., 11,) deserves more consideration than it has received from the expounders of Sanskrit Philosophy. It plays an important part in the moral element of the system. Kapila attributes to the soul only a passive state and to the *liṅga* is assigned the congeries of states and affections which form the individuality of each separate being. He calls it the acting soul or in the language of M. St. Hilaire, its "annexe," the seat of those qualities by which an individual is formed and thinks and feels according to his nature. In being compounded of *buddhi* and other substances, it shows what Professor Jowett has called "the interpenetration of the intellectual and moral faculties." (Plato i. p. 464). I have borrowed throughout the language of Mr. Davies taken from various parts of his able commentary, pp. 51. 52, 111 *et seq.*

[2] *Mithya-jñána* is used to signify that special misapprehension which estops release from the world. This term with *ajñána*, *avidya*, &c., technically denote something positive and not negative. Fitz Edward Hall. Hindu. Phil. systems, p. 11. It is to be remembered that ignorance is the chief obstacle to emancipation.

[3] The only real evil is pain which can be destroyed only by an eternal

destroyed, true knowledge acquired, and the flux and reflux of existence vanish for ever.

Some say that when the intelligence attains its highest illumination, error and ignorance are annihilated and with them *rága* and *dvesha*, that is passion and aversion depart, and hence *pravṛitti*, activity, is extirpated, and by its disappearance *janman* (birth), is no more, and pain and grief are dissolved and *mukti* brings everlasting bliss. Another opinion is that *tattva-jñána*, true knowledge, dispels *mithyájñána*, or error, which causes the subversion of desire, which overwhelms *prayatna*. By its fall *karman* (action) is subverted and overturns with it *dharma* and *adharma* (merit and demerit). *Janman* (birth), thus, is swept away carrying with it *duḥkha* (pain) in its overthrow. The Nyáya school assert that when the material body perishes, knowledge dies with it. Perfect knowledge depends upon three conditions : (1) *śravaṇa*, hearing, and studying the Vedas and the existing traditions of the sages, and this cannot be attained except by the aid of one who has travelled this road : (2) *manana*, consideration, by which the sacred books and the precepts of the virtuous are when apprehended, studiously illumined by proofs that convince the mind. The effect of this study, according to one opinion, issues in a speculation as to the nature of the rational soul and whether it is not apart from all else;[1] (3) *nididhyásana*, profound contemplation; by frequent reflection and reiterated thought on the objects of contemplation in their entirety, the mind becomes habitually absorbed therein and advancing beyond the objective sensations of sight and deed, becomes the recipient of truth.[2]

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separation of the soul from matter, which is obtained by knowledge, and not by the acquisition of merit through a virtuous life.

[1] In Kapila's system, the soul is solitary and perfectly distinct from matter and therefore from the modifications the modes of Nature produce. It beholds as an *eye-witness*, for insight and cognition are not properties of matter. It is *neutral* (*Madhyastha*, lit. standing between) "as a wandering ascetic is lonely and unconcerned, while the villagers are being engaged in agriculture,' It is *perceptive*, which differs from the second quality in this, that as a witness it observes only, but by seeing that which is presented to it by the intellect, it perceives and understands the phenomena of the material world. It is still, however, passive and inert.' All action is inferior to the contemplative state and the soul in its regal grandeur, has no part in the inferior life of action. It directs as a sovereign but does not work. Davies.

[2] In the Vedántasara, translated by Major Jacob, the three conditions are thus explained ; " (*a*) hearing, is the ascertainment of all the Vedantic writings regarding the secondless Reality by the use of the sixfold means of knowledge ; (*b*) consideration, is unceasing reflection on the secondless Reality which has been heard of, in conjunction with arguments in support of the Vedánta : (*c*)

It is asserted that the contemplation of the rational soul may be so continuous as not to be interrupted. When these three conditions are fulfilled with diligence and unwavering resolve, a sublime knowledge is attained and liberation secured from pain and pleasure and the fetters of the corporeal state. This school professes the doctrine of *Káyavyúha*, multiplication of bodies[1].

They maintain that when any of the specially favoured are illumined by the light of this knowledge, and are cognisant of their past existences and future destiny, and know that a course of further transmigration awaits them, and desire to complete it, they receive a special power from the Supreme Being, and in a brief space receive these various forms and endure the pains and pleasures of life with the same spirit and the same intelligence, and when these forms pass away, attain eternal bliss. It is also said that all men will[2] arrive at final emancipation, and that though the world is without a beginning, birth and production will eventually cease.

The third predicament *Sanśaya*, doubt, is three-fold: (1). it may arise from the sight of objects with common qualities, as for example, an object may be seen from a distance, and not distinctly, known whether it be a tree or a man, and the like : (2). cause of doubt is likewise (a non-

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profound contemplation, is the continuance of ideas consistent with the secondless Reality, to the exclusion of the notion of body and such like things which are inconsistent with Him." It adds a fourth condition, *Samádhi* or meditation, p. 100, *et. seq.*

[1] This subject is touched upon in the fourth chapter of the Yoga aphorisms of Patanjali. "When a Yogí, who has a mastery over the cardinal principles, with a view to enjoy at once the fruits of his actions, from the perception of his own superior transcendental powers, wishes to assume many bodies at the same time, whence does he derive many thinking principles" (to vitalize these bodies) ? In reply the author says ; "the created thinking principles (proceed) solely from egoism." That is, that his own consciousness or rather his abolute Ego, (for Fitchte distinguishes between the two) by force of will evolves the power, as fire emits sparks. To the question how numerous thinking principles, having diversity of objects, are one in effect, the reply is, that in the diverse tendency of the many thinking principles the thinking principle of the Yogí is the impelling force, because it is the ruler and therefore there is no difference of object. Thus he simultaneously operates through many bodies working out his emancipation by their joint acts." *Vide* Rájendralála Mitra's translation p. 171-72.

[2] A variant, the reading of one MS., has a negative, According to the Sánkhya (and Mimáṃsa) systems, acquiring knowledge and thus gaining deliverance from contact with matter is the privilege of the few rather than a duty manifest on all. See Davies p. 114.

general or special attribute) in regard to a particular object which is separate from the notion of eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality, and the doubt arises whether it be eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality :[1] (3). Cause of doubt lies also in controversy when a subject may be the occasion of contradictory affirmation and denial between two learned disputants.

The fourth predicament, *Prayojana*, motive, is that which necessarily precedes and produces an effect and is termed causality. Of this there are not accounted more than three kinds: (1). the presence of efficient conditions and means is termed *nimitta kárana*, or instrumental causality: (2). the material cause is *samaváyi kárana*, intimate or direct causality: (3). the indirect or non-intimate causality is called *asamaváyi kárana.*[2] Cause is termed *kárana* and effect *kárya*, and *sámagrí* is total causality, (the aggregate of conditions necessary for the forming of either, a material product, or a physical state). This subject is treated in Sanskrit philosophy under the first predicament.

The fifth predicament is *Drishtánta*, instance or example, showing invariable connection (between subject and predicate).

The sixth predicament, is *Siddhánta*, dogma or determinate truth.

The seventh predicament is *Avayava*, (members of a) syllogism. This consists of five members[3]. I. *Pratijna.*, the proposition, as in the

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[1] The commentary of the Bháshá Parichchheda instances this in the following case; if the notion of sound which is not the notion under which eternal and non-eternal is comprehended, is conceived as sound, the doubt arises whether it is eternal or non-eternal. Non-general is thus a predicate not found in the subject of the two extremes. Röer.

[2] The usual order is the intimate, non-intimate and instrumental. An instance for the first, is thread from which cloth is made; for the second the conjunction of the threads; for the third, the loom. Intimate causality belongs to substances, non-intimate causality to qualities and actions. Röer p. 10. Or again, in desire, the soul is the direct or intimate cause: the mediate or indirect is the conjunction of the soul and its internal organ, the *manas*; the instrumental is knowledge. Davies. p. 121.

[3] The members are these :—

1. This hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery.
4. This hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

or

1. Sound is non-eternal.
2. Because it is produced.
3. Whatever is produced is non-eternal.
4. Sound is produced.
5 Therefore it is non-eternal.

Some confine the syllogism to three members, either the first three or the last. In the latter form it is the syllogism of Aristotle. According to Röer, the Nyáya knows only the two first figures of syllogism, and of these only statement, "there is fire in this hill" II. *Hetu*, the concomitant reason supporting the proposition, "for it smokes," by which the presence of fire is apprehended which is the ground for the inference, and this, in regard to the invariable connection (between subject and predicate), is threefold. If the necessary connection is affirmative, it is called *kevalánvayin* (concomitancy of affirmatives), and if negative, *kevala-vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives), and if both, *anvaya-vyatirekin* (affirmative and negative induction). Of this third kind five members are necessary for a complete syllogism. (1.) *Paksha sattva*[1] (subject of the conclusion) where the subject to be proved is supposed to be in a given place. (2.) *Sapaksha sattva* (similar instance, involving the major term) where the place of the subject and predicate are with certainty known or inferred as smoke and fire in a kitchen hearth. (3.) *Vipaksha sattva* (negative instance) where the subject and predicate exclude each other as water (and fire). (4.) *Abádhita vishayatva*, non-negation of the object of proof (by other proof).[2] (5.) *Asatpratipakshatva*, (non-equalisation,) where there is no

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the two moods Barbara and Camestres. A complete syllogism is properly termed *nyáya*, the five members or component parts are called *avayava*.

[1] That, where the existence of the property to be proved is doubtful, is called the subject of the conclusion (*paksha*) as "(fire in the) mountain" when the fact of its smoking is the reason (or *Hetu*). That, where the existence of the property to be proved is undoubted, is called the subject on the same side or *Sapaksha*, as the culinary hearth in the same argument. That which is undoubtedly possessed of the negation of the property to be proved, is called the subject in opposition or *vipaksha*; as a great lake, in the same argument. Tarka Sangraha. Vidyaságara's translation.

These and the following terms are thus rendered in Dr. Richard Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's commentary on the Sánkhya Sútras. "By means of a syllogism construed in this manner we discern (1). that the invariably concomitated (*vyápya*) is an attribute of the subject of the conclusion (*paksha-dharmatva*), (2). that the *vyápya* exists in those things in which the invariable concomitant (*vyápaka*) undoubtedly exists (*sapaksha-sattva*), (3). that the *vyápya* is excluded from those things from which the *vyápaka* is also excluded (*vipakshádvyávṛittiḥ*), (4). that no equally strong reason can be adduced against the reason which proves the proposition (*asatpratipakshatva*), (5). that the *vyápya* is not such that its object does not exist in the subject of the conclusion (*abádhita-vishayatva*).

[2] The opposite of this is called *bádhita*, or the fallacy of absurdity, "where the negation of what is to be proved is established by another proof as 'fire is cold because it is a substance.' Here the predicate of the conclusion, what is to be proved, is coldness, the negation of which, warmth, is apprehended by the organ of touch by one's own self. Hence the argument is called absurd" Tarka Sangraha.

counterbalancing reason proving the negation of what is to be proved.[1] In the first classification of *Hetu*, (*kevalánvayin*), the third of these five is absent. In the second, (*kevala-vyatirekin*), the second of the five is absent.

III. *Udáharana*, the instance or example. The subject of a proposition is called *vyápya*: the predicate is the *vyápaka*, and *vyápti*, pervasion or invariable concomitance, is the mutual relation of the subject and predicate.

IV. *Upanaya* is the application of the reason to the subject in question.

Nigamana is the conclusion. Although it lies implicate in the major premiss, it forms the statement in the general proposition and becomes the consequent in the fifth.

The eighth predicament *Tarka*, is inadmissible conclusion at variance with proof, that is, the perception of a deduction from wrong premises.[2] By its statement the disputant removes the doubt in the relation of subject and predicate. For instance to one who denied the existence of fire (in the hill) he would rejoin that without it there could be no smoke, of which fire is the cause.

The ninth predicament is *Nirṇaya*, (ascertainment,) or a certainty of conclusion on the completion of proof.

The tenth *Váda*, (controversy,) is the expression of their respective views of a subject by two seekers after knowledge, supported by reasons brought forward with good feeling, and in the interests of truth, allowing neither their several convictions nor self-assertion to influence them. Verily such courteous[3] disputants, like the phœnix, move with steps that leave no trace.

The eleventh *Jalpa*, or wrangling, is the debate of disputants contending for victory.

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[1] The opposite is called *Satpratipaksha* or the fallacy of equalisation, when the reason is counterbalanced by another proving the negation of what is to be proved. As for example. "Sound is eternal because it is cognizable by the organ of hearing," as the generic property of sound is acknowledged by both parties—it might be said on the other side with equal force, sound is non-eternal because it is a creation as a jar is.

[2] The text relegates the reading بستة to a note; it should properly be in the text between the words تا and بودن. The words of the Tarka Sangraha on the definition are

६८। व्याप्यारोपेण व्यापकारोपस्तर्कः। यथा यदि वह्निर्न स्यात्तर्हि धूमोऽपि न स्यादिति। which is thus translated by Vidyá Ságara," *Reductio ad absurdum* or Tarka is that which consists in *founding* the pervader (*vyápya*) (here supposed to be denied) through the allegation of the pervaded (*vyápaka* here supposed to be taken for granted). As for instance: If there were not fire (which you do not grant), there would not be smoke (which you admit there is).

[3] I would read فروهندهٔ for فروهيدهٔ. It is not wisdom nor ingenuity that is rare, but courtesy and good temper.

The twelfth is Vitaṇḍá, objection or cavilling: The object of one disputant being the advancement of what is true and reasonable, and of the other to dispute his statements.

The thirteenth is *Hetvábhása*, fallacy. This is a syllogism with the semblance of a reason, of which there are five kinds. If this predicament were placed in order above *Váda*, the tenth, or below the three following, it would be more in place.

The fourteenth is *Chhala*, perversion of an adversary's statement through malice, and disputing it.

The fifteenth is *Játi*, futility, or a reply both irrelevant and reprehensible, advanced with speciousness and cavilling. This is of twenty-four kinds.

The sixteenth predicament is *Nigrahasthána*, the confutation of an adversary, and is of twenty-two kinds.

Each of these sixteen subjects have numerous questions arising out of them, supported by a variety of opinions, arguments and instances.

It is believed that whosoever apprehends these sixteen in their integrity, is released from further birth and death, lives in freedom from pleasure and pain, and attains his final end by three degrees of knowledge: *viz.* (1), *uddeśa*, (enunciation), by which he distinguishes the name of each of these sixteen predicaments and bears them in memory; (2) *lakshaṇa*, (definition), by which he arrives at their essential truth; (3) *paríkshá* (investigation), by which he ascertains the sufficiency and pertinence of their definition.

This school, though not acknowledging that the world had a beginning, yet believes in its final destruction. This they term *pralaya*, which is of two kinds.

In the first, Brahmá slumbers in the chamber of non-existence, and appears no more, and all created forms perish. His absolute cause is the divine will, the completion of a decreed period and the coming of an appointed time. When this time arrives, by the will of God, merit and demerit cease to exist, and by the same divine will, the indivisible atoms (of primordial matter) are set in agitation,[1] from which *bhága*,[2] (disjunction), is brought into reality, and *Saṃyoga* (union from contiguity) is dissolved. First the globe of the earth, next fire, followed by air and water are successively destroyed and creation ceases to exist and all souls attain final emancipation. This is termed *mahápralaya.* In the second, is the final emancipation of Brahmá, which is called *Khaṇḍa-pralaya* (partial dissolution). In this, with the exception of merit and demerit, present consciousness, and action, all else perish. At the close of one hundred extraordinary years, of which mention has been made,[1] Brahmá attains this accomplishment of desire. After the lapse of this period, a succeeding Brahmá is born. Another opinion is that there are four dissolutions. Besides the above two, there is a third when right apprehension is taken up from mankind and this will happen at the close of a cycle of the four ages. The fourth is the dissolution of each particular thing which is called its *pralaya,* as when the *manas* first dissolves its connection with the rational soul, and following this, when the union of soul and body is then severed.[2]

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[1] Earth according to the Nyáya, is eternal in its atoms, non-eternal in its parts. An atom is defined thus: "an atom is; what exists has no cause and is without beginning and end: an atom is contrary to what has a measure." Röer, p. 14. Colour, taste and the like are said to be eternal, or otherwise according to the substances in which they exist, these two being eternal in the atoms of water and light but in other substances have a cause. The atomic nature of the mind is inferred from the fact that several objects of knowledge are not perceived by it at once.

[2] I believe *vibhága* is here meant, and the suffix has been omitted by the error of a copyist. This is undoubtedly the sense of the passage.

The (renewed) creation of the world is called *srishti.* Through the volition of the Supreme Being, and after the lapse of ages and at the advent of a special time, merit and demerit recover their sway, and the indivisible atoms of matter are again moved. Two atoms first combine: this is called

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[1] Vol. II, p. 15. The aggregate of the four ages, Krita, Treta, Dwápara and Kali multiplied by a thousand, constitute a day of Brahmá; his night is of equal duration, and of such days and nights is the year of Brahmá composed. One hundred such years constitute his whole life. A great *Kalpa,* as distinguished from a minor *Kalpa,* is properly not a day but a life of Brahmá. Vishnu Puráṇa, Wilson, pp. 23, 25, 6

[2] The following are the four kinds of dissolution as given by the Vishnu Puráṇa. 1 *Naimittika,* occasional; *Prákritika,* elemental; *A'tyantika,* absolute; *Nitya,* perpetual. The first, also termed the Brahmá dissolution, occurs when the sovereign of the world reclines in sleep. In the second, the mundane egg resolves into the primary element from whence it was derived. Absolute non-existence of the world, is the absorption of the sage through knowledge into supreme spirit. Perpetual destruction is the constant disappearance, day and night, of all that are born. Vishnu Puráṇa, 56. The first three kinds are very powerfully described in the 6th book, the fourth chapter of which represents the elemental dissolution in very striking language. The third kind, involving the final liberation from existence, is the subject of the 5th Chapter, where the sufferings of infancy, manhood and old age are pourtrayed in a manner not surpassed in power by any description in literature. With no hope beyond the grave, with hell for the wicked and no cessation from pain even in heaven, whose inhabitants are tormented with the prospect of descending again to earth, no wonder that exemption from birth was the desire of the wise, and annihilation the last hope of those who were doomed to the sorrows of conception, birth and decay.

dvy-aṇuka;[1] then three *dvy-aṇukas* unite and are named *try-aṇuka;* the union of four *dvy-aṇukas* is termed *chatur-aṇuka*, and thus they gradually coalesce, till numerous forms are manifested, and contrariwise to their dissolution, they are produced in the following order: air, fire, water, earth, and subsequently, Brahmá, Vishnu and Mahádeva.[2] The three last are not apparent to the light of vision but assume shape and are beneficent in their operation. From air spring aerial forms which reside in *Váyuloka*, a sphere above the earth, and the sense of touch[3] and the blowing wind whose energising essence is called in Sanskrit, *práṇa* (vital breath), of which there are five kinds[4] as will be related.

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[1] The first elements of a compound substance must consist of three atoms to be visible. Röer, pp. 15–56. Davies describes these atoms according to the Vaiśeshikas, as round, extremely minute, invisible, incapable of division, eternal in themselves but not in their aggregate form. They have individually a specific difference (*viśesha*), light, for example, being formed of luminous atoms. These atoms combine by twos and threes forming aggregates which come within range of sight as a mote in a sunbeam. They also combine by fours, are innumerable in extent, perpetually united, disintegrated, and redintegrated by an unseen peculiar force (*adrishṭa*). The disciples of Kanáḍa, influenced by the Gotama teaching, explain this unseen force to be the Supreme Spirit.

[2] "Then ether, air, light, water, earth, severally united with the properties of sound and the rest, existed as distinguishable according to their qualities, but possessing various energies they could not without combination create living beings. Having combined therefore, they assumed the character of entire unity and from the direction of spirit with the acquiescence of the indiscrete Principle, Intellect and the rest, to the gross elements inclusive, formed an egg. This vast egg was the abode of Vishnu in the form of Brahmá." Vishnu Puráṇa, p. 18. For the mundane egg, see p. 11 of this volume.

[3] "Ether becoming productive, engendered the rudiment of touch, whence originated strong wind, the property of which is touch. Then wind becoming productive, produced the rudiment of form (colour) whence light (or fire) proceeded of which form (colour) is the attribute; and the rudiment of touch enveloped the wind with the rudiment of colour. Light becoming productive, produced the rudiment of taste; whence proceed all juices in which flavour resides, and the rudiment of colour invested the juices with the rudiment of taste. The waters becoming productive, engendered the rudiment of smell, whence an aggregate (earth) originates of which smell is the property." Vishnu Puráṇa, p. 16. The order of Empedocles was ether, water, fire, air, earth. Váyu is the regent of the N. W. quarter, god of the wind and often associated with Indra in the Vedas. The wind-born spirits are doubtless the swift moving deities called Márutas formed from the unborn child of Diti, divided by Indra with his thunderbolt into 49 pieces, which became the same number of divinities. The world of the Márutas is the appointed heaven of the Vaiśyas. Ibid pp. 48. 152.

[4] These are (1) *práṇa*, breath, the ordinary inspiration and expiration.

From fire (light) spring fiery bodies dwelling in *A'dityaloka*[1] which is the sphere of the sun, and vision and the modes of heat. From water are the aqueous bodies dwelling in *Varuṇaloka*[2] which is said to be near the mountain Suméru, and the rudiment of taste and the seas and ice and hail. From earth, are earthly forms, and the rudiment of smell, minerals, plants and animals. Brahmá by his volition first brings into being all (immovable)[3] forms produced without generation, and wonderful are the details they give herein, and it is said that a single eternal volition of the Deity at their appointed times operates to create and destroy, The creative will is called *Chikírshá* (desire to act) and the destructive will *Sanjihírshá* (desire to take away).

Their works are in a five-fold series. (1) *Sútra*, a short technical sentence: (2) *bháshya*, commentary on a somewhat difficult *sútra*: (3) *várttika*, a critical annotation on the two: (4) *ṭiká*, commentary (properly of the original or of another commentary) on No. 3; (5) *nibandha*, an ex-

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(2.) *Apána*, downward breath, the air or vital force acting in the lower parts of the body.

(3). *Samána*, collective breath, so named from conducting equally the food, &c., through the body.

(4). *Udána*, separate breath, the vital force that causes the pulsations of the arteries in the upper portions of the body from the navel to the head.

(5.) *Vyána* separate breath, by which internal division and diffusion through the body are effected.

These airs are not the elemental air, but subtle inward forces necessary to vitality and the efficacy of the organic functions of the human frame. Davies, pp. 66, 67.

[1] A name of the sun; his car is presided over by a troop of seven celestial beings who in turn, occupy his orb during several months of the year. Their names are given in the Vishnu Puráṇa (p. 234.) They are the agents in the distribution of cold, heat and rain at their respective seasons. Their number was subsequently increased to twelve, representing the months of the year.

[2] See p. 113. Varuṇa a name which corresponds with Οὐρανός, was appointed to the sovereignty of the waters, according to the Vishnu Puráṇa (p. 153) and was likewise an A'ditya, but his functions reached far beyond this sphere and he was considered anciently as sovereign ruler of the three worlds. The planets, the winds, the waters were equally in his power, and his attributes raised him to a height of moral grandeur above that of any of the Vedic deities.

Dr. Dowson who quotes Muir.

[3] The creation of the creator in his abstraction was the fivefold immovable world without intellect or reflection, and void of perception and sensation, and destitute of motion. Since immovable things were first created, this is called the first creation. Vish. Pur. 34. These, Wilson observes, are final productions, or the forms in which the previously created elements and faculties are more or less perfectly aggregated. By immovable things are meant the mineral and vegetable kingdoms.

planation of technical rules. Another opinions is that the series runs to twelve. Besides those enumerated, (6) *vṛitti*, a brief elucidation of some complicated subjects in the first-mentioned; (7) *nirukta*, etymological interpretation of a word. Sound is held to be of two kinds, (α) inarticulate, which is termed *dhvani*[1] (sound, noise), and (β) articulate, *varna* (a letter,) also called *akshara*. The junction of several letters is called *pada*, a word, and several words in connection form, *vákya*, a sentence, and a collection of these make a *sútra*, or aphorism, and several *sútras* are called *prakaraṇa* (article or section). These last again when connected are termed *áhnika*, and an aggregate of the latter, *adhyáya*, which combined together compose a *śástra* or didactic work. In some treatises, ambiguities are discussed regarding the definitions of *pada* which are therein resolved: (8) *prakaraṇa*, is a section treating of one or two topics: (9) *áhnika*, a short task sufficing for a diurnal lesson: (10) *pariśishta*, a supplement to a technical work: (11) *paddhati*, a manual of the texts relating to each of the six sciences in prescribed order: (12) *saṁgraha*, an epitome of the sciences. These classes of works are not confined to this school alone. *Vrajyá* is a compendium or homogeneous collection, and instead of the divisions into sections and chapters, the following ten words are used.

(1) *aṅka* (2) *uchchhvása*, (3) *sarga*, (4) *viśráma*, (5) *ullása*, (6) *paṭala*. (7) *adhyáya*, (8) *uddesa*, (9) *adhína*, (10) *tantra*.

The Nyáya philosophy is divided into five *adhyáyas*. The first gives a list of the sixteen subjects to be discussed, and a definition of each. The second deals with the detail of *pramáṇa* (proof or evidence) and accurate knowledge and the like. The third is on the six kinds of objects of thought, namely, soul; body; organs of sense; objects of sense; intellect and mind. The fourth treats of its remaining heads. The fifth is on *játi* (futility), and *nigrahasthána* (confutation of an adversary). Although the system of Kaṇáda is antecedent in date, yet since the Nyáya treats of a multiplicity of subjects, and is generally the first studied, I have given it priority of place.

VAIS'ESHIKA.

This great system of science owes its origin to Kaṇáda.[2] It agrees in the main, with the Nyáya, differing from it only on a few points.

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[1] According to the Nyáya, as in a drum, and articulate, as *ka* and other letters by the contact of the throat with the palate. "Every sound is produced in the ether, but it is perceived when it is produced in the ear. Some say s production takes place like a succession of waves." Röer's Categories, p. 80.

[2] The Vaiśeshika school as represented by Kaṇáda, the reputed author of the

In the works of this school, seven predicaments are named which comprise the entire scheme. These are *dravya*, substance, *guṇa* quality, *karman*, action, *sámánya*, community, *viśesha*, particularity, *samaváya* intimate relation, and *abháva*, negation. Of *pramáṇa*, proof or evidence, they accept only *pratyaksha*, (perception) and *anumána*[1] (inference). The change in qualities occurring in the process of cooking termed *páka-ja*,[2]

Vaiśehika Sútra of whom little is known, but that he was probably a contemporary of Gotama the author of the Nyáya, is commonly classed with this latter system. Colebrooke is of opinion that they are both branches from the same stock, mainly in agreement on the subjects which they discuss, but directed in the former case to the explanation of the material and in the latter of logical forms. The Vaiśeshika system is one of physical science; the Nyáya deals with elementary, metaphysical notions, and the forms of the syllogism, and is the standard work in logic among the Hindus. I refer the reader for a critical account of the system to the introduction to the categories by Dr. E. Röer, Colebrooke (Miscellaneous essays), to the Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy by Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Dr. Fitz Edward Hall's Refutation of Hindu Philosophy. Little is known of Gotama the Aristotle of India. He is said, according, to Davies, to have been born at the beginning of the Treta Yuga, and to have married Ahalyá, the daughter of Brahmá; which may mean that he was a Brahman of noble descent.

A curious story is by Dr. Hall quoted of the foremost of the Naiyáyika writers after Gotama, Udayana Áchárya, who was reputed to be inspired. It is said that after the toil of a pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannáth at Púri, finding the door shut on his arrival, he launched the following *slokas* against the exclusive divinity:—

"Thou art drunk with the inebriation of majesty, me thou scornest. But let the Bauddhas show themselves and upon me will depend thy very existence." A deity that lives on the breath of his devotee can scarcely be worth defending.

[1] The text has *átman*, a copyist's error for *anumána*. which it would closely resemble even to the diacritical points. The Vaiśeshika system differs from the Nyáya in this very point, admitting only two kinds of proof, perception and inference.

[2] "The change produced by cooking takes place according to the Vaiśeshikas in the single atoms" So the Bhásha Parichchheda. The commentator observes on this, that as long as the parts are retained in the compound, no change by cooking is possible, but when by the union of fire, the compound substances have been destroyed, change occurs in the atoms which become independent units. Again by the junction of atoms changed by process of cooking, a production is effected from the compound of two, three &c., atoms, again to a compound of many parts, for by the extraordinary velocity of heat, the transition from the destruction of one compound to the formation of another is sudden. The Naiyáyika view is that compound substances have pores and the minute parts of fire enter them and therefore the change by the process of cooking is possible, although the parts be retained in the compound. The Vaiśeshika Sútra on conjunction and disjunction is quoted by Röer (p. 56) with its explanation.

arises from the sun's rays or heat of the fire. These qualities are colour, taste, smell and tangibility.

The Naiyáyikas assert that bodily substance is unchanged, whether in its natural state or under the influence of heat. The Vaiśeshikas, that the (conjunction of) atoms forming the body, disintegrate through the action of heat and are re-united by divine power.

Again the Nyáya school make *samaváya* (constant intimate relation), perceptible to vision, while the Vaiśeshikas allow it to be cognisable only by argument and proof.

Mímáṃsá[1].

The founder of this school was the sage Jaimini. It is more ancient than the two already described, and the chief exponents of its phil-

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[1] The Mímáṃsa is classed sometimes as the *Púrva* or Prior, and the *Uttara* or Posterior. The object of the first was to support the authority of the Vedas, to maintain their ritual, and interpret their true meaning. The second is the Vedánta or supplement of the Vedas, and was formed at a later date based on the synonymous term Upanishads, or the mystic teaching of the Vedas. The Upanishads are called Vedántas, and their philosophy is known as the Vedántic System. The former deals with the ritual section of the Vedas, the latter treats them in their scientific aspect. V. Dr. Fitz E. J. Hall, Gough's Philosoph. of the Upan. and Davies.

Jaimini's name occurs twice in the Vishnu Puráṇa. He is described as the pupil of Vyása, and as having divided the branches of the Sama-veda, but his date and history are altogether unknown. See Weber's Hist. of Indian Literature, p. 240. Of Kumárila Bhaṭṭa nothing is ascertained except that he is said to have flourished prior to S'ankara-áchárya, the chief exponent of the Vedánta school, whose date is ascribed approximately to the 8th century A. D. According to Colebrooke, Kumárila-bhaṭṭa figures largely in the traditionary religious history of India, and he is considered to have been the chief antagonist of the sect of Buddha, and to have instigated the persecution of that heresy. The analysis of the Mimáṃsa doctrines and its wearisome ceremonies may be studied in Colebrooke's disquisition. In Weber's opinion, the Sútras of Kaṇáda and Gotama appear to rank last, which does not prove that they are of later origin, but only in respect of their reduction to systematic treatment. According to Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, the various Sútras refer to each other indiscriminately. The Sánkhya quotes the Vaiseśhika by name in two places, and refutes the doctrine of the Vedánta Sútra. It recognises the Nyáya as well as the Sánkhya. The Nyáya refutes the Vedánta and the Sánkhya. The Mimáṃsa by implication recognises the pre-existence of all the others not excepting Buddhism. The Vedánta in turn refutes adverse doctrines of the other five, and admits their pre-existence. This state of facts can be reconciled, he continues, by supposing that the different dogmas, and the schools that cherished them, existed a long time before the dogmas were written down in their present aphoristic form. Oral translosophy are Kumárila Bhaṭṭa, Prabhákara Guru, and Murári Miśra. Its professors are said to reject the notion of a Supreme Being, while some accept it, but do not allow of a Creator, attributing the production of existing things to merit and demerit.[1] When an assembly of the learned was convened with a view to ascertain the truth as to their creed, it was discovered that they were all of this latter opinion, but in deference to the variable character of minds, they are silent as to the nature of the Divinity, and lay the principal stress in discussion on the diversities of works. But men from ignorance and captiousness lay this opinion to their charge. Quantity is not accounted by them as attributable to God.[2] *Parimáṇa*, quantity, which the Nyáya school places among qualities, is not predicated by them of the Deity, and they do not allow that Brahmá, Vishṇu and Mahádeva are divine manifestations, affirming that human souls attain that eminence through good deeds. They hold mystic hymns in the place of particular deities whose potency they ascribe to the subtile spells of sound.[3] They allow no beginning, nor end to the world, and believe the

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mission must have been the principal means of their preservation. There might have been previous text-books, but they were set aside by the complete systems produced by the new texts, and hence, the regulation of adverse opinions naturally included all the theories prevalent at the time when the books were compiled, and not those only of the time of the original dogmas. Professor Cowell's opinion is much the same. "The Sútras, as we have them, cannot be the original form of the doctrines of the several schools. They are rather a recapitulation, at a certain period, of preceding developments which had gone on in the works of successive teachers. The Sútras mutually refer to each other. Thus those of the Sánkhya school which in itself I should consider one of the earliest, distinctly refer to Vedánta tenets. They expressly mention the Vaiśeshika in 1. 25. v. 85 : for the Nyáya cf. v. 27. 86, and for the Yoga. 1. 90." Colebroke's Essays. I. 354. n.

[1] This opinion is common to all the systems. The good and evil works of souls are the cause of the existence of the world and of, all effects therein. The Nyáya and Vaiśeshika make every effort, however trivial, the result of these. The movement of an atom though but four fingers breadth, directly or indirectly affects without fail some soul for good or evil in a greater or lesser degree. Fitz. E. Hall's. Refutation, p. 39.

[2] I think this sentence should belong to the next paragraph.

[3] Though they hold that the Veda is eternal and originated by none, yet the divinities named therein, are false and their mention made solely for the purpose of magnifying works. Their inconsistency does not end here. The Vedas state that heaven is obtained by sacrifice; these sacrifices consist in offerings in fire, clarified butter, flesh, &c., to Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and other deities whose existence they deny; nevertheless they believe the potency of the offerings gains them Elysium. See the excellent arguments of Pandit Nílakantha in Dr. Hall. pp. 67, 68.

four elements, the mountains, and the great seas to be eternal. They believe that bodies are produced from an aggregate of minute atoms, and not from one substance; *manas* and *átman* are all pervading, and a man's actions are the result of his own free will and initiative, and while granting the states of hell and heaven, and transmigration into lower and higher forms of being, and final emancipation, they do not believe that the latter is attainable by all men but is the result of the union of perfected understanding and action, and a sublime knowledge and an ineffable repose will be the eternal portion of that state.

The perception of sound by the ear, they believe to be one of the qualities of air. The Nyáya places it in ether. The second of the two philosophers above-named teaches that *samaváya*, co-inherence, exists as eternal in things eternal and as non-eternal in things non-eternal, and everywhere separate, and they interpret it by the term *tádátmya* (identity of nature). They reject *vis'esha.* According to Kumárila Bhaṭṭa and Murári Miśra, there are ten predicaments (*padártha*): (1) substance, (2) quality, (3) action, (4) community, (5) identity of nature, and (6) negation. (7) *Vaiśishṭya* (endowment with attributes), is the term applied to the connection of non-existence[1] which they regard as a separate ἐντελέχεια, as the Nyáya regards *Svarúpa* (true nature) and *S'abda.* (8). *S'akti* (energy) is a characteristic imperceptible to sight but efficient in action, like the property of burning in fire, and quenching of thirst in water. This they affirm to be two-fold; essential (*játi*) as has been exemplified, and accidental, such as may be produced by incantation and the like. The Nyáya school recognises the properties of burning and quenching of thirst as inherent in fire and water. (9). *Sádriśya*, similarity between two objects. (10) *Sankhyá*, number,[2] is not regarded as a quality but as a distinct substance. Prabhákara Guru reckons nine predicaments and excludes *abháva* (negation) from the notion of *things.*

Kumárila Bhaṭṭa acknowledges eleven substances, the nine already given and (10) *andhakára*, darkness. The Naiyáyikas, with the Guru and Murári Miśra recognise the negation of light, but this school makes it a separate object of knowledge, which casts its shade over everything. Colour quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, and posteriority, are qualities appertaining to it. (11) *S'abda* (sound) is considered eternal[1] and all-pervading. Letters are substance and possess the same qualities as darkness, except colour. Qualities are twenty-two in number. Prabhákara Guru and Murári Miśra do not hold sound to be substance, but acknowledge its eternity. According to Kumárila Bhaṭṭa, intelligence operates like cognition arising from inferential reasoning. The Guru teaches that its own (indwelling) illumination proceeds from intelligence, as a lamp illumines itself while revealing other objects.[2] The

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[1] See the Sarva Darśana. Sangr. Udayana tries to establish that although ether, the site of sound, is imperceptible, the non-existence of that which abides in this site is perceptible. p. 194. For *svarúpa.* See p. 134 of this volume.

[2] According to the Naiyáyikas, the non-intimate cause of the change effected in two or more atoms as regards the operation of counting, is called number. By non-intimate is meant the secondary cause, *i. e.*, the conjunction of threads in cloth, the intimate cause being the thread itself. Numbers are produced by comprehending intellect which when destroyed, the numbers also are destroyed.

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[1] The Naiyáyikas deny this, asserting that it is non-eternal. The eternity of the Veda depends on the Mímámsa doctrine that sound is eternal. The arguments *pro* and *con* are stated at some length in the Jaimini Darśana. v. Sarva. Darśana-Sangraha.

[2] This is more clearly put in the Vedánta Sara.

"In the cognition this is a jar, the modification of the internal organ (*chittavṛitti*) which assumes the shape of a jar, is directed towards the unknown object, jar, removes the ignorance which rests on it, and at the same time illuminates it, though insentient, with the light of its own indwelling intelligence. The internal organ (*i. e.*, *manas*) and the light of intelligence abiding in it, both pervade the jar: then, the ignorance (covering the jar) disappears by means of the former, whilst the jar bursts forth by means of the latter. Just as the light of a lamp, directed towards a jar or other object standing in the dark, dispels the darkness enveloping it and by its own brilliance brings it to view." Jacob pp. 97–98.

It should be remembered that with the Vedantists, intelligence always means Brahma. When appropriated to the internal organ, it is called the subject of right notion. " When an organ of sense, as the eye, impinges on an object, the internal organ is said to evolve, to be emitted through the eye, to betake itself to the object and to be transformed into its shape. When it reaches the object, the intelligence appropriated to that organ becomes one with the object-intelligence ; and since the object is non-different from the object intelligence, it becomes one with the intelligence appropriated to the internal organ, which intelligence is the object of right notion.

This does not, however, take place in inference, for inasmuch as, there, the object does not come into contact with an organ of sense, the internal organ is not thought to be drawn out to that object through an organ of sense. Consequently the intelligence and the object-intelligence do not become one, nor does the object of inference become non-different from the subject of right notion. From this it is plain that a portion of Brahma, designated as the object-intelligence, is considered by the Vedántists to be external to the beholder, and to take up a determinate space : in which portion of Brahma, a jar for instance, is imagined through ignorance to exist. Non-difference from the subject of right notion does not mean oneness with it, but the non-possession of an existence distinct from that of such subject." In inference this does not

Miśra holds with the Nyáya that it proceeds from the *manas*. This school does not accept the four kinds of proof (*pramáṇa*) but only the two first, *perception and inference.*

The Naiyáyikas say that gold has its origin in fire, the Mímámsakas, in earth. The notion of time with the former, is apprehended by the reason, with the latter, by the senses, who also consider colour, among qualities, to be eternal, and each of the five colours in all diversities of position, to be one. Generality is innate in substance. They do not accept the notion of *Vega Saṇskára*, (velocity) and ascribe its effect to *karman* (action or motion).

According to Bhaṭṭa and Miśra, *pramáṇa* (proof) is of six kinds, four of which are the same as those of the Nyáya, and the senses are said to be seven,[1] as they add *támasendriya* by which the quality of darkness is cognized. They reject *kevalánvayin*, (con-comitancy of affirmative) and *kevala vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives); and the Guru, *mithyájñána* (erroneous opinion). *Sanśaya* (doubt)[2] and *viparyaya* (misconception), are recognised as two forms of veritable knowledge. The Naiyáyikas prove the existence of air from inference, the Mímáṃsakas from touch. The fifth kind of *pramáṇa* is *arthápatti* (presumption), discerning the subject and assuming the predicate.[3]

The sixth[4] kind is *anupalabdhi*, non-perception of things. They assert that perception of the non-existence of things arises from the non-knowledge of those things.[5] The Miśra like the Naiyáyikas includes this in *pratyaksha*.

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occur. See. Dr. Hall's Refutation, pp. 184–5.

[1] In various passages the number of corporeal organs is differently stated. The precise number is eleven, the five senses, the five organs of action, mind or the internal faculty including intelligence, consciousness and sensation. The six commonly mentioned are the five senses with *Manas*, the internal organ.

[2] Doubt is founded on the notion whether a thing is what it seems to be, as a man or the stump of a tree; misconception is incorrect notion, as the notion of silver in mother o' pearl.

[3] That is, the assumption of a thing not itself perceived, but necessarily implied by another which is seen, heard or proved. Colebrooke, I. 329.

[4] According to Rájendralála Mitra the six are: perception (*pratyaksha*), presumption (*arthápatti*), proportion *sambhava*), privation (*abháva*), comprehension (*pratibhá*), and oral communication (*aitihya*). The word *pramáṇa* has a twofold meaning, liable to be confounded, that of right notion and the means of acquiring that notion. As a function of the thinking principle, it is right notion and not evidence. Aphorisms of Patanjali, p 10.

[5] The sophism *anupalabdhi-sama* is the trying to establish a fact from the impossibility of perceiving the non-perception of it. For the Nyáya on *pratyaksha* see Röer. p. 26.

The cardinal point of their system lies in works, which are of two kinds ; *vihita* (enjoined), a work productive of good, and *nishiddha* (prohibited), resulting in pain. The first is again fourfold, (1) *nitya* (constant), that is, a daily duty, reprehensible to omit : (2) *naimittaka* (occasional rites)[1], necessary duties at special times such as eclipses : (3) *kámya* (desirable), things done with desire of fruition : (4) *práyaśchitta*, expiatory acts. Of the nine schools, the first six recognize these obligations and carry them into practice to the prosperous ordering of their lives. A separate order of ceremonies is appointed to each of the four castes of men.

The questions comprised by this philosophy are set forth in twelve books. The first treats of the predicaments and of proof : the second, of various rites and certain elucidations of the Vaidic text : the third, of certain important ceremonies the results of rites which are revealed in that sacred volume and other minor points accessory to the main objects. The fourth, that the acquisition of worldy goods is twofold, personal comfort and (to procure oblations) for casting into the fire[2] (for sacrificial purposes). The fifth, of the order of various duties. The sixth, of the substitutes for various rites. The seventh, of the detail of the ceremonies to be performed which are only briefly described in the Vedas. The eighth is an exposition of dependent rites which are included in the performance of the primary. The ninth, a discussion of the mystic verses specified for a particular case in the sacred book, when quoted in a new connection, and hymns of praise. The tenth, the discussion of dependent rites which are precluded by non-performance of the primary rite. The eleventh discusses the occasion where one act suffices for the fulfilment of two (or more) acts. The twelfth, where the chief purpose of the rite is one only, but has a further reference without express assignment.[3]

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[1] Jacob in his translation of the Vedánta-Sara, illustrates "*nitya*" constant rites, such as the Sandhyá prayers and the like, (which) cause ruin if left undone, and *Naimittika*, occasional rites, as the birth-sacrifice following the birth of a son, &c The prohibited things are the slaying of a Brahman, &c., which result in hell : and the "things done with a desire of reward" (*kámya*) are such as are done to procure heaven.

[2] I have no doubt that 'casting into the fire (بآتش انداختن) is a translation of the Sanskrit होम which exactly expresses this meaning, that is, the oblations such as butter, &c., which are part of the ceremonial of worship, and the ability to purchase these goods is one of the advantages of wealth. Abul Fazl appears to assume in his readers a general acquaintance with the subjects he expounds, and the half lights under which he displays them, mislead and perplex.

[3] This synopsis of the Mímáṃsaka treatise is very imperfect and would be unintelligible without the aid of an exact and scientific summary of its contents. Fortunately this is furnished by

Vedánta.

The founder of this school was *Vyása.*[1] The Hindus ascribe extreme

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the Sarva-Darśana Sangraha or review of the different systems of Hindu philosophy by Mádhava Áchárya, translated by Messrs. Cowell and Gough. This work was composed by the author in the 14th century, and it is not improbable that Abul Fazl may have been made acquainted with its purpose and utilised its information. I quote from it the order and contents of the twelve books. In the first book is discussed the authoritativeness of those collections of words which are severally meant by the terms injunction (*vidhi*), "explanatory passage" (*arthaváda*), hymn (*mantra*), tradition (*smṛiti*), and 'name.' In the second, certain subsidiary discussions (as *e. g.*, on *apúrva*) relating to the difference of various rites, refutation of erroneously alleged proofs, and difference of performance (as in "constant" and "voluntary" offerings.) In the third, *S'ruti* "sign," or "sense of the passage" (*liṅga*), "context" (*vákya*), &c., and their respective weight when in apparent opposition to one another, the ceremonies called *pratipatti-karmáni*, things mentioned incidentally (*anárabhyádhíta*), things accessory to several main objects, as *prayájas*, &c., and the duties of the sacrificer. In the fourth, the influence on other rites of the principal and subordinate rites, the fruit caused by the *juhú* being made of the *butea foudasa*, &c., and the dice-playing &c., which form the subordinate parts of the *rájasúya* sacrifice. In the fifth, the relative order of different passages of *S'ruti*, &c., the order of different parts of a sacrifice (as the seventeen animals at the *vájapeya*), the multiplication and non-multiplication of rites, and the respective force of the words of *S'ruti*, order of mention, &c., in determining the order of performance. In the sixth, the the persons qualified to offer sacrifices, their obligations, the substitutes for enjoined materials, supplies for lost or injured offerings, expiatory rites, the *sattra* offerings, things proper to be given, and the different sacrificial fires. In the seventh, transference of the ceremonies of one sacrifice to another by direct command in the Vaidic text, and then as inferred by 'name' or 'sign.' In the eighth, transference by virtue of the clearly expressed or obscurely expressed 'sign,' and cases were no transference takes place. In the ninth, the beginning of the discussion on the adaptation of hymns when quoted in a new connection (*úha*), the adaptation of *sámans* and *mantras*, and collateral questions. In the tenth, the discussion of occasions where the non-performance of the primary rite, involves the 'preclusion and non-performance of the dependent rites,' and of occasions where rites are precluded because other rites produce their special result, discussions connected with the *graha* offerings, certain *sámans* and various other things, and a discussion on the different kinds of negation. In the eleventh, the incidental mention, and subsequently the fuller discussion of *tantra* (where several acts are combined into one,) and *ávápa* (or the performing an act more than once). In the twelfth, a discussion on *prasaṅga* (where the rite is performed for one chief purpose, but with an incidental further reference), *tantra*, cumulation of concurrent rites (*samuchchaya*) and option."

[1] This legendary personage, known also as Veda-vyása or divider of the Vedas, is represented in the Vishṇu Puráṇa, as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

longevity to him among nine other persons as follows: Lomaśa, Markaṇdeya, Vyása, Ashwatthámá, Hanumant Báli, Vibhíshaṇá, Kṛipa Ácharya, and Paraśuráma, and relate wonderful legends regarding them.

The professors of this important school of philosophy follow the Mímáṃsa in the definitions of *padártha*, and *pramáṇa* and other points, and accept the teachings of Bhaṭṭa, but heaven and hell, rewards and punishments and such other cosmical phenomena, they look on as a delusion under the appearance of reality. In some works there are two predicaments, (1) *dṛik* (discerning) = *átman* (soul): (2) *dṛiśya* (the visible creation). They allow of no existence external to God. The world is a delusive appearance, and as a man in sleep sees fanciful shapes, and is affected by a thousand joys and sorrows, so are its seeming realities.

In every Dwápara, or third age, Vishṇu, in the person of Vyása, divides the Vedas which are properly one, into several portions for the good of mankind. He makes it fourfold to adapt it to their capacities, and the bodily form he assumes is known as Veda-vyása. A nominal list of 28 of these Vedávyasas are given in Cap. III of the V. P. He is also the reputed author of the Mahábhárata, known to mortals as Kṛishna Dwaipáyana, and to the gods as the deity Náráyaṇa, for none else, but a deity was considered capable of the feat. The name of Bádaráyaṇa is also given to him. The principal tenets of the Vedánta are that God is the omniscient and omnimpotent cause of the existence, continuation, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. At the consummation all things are resolved into Him. He is sole existent, secondless, entire sempiternal, infinite, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence and happiness. Individual souls emanate from Him like sparks from a fire and return to Him, being of the same essence. The soul is a portion of the divine substance. Colebrook Misc. Essays. Ed. Cowell. I. 394, The original Vedánta did not recognise the doctrine of Máyá or illusion, which is a later accretion. It maintains, says Davies, the doctrine of *a-dvaita* or non-dualism as decidedly as Schelling or Hegel. All things, visible and invisible, are only forms of the one eternal essence (τὸ ἕν). Its basis is therefore a pure Pantheism. I refer the reader to Colebrooke's Essays for an analysis of this as well as of the other schools of philosophy.

The nine persons alluded to, are supposed by the Hindus to be *still* living, and in the birth-day ceremony, they are still worshipped to obtain the gift of long life. Hanumant is Hanumán, or the monkey king, a conspicuous figure in the Rámáyana. Bali was a virtuous Daitya king whose devotion and austerities humbled the gods and won for him the authority over three worlds. Vishṇu became manifest in his *avatára* as a dwarf to rescue the gods and restrain Bali. He obtained from him as a boon, three steps of ground, in two of which he stepped over heaven and earth, and in pity left to his dupe, the infernal regions. Vibhíshaṇa was younger brother of Rávaṇa, the ravisher of Sítá. Paraśuráma or Ráma, with the axe, is the sixth *avatára* of Vishṇu; v. Dowson. Class Dict of Hind. Myth. for these names.

One effulgent light conveys a multiplicity of impressions and assumes diversity of names.

The subjects of discussion in this great system are six: *Brahman*, *I'śwara*, *Jíva*, (intelligent sentient soul), *Ajñána* (Ignorance), *Sambandha* (relation), *Bheda*, difference. These six are held to be without beginning, and the first without end.

Brahma, is the Supreme Being; and is essential existence and wisdom and also bliss which is termed *ánanda*. These three alone are predicated of the Inscrutable. *Ajñána*, Ignorance, in opposition to the ancients, is regarded as having a separate existence, and two powers are attributed to it. (1) *vikshépa-śakti*, the power of projection: (2) *ávaraṇa-śakti*,[1] the power of veiling the real nature of things. *Sambandha* is the relation of Ignorance with the first-mentioned. *Bheda* is the disjunction of these two.

It is said that Ignorance in connection with the first is called *Máyá*, or the power of Illusion, and with the second, *avidyá* (nescience).

By the association of Illusion (*máyá*) with the essential sanctity (of Brahma), a definite hypostasis arises which is called *I'śvara* in whose omniscience there is no defect. This Supreme Being in his association with nescience (*avidyá*) is called *jíva* (the soul) and also *jívátmá*, (rational, conscious soul). Knowledge lurks behind the veil of concealment, and the dust of defect falls not on the skirt of the divine majesty. One sect believe that as *avidyá* is one, *jíva* can be only one, and these aver that none has ever attained emancipation. Another sect, affirm that as *avidyá* is distributively numerous, so likewise is *jíva*; and that many of the wise have attained that accomplishment of desire which consists in the removal of *ajñána* (Ignorance) before-mentioned, by right apprehension. *Ajñána* has three qualities[2]: *sattva* (goodness), which is attended with happiness and the like: *rajas* (foulness or passion), from which spring desire, pain, pleasure, and similar effects : *tamas*, darkness, which is accompanied by anger, dullness, love of ease, and the like. I'śvara, in union with *rajas*, takes the name of Brahmá from whom, emanates the appearance of creation. I'śvara, in union with *sattva*, becomes Vishṇu, whose office is the preservation of the created. I'śvara united with *tamas* is Mahádeva, who annihilates what has been created. Thus the chain of creation is linked in these three modes, and all are unreal appearances produced by Ignorance.

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[1] The power of envelopment is like a cloud obscuring the spectator's vision, and thus ignorance, though limited, veils the understanding and covers the Soul which is unlimited and unconnected with the universe. The power of projection makes a rope appear like a snake, and thus ignorance raises up on Soul, which is covered by it, ether and the whole universe from subtile bodies to the earth itself. Intelligence associated with ignorance, possessed of these two powers, is, when itself is chiefly concerned, the efficient cause, and when its associate is chiefly considered, the material cause, as a spider in itself is the efficient cause of its web. and in its body the material cause. v. Jacob's Vedántasara. pp. 52–53.

[2] These *guṇas* are a mere hypothesis, according to Davies, invented to account for the manifest differences in the conditions of formal existences. A subtle or spiritual element, one of passion or force, and something which is contrary to both, an element of dullness and

Like the ancients they hold the elements to be five, but each is twofold :—(1). *súkshma*, (subtile), imperceptible to the eye which is termed *apanchíkṛita* (non-quintuplicated[1]) in which the quality of *tamas* is more largely associated : (2). *śthúla* (gross), the reverse of the other, and this is named *panchíkṛita* (quintuplicated). It springs from the greater admixture of foulness, and carried to a greater degree, receives the name of ether, the quality attaching to which is sound, and thus considered, air takes its origin which has the two qualities of sound and touch.[2] From predominance of goodness, fire is generated, from which proceed three qualities, the two former and form. From the greater

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insensibility in, at least, all human beings, is supposed to exist, and are assumed by Kapila in the Sánkhya system to indicate a primary difference in the constituent elements of nature, an idea which may be traced in early Greek Philosophy. (*cf.* Aristotle Metaph, 1, 3.) In the Gnostic system of Valentinus, all men and substances are divided into the spiritual, vital and material (Hylic), a classification corresponding to the *guṇas* of Kapila and possibly borrowed from India, p. 37.

[1] Literally "not becoming five by combination," that is, rudimentary. It is thus explained in Jacob's Vedánta-Sára. "From Intelligence associated with Ignorance, attended by its projective power, in which the quality of insensibility (*tamas*) abounds, proceeds ether, from ether, air, from air heat, from heat, water and from water, earth. The prevalence of insensibility in the cause of these elements is inferred from observing the excess of inanimateness in them. Then in those elements, ether and the rest, arise the qualities of pleasure, pain and insensibility in the proportion in which they exist in their cause." These are subtile, rudimentary on non-quintuplicated elements. "The gross elements are those made from combining the five (subtile elements).

.... Then in ether, sound is manifested, in air, sound and touch, in heat, sound touch and form, in water sound, touch, form and taste, in earth, sound, touch, form, taste and smell." The process of quintuplication is described later by Abul Fazl.

[2] Colebrooke observes that the notion of ether and wind as distinct elements, seems to originate in the assumption of mobility for the essential character of the one. Hence air in motion has been distinguished from the aerial fluid at rest, ether, which is said to be all-pervading, and by an easy transition wind and motion come to be identified, like ether and space.

proportions of goodness and foulness, water is manifested which has four qualities, the three former and savour. From excess of darkness, earth is produced, to which appertain the whole five qualities, *viz.*, the four former and smell.

It is said that through the predominance of goodness, hearing is manifested from ether, tangibility from air, vision from fire, taste from water, and smell from the earth. These five are termed *jńánendriya*, organs of perception. From ether comes the power of utterance termed *vách*, (speech). From air, the power of the hand (*páni*) is manifested: from fire, the power of the foot (*púdah*). From water, the power of evacuation, *váyu;* from earth, urinary discharge, called *upastha* (τὰ αἰδοῖα).

In each of the five, foulness, is predominant, and they are called *karmendriya*, organs of action.[1] The majority of Hindu philosophers hold to these opinions.

Through the predominance of *sattva* a subtile substance proceeds called *antaḥkaraṇa* (the interior sense), which under four distinct states, has four separate names. That in which goodness predominates and where the intention of distinguishing and investigating enter, is called *chitta* (thinking-principle). Where foulness (or passion) has more prominence and doubt arises, it is called *manas,* (mind), and where the proportion of goodness exceeds to such an extent that certainty is attained, it is called *buddhi* (intelligence), and when through excess of darkness, it regards itself and attributes to itself what is extraneous to its own nature, it is called *ahankára*, egotism or consciousness.

From the non-quintuplicated elements, through the predominance of foulness, five vital airs are generated:—(1). *práṇa*, respiration from mouth and nose:. (2). *udána*, breathing upwards from the wind pipe: (3). *samána* from the stomach:[2] (4). *apána*, flatulence: (5). *vyána*, pervading the whole body. The ten organs (of perception and action) with *antaḥkaraṇa*, (the interior sense) and the five vital airs, sixteen altogether, are called *linga-sarira*[3] or *sukshma-sarira* (the subtile frame). Some distinguish *antaḥ-*

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[1] The organs of action are the mouth, hand, foot, arms and organ of generation, the five organ of sense are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin.

[2] This air is supposed to surround the stomach which is the seat of the fire, supplying the heat of the body and consuming the food. This fire is surrounded and retained in place by the air called *Samána*. It is called by this name because surrounding the navel it permeates everywhere (*samantánnayanát*). v. Rajendralala Mitrá's Patanjali, p. 153, where these airs are described in detail. These are not properly air or wind, but vital functions.

[3] The soul whose desire is fruition is invested with a subtile person, towards the formation of which the evolution of principles proceeds no further than the

karaṇa, the internal sense, as two in regard to (*a*) intelligence (*buddhi*) and mind (*manas*), and (*β*) the thinking principle (*chitta*), with egotism (*ahankára*), and thus make seventeen members.

This body is affirmed to exist in all animals, but by reason of its tenuity is not apprehended by the senses. A living principle is generated which is cognisant of all subtile frames in their entirety, called *Hiraṇyagarbha* [1] (golden womb, or fœtus) and all that is generated subsequently is believed to emanate from this immaterial form.

The origin of the gross body is thus described. Each of the (five) subtile elements is divided into moieties, and each of the first five of the ten moieties is subdivided into four equal parts. The remaining (undivided) moiety of subtile ether, combined with one part from each of the other four subtile elements, air, fire, water and earth, produces the coarse or mixed element of ether. The (undivided) moiety of air, combined with one part of ether, fire, water, and earth becomes the mixed element of air. The (undivid-

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elementary rudiments (non-quintuplicated), and according to the Sánkhya system as referred to (without name) by Abul Fazl lower down, has seventeen principles. The grosser body with which a soul clad in its subtile person, is invested for the purposes of fruition, is composed of the five elements, or of four, and even of only one (earth), according to some authorities. The body is propagated by generation and is perishable. The subtile person is more durable, and capable of transmigration through successive bodies which it assumes as a mimic shifts his disguises. It is primeval, produced by original nature at the initial development of principles, and is of atomic size. v. Colebrooke, I, 257–58.

[1] This is the name given to Brahmá (in the masculine gender) the intelligent spirit whose birth was in the Golden mundane egg from which he is thus named. Máyá or the cosmical illusion, is fictitiously associated with Brahma from all-eternity In the series of æons without beginning or end, the forms of life have at the beginning of each æon emanated in, first Íśvara, the unreal figment of the cosmic fiction, unreal to the philosopher, real to the ignorant multitude; secondly Hiraṇyagarbha, the golden germ, or Práṇa, the breath of life, or Sutrátman, the Thread-spirit, which is the totality of migrating souls in the state of dreaming sleep. His body is the sum of invisible bodies, the tenuous *involucra* in which the soul passes from body to body in eternal palingenesia. The invisible bodies are made up of the cognitional, sensorial, and the aerial garments of the soul. Within these as its first garment, the soul is clad in the beatific vesture of the first principle of emanations, and the fifth is the tangible body of the world of sense. Three of those five wrappers clothe Hiraṇyagarbha. The third emanation is Viraj Vaiśvánara, Prajápati or Purusha who is identified with the totality of waking consciousness, with the sum of souls in their waking state and their gross visible environments. See Gough's Philosophy of the Upanishads pp 53–55.

ed) moiety of fire, with one part of ether, water, earth (and air),[1] becomes the mixed element of fire, and so on with water and earth. Others say that the mixed elements of ether and air are formed without the combination of fire, water and earth, but that the mixed elements of fire, water and earth are formed as described. Each of these three is divided into two moieties; one moiety of each is left undivided and the other is divided into three equal parts, which are combined in the manner above stated, and thus these three mixed elements of fire, water, and earth are produced: from these quintuplicated elements, by the predominant combination of one of the threefold qualities (of goodness, foulness and darkness) the fourteen worlds[2] and their inhabitants are brought into existence. It is said, that a living principle is generated, which discerns all gross bodies. This is termed *Viráṭ*.[3]

The annihilation of the world is thus described. The earth will be destroyed by water, the water by fire, the fire by air successively, and the air in its turn perishes in ether and ether in Máyá or Illusion, and Ignorance (*ajñána*) with its results rises out of this Unreality.[4] Three degrees of this (dissolution) are described. (1). *Dainandina* (daily), when the (close of) the day of Hiraṇyagarbha which is the same as that of Brahmá, destroys the greater part of creation.[1] (2). *Prákṛita*, (elemental), when all creation is absorbed in *ajńána* (Ignorance). (3). *Átyantika* (absolute), when Ignorance ends and Right Apprehension sheds its radiance. The first kind has frequently occurred and will recur. The others happen but once, and Ignorance, with the constant recurrence of works and the co-operation of the wise of heart, together with the three principles[2] before mentioned, will be absorbed into non-existence.

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[1] Omitted in text. The proportion is four-eighths of the predominant element with one-eighth of each of the other four. The wonder is how it was discovered.

[2] These *lokas* or worlds are Bhúr, terrestrial; Bhuvar, the atmospheric sphere from the earth to the sun; Svar-loka, heaven; ten million leagues above is Maharloka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it through a day of Brahmá: at twice that distance is Jana-loka where Sanandana and other pure-minded sons of Brahmá reside: at four times the distance is Tapo-loka, the sphere of penance inhabited by deities called Vaibhrájas, who are unconsumable by fire. At six times the distance is Satya-loka the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death. Vishṇu Puráṇa, 213. The remaining seven are the nether worlds. v. p. 32 of this volume.

[3] "Intelligence associated with the collective aggregate is called Vaiśvánara (spirit of humanity) or Viráṭ: the former because of the conceit that it is in the whole of humanity, and the latter because it appears in various forms. Vedánta-sára. Jacob, 65. The generation of this emanation of the Supreme Being which directs the aggregate of bodies and exists in them as a form of intelligence, is described in Manu's Ordinances, I. 32. "Having divided his own body into two, he became a man by half, by half a female—on her that Lord begot Viráj." See the note in Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa which treats at length of this complicated generation and office.

[4] This order of successive destruction is described at length in the last book of the Vishṇu Puráṇa Chap. VI. with a different conclusion. The primary element of egotism is said to devour the ether, which is itself taken up by intellect, which is seized upon by Nature (Prakṛiti).

This system of philosophy is laid down in four books. The first contains an account of Brahma: the second removes the (apparent) discrepancies between form and substance: the third is the preparation of the soul for the reception of divine knowledge, and the fourth on the modes, forms, fruit and effect of its attainment.

The Hindu sages have divided the Vedas into three portions. The first is the *karmakáṇḍa* (relating to works), the practical section termed *Púrva Mímáṃsá*, which has been briefly described as the third school. The second is the *jńánakáṇḍa*, the speculative section, called also *Uttara Mímáṃsá*, celebrated as the Vedánta. The third is the *Upásaná* (service) which is termed Sankarshaṇa[3] Mímáṃsá. This regards the worship of God under a personal aspect, and is not now extant.

They profess that the study of the Vedánta is not suitable for every person, nor are its mysterious doctrines to be heard by every ear. The inquirer should accurately investigate what is eternal and non-eternal and discarding from his mind belief in the actuality of existence, he should zealously pursue the objects to be attained. He will then be no longer distressed by the annihilation of sense-perceptions, nor be fettered by pain and pleasure; and will gain a daily increasing hope of final liberation.[1]

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[1] The destruction of creatures, not of the substance of the world. The incidental or occasional dissolution is termed *naimittika* (see p. 147) of this Vol. It is called incidental as occasioned by the interval of Brahmá's days, the destruction occurring during the night. The elemental occurs at the end of Brahmá's life, and the absolute or final, is individual annihilation and exemption from future existence. V. P. 630. *Dainandina-pralaya* is the destruction of the world after 15 years of Brahmá's age. Monier Williams, Sansk. Dict.

[2] Goodness, foulness and darkness.

[3] Sankarshaṇa is Balaráma, brother of Kṛishṇa, and one of the incarnations of Vishṇu. Vasudeva, who is Vishṇu, is identified by the Bhágavata sect, with Bhágavat the Supreme Being, who divided himself and became four persons by successive production, *viz.*, Sankarshaṇa, who sprang from him direct, from whom came Pradyumna, and from the latter came Aniruddha. Sankarshaṇa is identified with the living soul (jíva): Pradyumna, with, mind (*manas*) and Aniruddha with *Ahankára*, consciousness. Colebrooke, I, 440.

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[1] I extract from Pandit Nilakantha's clear and well-ordered refutation of this system, which, if any, is the only scheme of theology apart from mere caste ceremonial, accredited among the Hindus, the following precis of its inconsistent theories to illustrate the somewhat technical exposition of Abul Fazl.

The Vedántins argue three sorts of existence, the true or transcendental (*páramárthika*), practical or conventional (*vyávahárika*), and apparent (*prátibhásika*). True existence is that of Brahmá exclusively. The second does not veritably exist, only the ignorant or misapprehensive mistake it for existent and so transact practical life, whence the name; and as the things are supposed not to be veritably existent, so is it with the use made of them as a necessary consequence. The third kind resembles the practical in that it is false, but by mistake seems to be true and differs from the practical in that (1st), men do not constantly, but only now and then mistake for veritable the apparent objects to which it appertains, as nacre for silver and matters of dreams, &c.; 2nd, there is no practical dealings with such things, as nacre offered for sale will not be bought for silver; 3rd, it is because of ignorance that the practical seem to be veritable, but it is through other causes as distance, &c., called defects, in addition to ignorance, that the apparent seems to be veritable. Monism or non-duality is essential to the Vedánta philosophy. The soul is Brahma, and the world is false; hence Brahma is solely true and nought but it exists, or has existed, or will exist. And the world is false not because it is perishable, but truly false, as nacrine silver. Further, the ignorance that creates the imaginary world, is itself ignorance-imagined and hence false, and consistently, else non-duality would be impeached. Thus they establish Brahma to be true and all else illusory, and two classes of objects to exist, the true and untrue, and both really existent, only that an object of the first class is really real, and an object of the second, unreally real. A combination of two contradictories, existence and non-existence, is thus predicated of their *practical* existence. The Vedántin explains it thus:—Conceive true existence and practical existence as two stations with a station intermediate. A person located at practical existence does not style its objects unreally real, for to his eye there is only one sort of existence, that in which he is. This is the position of the ignorant or misapprehensive. Again, a person located at true existence would not designate its object, Brahma, as really real, for with him also there is but one kind of existence. This is the standing-point of the Vedántin's Brahma, if it but possessed the cognition which it lacks. A person located at the intermediate station sees both existences, and is alone able to judge of them as they really are—the one really real, the other unreally so. This is the Vedantin who affects to understand Brahma better than Brahma understands himself. They aver that Brahma is universally diffused and over portions of him, the unreal world is actually produced. Brahma is its substrate and illusory material cause, and ignorance its material cause. Hence the world is both false, and yet identical with Brahma, and this is explained by the analogy of nacre being mistaken for silver, a false silver being actually produced over the nacre. The latter is the substrate of the silver, and its illusory

Sánkhya.

The founder of this philosophical system was Kapi-

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material cause, while ignorance is said to be its material cause. But it is not explained how a man mistaking nacre for silver, or a rope for a snake, has a false form before his eye and not nacre nor a rope. Therefore if the ignorant mistake Brahma for the world, it must be believed that this world visible, tangible, unintelligent, changeable is Brahma, or in other words that it has these qualities. Granted that the name of the world is false, how can its form be so? But to concede this would be to give up non-duality. The conception of Brahma itself is equally bewildering. It apprehends no one, and nought, and is apprehended of no one, for all apprehension is a modifica- of the internal organ, and Brahma never comes within its cognizance. It has no qualities. It is neither the efficient nor the material cause of the world. It is constitutively cognition, yet cognizes nothing, for cognition according to them, is a modification of the internal organ and Brahma's constitutive cognition is not such. The object abstracted, cognition is impossible, for as Coleridge observes "Truth is correlative to being, and knowledge without a correspondent reality is no knowledge." Again, when they say it is inapprehensible and ineffable, their meaning is not like ours when we use such language regarding God. We mean that God cannot wholly, they that Brahma cannot at all, be known, nor described. Nothing that comes within the scope of apprehension is in any wise Brahma. This is as accurate an idea of absolute non-entity as language can express. Again they maintain that the soul has been from all eternity in the bondage of illusion. They do not say that illusion or ignorance came into being at some particular period and took the soul captive. For if it thus had an origin, it would be necessary to assign a cause, and even after emancipation it might incur the danger of being again made captive in consequence of the production of some new form of ignorance. On this ground they allege that illusion has existed from all time, and co-eternally with it the soul has been enthralled and will so continue till emancipated, but this cannot be reconciled with the position that besides Brahma nothing has ever been, is, or is to be. Again Brahma, is in its nature, eternally, pure, intelligent and free. But the soul is Brahma, and yet having been in bondage to illusion must be impure and unintelligent. To obviate this difficulty, illusion is said to have the peculiar character of existing and not existing. It cannot be said to be, inasmuch as it does not possess true existence. On the other hand it cannot be said not to be, inasmuch as it possesses apparent existence. But though it has apparent existence, it has no real existence, therefore the doctrine of monism suffers no injury. At the same time possessing apparent existence, it is capable of taking the soul captive, but as illusion is only apparent, so the soul's bondage is practical; that is, as illusion is false, so is the soul's bondage false. Therefore neither was it ever actually fettered, nor is it now so, nor has it to be emancipated. It has been attempted to demonstrate the accordance of this doctrine with the immaterialism of Berkely; but Berkely maintains that objects of sense are only ideas, having no existence in themselves apart from perception.

la.[1] Some assert that the followers of this school do not believe in God.

He does not hold that they are false. The perception of them constitutes their existence, whereas the ordinary view is that they exist independently of perception. He does not say they are imaginations of eternal ignorance, nor suppose that on the attainment of right apprehension, the whole scheme of created things will disappear. Moreover in the Vedánta system, not only are objects of cognition, imaginations of ignorance and false, but cognition itself is so, for cognition is a modification of the internal organ and not being Brahma, is to be regarded among falsities and imaginations of ignorance. Their objects and their cognition are alike false. Similarly, though they call Brahma appropriated to illusion, I'śvara, they declare, that the contact of illusion with Brahma, is not true but merely imagined; therefore I'śvara is imaginary. Thus deep calls to deep, and one absurdity requires another to support it. The Vedánta system professes to be a theism, but its Brahma is neither creator of the world, nor its preserver, nor its lord, and has no attributes. It is intelligence that cognizes nothing, and is bliss without fruition of happiness. A Supreme Being without the realities of omnipotence, omniscience and providential rule over his creation, is not God. It cannot reward as he cannot punish. Sin and virtue are in a sense acknowledged from the stand-point of practical existence, but they count for nothing. The ignorant man may avoid sin and practice virtue, but right apprehension spurns both, having no reason to fear the one, nor motive for pursuing the other. In what does this differ from atheism?

[1] Colebrooke suspects that this personage was altogether mythical. He is variously asserted to have been a son of Brahmá and incarnations of Vishṇu and of Agni. The latter fable may be accounted for by the signification of the word *kapila* which besides that of tawny, bears also the meaning of fire. He is mentioned in the Puráṇas as one of the great sages. Davies, in the preface to his exposition of the Sánkhya system, creits him with being a historical personage, and says that he was born in Northern India before the date of Gautama Buddha. The name of a city called Kapila-vastu, (the tawny site) mentioned in the Pali Dáthavanisa as having been built by the permission of the sage Kapila, seems to be authority for this belief, but it may be also rendered, as Prof. Wilson remarks (II. 346) "the substance of Kapila," intimating the Sánkhya philosophy upon which the fundamental elements of Buddhism are evidently based. His life and times are however quite uncertain. Tradition makes him a recluse but he survives only in the system connected with his name. This, says Davies, remains only a philosophical theory, preserved only as an intellectual product understood and accepted by a small inner circle of free thinking men. "The name *Sánkhyá* is derived from the noun which signifies 'number,' and the precision of reckoning observed in the enumeration of its principles, is aid to be the origin of the term as applied to this philosophy. The derivative meaning of reasoning or judgment, which the word also implies, points to the application of this term to the exercise of judgment which is its characteristic, and this interpretation is supported by a passage of the Mahábhárata (xii. 11409-10) which runs: 'They exercise judgment (Sánkhyá) discuss nature, and (other) twenty-four

The fact is, however, that they do not affirm the existence of a creator, and creation is ascribed to Nature (*Prakṛiti*), and the world is said to be eternal. All that is veiled by non-existence is not believed to be non-existent[1] but the caused is absorbed in the cause, as a tortoise retracts its feet within its shell. They accept the doctrine of freedom of will in actions, and of hell, of heaven, and the recompenses of deeds. With regard to emancipation, they agree with the Mímáṃsá. Proof (*pramáṇa*), is of three kinds.[2] They do not believe in the soul (*átman*).[3] Analogy and comparison are not accounted sources of knowledge, nor are time and space, substances, but caused by the motion of the sun. The word *tattva* (first principle) is used

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principles, and therefore are called Sánkhya." v. Colebrooke, I, 241.

This scholar observes that the text of the Sánkhya philosophy from which the sect of Buddha seems to have borrowed its doctrines, is not the work of Kapila himself, though vulgarly ascribed to him; but it purports to be composed by I'śvarakṛishna, who is stated to have received the doctrine mediately from Kapila, through successive teachers, after its publication by Panchaśikha, who had been himself instructed by A'suri, the pupil of Kapila: I. 93. Max Müller and Oldenberg do not acknowledge the debt of Buddhism to the Sánkhya philosophy, nor any definite similarity between them. Names as eminent and more numerous, Colebrooke, Wilson, Bournouf, Hodgson, Lassen, St. Hilaire, Weber, L. von Schroeder, Dr. Mitra are opposed to this denial, and lately Dr. Garbe in the preface to his translation of Aniruddha's Commentary on the Sánkhya Sútras, adds the force of his testimony to the stronger side, and adduces, under the authority of Prof. Ernst f Leumann, the Jaina legend as placing Kapila before the time of Buddha and Mahávíra. Dr. Banerjea ascribes precedence in date to the Buddhist doctrine.

[1] That is, that the existent is produced from the existent only, as the Sánkhyas hold. Thus, cloth is not distinct from the threads as it abides in the latter. "As the limbs of a tortoise when retracted within its shell are concealed, and when they come forth are revealed, so the particular effects as cloth, &c., of a cause, as threads &c., when they come forth and are revealed, are said to be produced; and when they retire and are concealed, are said to be destroyed: but there is no such thing as the production of the non-existent, or the destruction of the existent." Sarva Darśana Sangraha. Cowell, Gough, pp. 225–26, and Colebrooke, I. 266.

[2] Perception, inference, and fit testimony.

[3] It exists as pure inward light without any instrumentation by which it can become cognisant of the external world. This has been supplied, but it is foreign to the soul and as objective to it as any form of matter. Like Kant, the Sánkhyas hold that there is no knowledge of an external world save as represented by the action of our faculties to the soul, and they take as granted the objective reality of our sense-perceptions. The soul is different in kind from all material things, and will be finally severed from them by an eternal separation. It will then have no object and no function of thought, and will remain self-existent and isolated in a state of passive and eternal repose. v. Davies, pp. 18–20.

in their treatises for *padártha*, of which there are twenty-five, and these are comprised under four heads. 1. *Prakṛiti* (Nature), which is evolvent and not evolute. (2). *Prakṛiti-vikṛiti* (developments of Nature), evolvent and evolute; these are of seven kinds, *viz.*, *mahat* (the great one, *Buddhi* or Intellect), *ahankára* (consciousness or egotism), and the five *tanmátra* (subtile elements). 3. *Vikṛiti* (modifications), are evolutes only, and are not more than sixteen, namely the eleven *indriya*—(five senses, five organs of action and *manas*) and the five gross elements (ether, air, light or fire, earth and water). (4). The fourth is neither Nature, nor modification, nor evolvent nor evolute, and is called *Purusha*,[1] that is *Átman*, the soul.

The first of the principles above-mentioned is primordial matter, ὕλη, which is universal, indiscrete, and possessing the modes of goodness, passion and darkness. The fourth is viewed under two aspects, (*a*) the Supreme Being, as absolute existence and knowledge,[2] (*b*), the rational soul, omnipresent, eternal and multitudinous. By the union of the first and fourth, existence and non-existence come into being. Nature is said to be blind. It has not the power of vision nor of perception but only that of flux and reflux and the soul is regarded as a man without feet. When the two conjoin, the renewal and destruction of life[3] come into successive operation.

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[1] Identical with *Átman*. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, eternal, unalterable, immaterial. Colebrooke, I. 256. In the Bhagavad Gíta, the Supreme *Purusha* is the male creative power in the person of Kṛishna identified with Brahma. XIII. 22. Davies' translation. From Nature (*Prakṛiti*), issues the great principle (*Mahat*, Intellect) and from this, consciousness or the Ego: from consciousness, the whole sixteen entities and from five of the sixteen, the five gross elements. Davies, p. 54. In its primal form, matter is eternal and self existing. From it all things emanate except soul which has an independent existence both *a parte ante* and *a parte post*, p. 17. The text has incorrectly begun a new paragraph with the word *átman*, which should terminate the paragraph preceding.

[2] The theistical Sánkhya, as opposed to the system of Kapila, understands by *Purusha*, not individual soul alone, but likewise God (*Iśvara*) the ruler of the world. Colebrooke. I. 256.

[3] A variant has افزون شدن for فرو شدن The union of the soul with Nature occurs as the lame mounts on the shoulders of the blind to direct him, depending on each other for conveyance and guidance. Nature is the blind man for it cannot see and the soul is the lame one that cannot act. By this union of nature and soul, creation, consisting in the development of intellect and other principles, is effected. The simile is the stock one in this philosophy. It is this idea of individual creation, says Colebrooke, which gives to the Sánkhya an apparent resemblance to Berkeley's theory. The individual soul has been from eternity in continual connection with nature with the result of repeated creations. Each soul thus keeps on creating its own world. The material uni-

At the time of elemental dissolution, the three modes (of goodness, passion and darkness) are in equipoise. When the time of creation arrives, the mode of goodness preponderates, and *Mahat* (Intellect) is revealed, and this is considered the first emanation, and it is separate for every human creature. It is also called *Buddhi*, and is a substance, and the primary seat of eight states or qualities, *viz.*, virtue, vice, knowledge, ignorance, absence of passion or passivity (*virága)*, from which springs perception of the nothingness of worldly things, and indifference; *avirága* its opposite: *aiśvarya*, supernatural power acquired through austerities, and acts that seem incredible or impossible to human vision, of which eight kinds are given in the Pátañjala system: *anaiśvarya* its opposite. Four of the above positive states arise from the predominance of the mode of goodness and the other four from that of darkness. From *Mahat* (Intellect),[1] proceeds consciousness (*ahankára*). It is the principle of egotism and is the reference of every thing to self. In *Mahat* (intellect), when the mode, goodness predominates, it is called *vaikrita ahankára,* modified consciousness. If under the influence of the mode, darkness, it is called *bhútadi ahankára* (source of elemental being). If passion is in the ascendant, it becomes *taijasa ahankára* or impellent consciousness. From the first kind of consciousness, the eleven organs proceed, six of sense (including *manas*) and five of action, as before described. From the second, the five *tanmátra* (subtile elements), sound, tangibility, colour or form, savour and odour. These are regarded in this system as subtile substances from which the five gross elements take their rise: from sound, ether; from tangibility, air; from form, fire; from savour, water, and from odour, earth.

From this exposition it is clear that the seven substances mentioned (intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements) are on the one hand evolvents, and on the other evolutes, and the sixteen, that is, the eleven organs and the five gross elements, are evolutes. The soul (*átman*) is considered neither evolvent nor evolute. The five senses are held to be organs of perception, and *manas* discriminates between advantage and detriment. Consciousness cognizes itself by act or the omission of act, and intellect determines one or the other. From the five gross elements, other productions are evolved, but as *tattvas*, are incapable of further creations, causality is not attributed to them

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verse has, however, a separate existence other than that which it possesses from its connection with any particular soul, inasmuch as Hiranyagarbha, the personified sum of existence, may be said to sum up in his ideal creation the separate subcreations of all inferior beings. p. 257.

[1] That is, not the exaltation but the predominance of self in thought to the supreme conviction of the sole subjective personality of the thinker. v. Davies and Colebrooke.

The elemental order of creation is sixfold:—(1). *svarga-loka*, the world above, in the constitution of which goodness prevails: (2). *mṛityu-loka*, (world of death), the abode of men, in which foulness or passion predominates: *pátála-loka*, the world beneath, in which darkness is prevalent: *devatá*: (superior order of being) in which the element of goodness is predominant. Through their extraordinary power they can appear in divers shapes, and assume astonishing appearances, and from the transparency of their essence their true forms are invisible to the sight. There are eight orders of these:—(1). *Bráhmya*, blessed spirits, that inhabit the abode of *Brahmá*. (2). *Prájápatya*[1]: *Prajápati* is the name of a great divinity to whom is assigned a sphere, and those that dwell therein are thus styled. (3). *Aindra*: *Indra*, is the regent of the heavens, to whom a sphere is likewise referrible, and its dwellers are thus denominated. (4). *Paitra*[2]: the belief of the Hindu sage is that each individual's progenitors that have died, after a life of good works, will receive celestial shapes and enjoy their recompense in a special abode. The *devatás* therein, are called by this name. (5). *Gándharva*: this is said to be a sphere where the heavenly choristers reside. (6). *Yáksha*: in this sphere the *Yakshas* dwell; they are great ministering spirits, the guardian of the north. (7). *Rákshasa*, is a sphere inhabited by the *Rákshasas*, who are the malignant fiends of these orders and who slay men. (8). *Piśácha*: by this name an order of beings is defined who are characterized by an evil nature and perverted intelligence. They are less powerful than the *Rákshasas*, and are assigned a special sphere, and extraordinary legends are related of each of these orders.[3]

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[1] Signifies belonging to or derived from Prajá-pati and is a patronymic of Vishṇu, Hiraṇya-garbha, and other deities. Prajápati or the lord of creatures, is an epithet in the Veda, applied to Savitṛi, Indra, Agni and others, and later to a separate god presiding over procreation, and identified in more recent hymns with the universe. It is also an epithet of the ten (according to some authorities, seven) lords of created beings first created by Brahmá. v. Monier Williams. Sansk. Dict.

[2] Relating or consecrated to the Manes.

[3] An account of these various orders will be found in the Vishṇu Puṛána. They are familiar names in Hindu theology, and all are emanations from Brahmá under various states of his curiously complex organisation. In a form composed of the quality of foulness was produced Hunger, from whom Anger was born, and in darkness, Brahmá put forth beings of hideous aspect and emaciate with hunger. Such of them as exclaimed, 'Oh preserve us,' were called Rákshasas, from रक्ष् to preserve; others who cried out "let us eat," were denominated Yakshas, from यक्ष् to eat. Beholding them so disgusting, the hairs of Brahmá were shrivelled up and falling from his head produced serpents and the like. His hair, however, was fortunately for his comfort and appearance, renewed. The Gandharvas were born from him, imbibing melody, drinking of

The Animal creation (*tiryagyonya*)[1] is one in which the mode *rajas* (passion or foulness), prevailed at its production and is of five kinds:—(1). *paśu*, domestic animals: (2). *mṛiga*, wild animals: (3). *pakshí*, birds: (4). *sariśṛipa*, creeping things applied to the different reptiles and fishes: (5). *sthávara*,[2] the vegetable kingdom. *Mánushya*,[3] man, was produced through excess of the quality of passion. The general opinion adopts this division and belief. At the dissolution of the world, these creations perish with the five elements, and the elements are absorbed in the five *tanmátras* (rudimentary elements) which again are veiled in egotism (*ahankára*), and this in turn is absorbed in the secret recesses of *mahat*, intellect, which is (finally) lost in the pure depths of *Prakṛiti* (Nature).

Pain is of three kinds:—(1). *ádhyátmika*, intrinsic pain, both bodily and mental: (2). *ádhidaivika*, supernatural pain or calamity from a divine source, and (3). *ádhibhhautika*, extrinsic pain arising from the natural source of the elements. *Bandha*, bondage, is the source of all that fetters the spirit and debars it from emancipation.

Prákṛitika signifies one who holds Nature (*Prakṛiti*), in place of God. *Vaikṛitika*[4] is one who from ignorance assumes the eleven organs (of action and sense), (*indriya*) to be the Supreme Being. *Dakshina* (religious offerings or oblations in general) implies the being attached to the performance of works and believing them to be the ultimate aim of spirituality.

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the goddess of speech, hence their name गां धयन्तः Gámdhayantah 'drinking speech.' Vish. Pur. Wilson, p. 39 *et. seq.*

[1] ترجنج (*trijanja*) is the almost unintelligible transliteration. This was the fifth or animal creation. The compound is derived from the Sanskrit *tiryak* (तिर्यक) crooked or horizontal, applied to an animal (as not erect) and *yoni* योनि womb, or source. According to the Vishṇu Puráṇa, the term Tiryaksrotas (crooked-canal) is also applied, from their nutriment following a winding course. This was the fifth creation of Brahmá. v. p. 35.

[2] This should include minerals, the Sanskrit term signifying fixed things. *Mánushya* is transliterated in the text *manishu*.

[3] According to the Vishṇu Puráṇa both the qualities of darkness and foulness predominated at this inauspicious birth. Its products were termed *arváksrotas* from the *downward* current of their nutriment.

[4] From *vikṛiti*, a production or development, as derived mediately from the first principle Prakṛiti. I do not find these sects thus specifically named. The successive stages of creation are the nine so-called *sargas* (creations), *viz.*, the Mahat, Bhúta, Aindreyaka, Maukhya, Tairyaksrotas, Urddhasrotas, Arváksrotas, Anugraha, and Kaumara, or matter, the elements, the senses, the earth, animals, gods, men, goblins and Brahmá's sons. The three first are called Prákṛita or elementary, and the six last Vaikṛita or secondary, the elements being only made to assume Vikṛiti or a change of form. Wilson Essays, I. 148. The

They affirm that he whose mind is concentrated upon one object (of contemplation) and the fruition[1] of the celestial abode, if the subject of his absorption be the first-mentioned and his thoughts be thus continuously applied in efficacious devotion, he attains to the enjoyment of bliss in the sphere above for a hundred thousand *manvantaras*,[2] after which he returns to this world; in the organs of sense and action (*indriya*), during ten *manvantaras*, in the elements during one hundred, in consciousness (*ahankára*), during one thousand, and in intellect (*mahat*), during ten thousand, he enjoys the fruition of heavenly delights; after which term he reverts to this earth.[3] A *manvantara* is one and seventy enumerations of the four ages.[4] For each good action a period of heavenly bliss is allotted: for instance, he who gives to a Brahman sufficient ground for the erection of a house, will be recompensed by ten *kalpas* in heaven, a *kalpa* being equivalent to four *yugas*. He who bestows a thousand cows in charity, passes one *kroṛ* and 14,000 *kalpas* in paradise, and after numerous alternations of earth and heaven, the severance between nature (*Prakṛiti*) and the soul (*Purusha*) is evolved before the vision, and right apprehension arises. This is the goal of emancipation and the renewal of embodiments ceases for ever.

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terms Prákṛita and Vaikṛita are translated by Wilson in the Vishṇu Puráṇa as primary and secondary (creation). Kapila acknowledges a being issuing from Nature, who is intelligence absolute, source of all individual intelligences and origin of other existence necessarily evolved and developed. Yet that being is finite, having a beginning and an end, dating from the development of the universe, to terminate with its consummation, but an infinite being, creator and guide of the universe, he positively denies. Passages that seem to countenance the existence of God are interpreted by Kapila to signify the liberated soul or a mythological deity or the sublime production of the mundane egg. v. Colebrooke, I, 264.

[1] I read کامروای for کامیاب.

[2] 12,000 years of the gods or 4,320,000 mortals.

[3] The text is wrongly punctuated. There should be full stop after آورد.

[4] Thus the

Kṛita Yuga	4,800
Tretá ,,	3,600
Dvápara ,,	2,400
Kali ,,	1,200
	12,000 years of the gods.

By multiplying each of the above by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, the total is 4,320,000 for a Mahá-yuga or great age: this multiplied by 71 = 306,720,000. According to the Vishṇu Puráṇa there is a surplus which Wilson shows to be the number of years required to reconcile two computations of the Kalpa. The latter is equal to 1,000 great ages or 4,320,000 × 1,000 = 4,320,000,000. But a day of Brahmá is also 71 times a Great Age, multiplied by 14: or 4,320,000 × 71 × 14 = 4294,080,000 or less than the preceding by 25,920,000 and it is to make up this deficiency that an addition is made to the computation by *manvantras*. See the V. P. p. 24. n. 6. Abul Fazl makes a *Kalpa* to consist of four *Yugas* only.

This school also like that of the Vedánta, recognises two kinds of body, the *linga sarira*, or subtile frame, consisting of eighteen members, *viz.*, the eleven organs of action and sense with *manas*, the five subtile elements, with intellect and consciousness. The other is the *sthúla sarira* or gross body, and death signifies the divulsion of the one from the other, the subtile frame continuing till final liberation.

The subjects of this system are treated in sixty *tantras* which like the term *adhyáya*[1] is used for division or chapter.

The first treats of the existence of Nature and the soul: the second describes Nature as one: the third, shows the distinction between the soul and Nature: the fourth, that there is no effect without a cause: the fifth that Nature exists as the root-evolvent of all other forms: the sixth, that all evolved action must be associated with one of three qualities; the seventh, that the separation of the soul from Nature is attained through perfect knowledge: the eighth, the association of these two with Ignorance: the ninth, that in the light of perfect knowledge when Nature ceases from alternations of embodiment, if for a time the elemental form should continue to endure, it is solely through the residuum[2] of ignorance otherwise it would also perish: the tenth, that causality lies in Nature and not in the soul, and it treats of the five states of the five afflictions (*klesa*), *viz.*, ignorance, egotism, desire, aversion and ardent attachment to life,[3] as briefly alluded to in the Pátañjala school. Twenty-eight topics treat of the defect of the twenty-eight faculties of the eleven *indriya*, and the seventeen injuries of Intellect.[4] Nine topics treat of the nine distinctions of acquiescence (*tushti*):—(1). *Prakriti-tushti*, (relating to matter), concentration of thought on Nature and contemplation thereof, in the belief that Nature will increase knowledge and sever the soul from itself: (2). *Upádána-tushti* (relating to means), the knowledge that Nature of itself will solve no difficulty, and that until the heart is detached from all objects, the end is not attainable: (3). *Kálatushṭi*, (relating to time), the notion that all desires are fulfilled by the passing away of time, upon which therefore, the mind should be fixed while the heart is detached: (4). *Bhágya-tushṭi* (relating to fortune); in the knowledge that to the many the world passes away and effects nothing, to understand that the solution of difficulties rests with fortune and to turn thereunto freeing the mind from all other attachment: (5). *Pára-tushṭi*, withdrawal from all wordly unsubstantial pleasures in the assurance that thousands have sought them with pain and profited nothing thereby, and hence to abandon their pursuit: (6). *Supára-tushṭi*, to detach the heart from personal possessions, in the view that they have no stability, since tyrants may take them by force, and thieves may by cunning, steal. (7). *Párápára-tushṭi*, abstinence from pleasures of sense with the knowledge that even if followed by personal gratification, they must cease, and to such as these, attachment is vain:[1] (8). *Anuttamámbhas-tushṭi* detachment from all enjoyments, from consciousness of pain in their loss: (9). *Uttamámbhastushṭi*, detachment from pleasure with the motive of avoiding injury to others.[2]

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[1] See p. 150.

[2] See this translation of *Sanskára* at p. 135, note. The meaning is, that by attainment of perfect knowledge, virtue and the rest become causeless, but the soul continues awhile invested with its body, as the potter's wheel continues whirling from the effect of previous impulse. Vide: Sánkhya-Káriká, LXVII. Colebrooke, I, 278.

[3] These occur in Chapter II, 3. of the Yoga aphorisms of Patañjali in this exact order.

अविद्याऽस्मिता-राग-द्वेषाभिनिवेशाः पञ्च
क्लेशाः ॥ ३ ॥

[4] Depravity of the eleven organs, together with injuries of the intellect, are pronounced to be disability. The injuries of intellect are seventeen by inversion of acquiescence and perfectness. From defect of instruments there are twenty-eight distinctions of disability. Vide Colebrooke I, 277. translation of the Sánkhya Káriká.

Eight *tantras* or topics treat of the eight perfections (*siddhi*): (1). *úha-siddhi* (reasoning), without the necessity of reading to understand a subject by the light of reason: (2). *śabda siddhi* (oral instruction), without need of teaching, to understand by the mere hearing of the words: (3). *adhyayana-siddhi* (study), becoming wise by the perception of truths: (4). *suhṛidprápti-siddhi*, attaining knowledge by intercourse of friends: (5). *dána-siddhi*, (*gift*), serving one who accepts an invitation to a repast, or the bestowal of a gift on him, and manifesting a desire of knowledge and success in obtaining it.

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[1] See on this Dr. Richard Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's Commentary on the Sánkhya Sútras. These first four are termed by Dr. Garbe the *subjective* acquiescences, and are figuratively named by the commentator, water (*ambhas*), wave (*salila*), flood (*ogha*), rain (*vṛishṭi*), respectively. The next three, 'crossing,' 'happy crossing' and 'most excellent crossing,' *pára*, *supára*, *párapára*, together with the last two 'excellent water' (*anuttamámbhas*) and 'most excellent-water' (*uttamámbhas*) belong to the five *objective* acquiescences. Dr. Garbe observes that all Sánkhya Commentaries have preserved these strange terms without explanation. They are probably metaphorical expressions representing the passage of the soul across the river of existence, and are gradations of acquiescence rising in intensity from partial, to more complete, and finally to absolute detachment. The rationale all of these acquiescences is given by the commentator.

[2] Three kinds of prevention of pain which would make up the eight, have been for some reason omitted by Abul Fazl, and he has accounted for only fifty-five out of the sixty topics. The remainder are partly included in those mentioned, and may be seen in Cole-

Pátañjala.

The founder of this system was the sage Patañjali.[1]

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brooke, and in Dr. Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's Commentary. In the latter, the three first perfections are called *tára*, *sutára*, and *táratára*, mystical terms of the kind descriptive of the three acquiescences, of which the true meanings are probably lost. The fifth perfection (*dána*), according to Aniruddha's catachrestical interpretation, is purification which means the clearing of discriminative knowledge, as the word *dána* is derived from the root *dai* to clear, but the root *da* has both the meanings given by Abul Fazl to *dána*, *viz.*, liberality and instruction.

[1] The accounts of this philosopher and grammarian are like those of the founders of the preceding systems, meagre and legendary. The period in which he flourished is disputed. Barth places him in the second century before Christ (Religions of India). Weber (Hist. of Indian Lit.) leaves it an open question whether he is to be identified with the author of the Mahábháshya, the great commentary on the grammar of Páṇini, which Dr. Rájendralála Mitra unhesitatingly ascribes to him as "the noblest monument of profound erudition, keen critical acumen, of unrivalled philological perception which has been left to us by any ancient author in any part of the world." Weber describes him as in all probability connected with the Vedic Kápya Patamchala, misled according to the learned Hindu doctor, by phonetic resemblance in the name. He is also regarded as a fractional incarnation of Vishṇu. Some hints thrown out in his commentary by the sage himself, allow it to be inferred that his mother's name was Gonika and his birth-place in the eastern country, and Goldstücker in his essay on Páṇini, shows that he temporarily resided in Kashmír. He calls himself Gonardiya; a word given in the Káśiká to exemplify names of places in the East. His birthplace was therefore Gonarda, and he is regarded as one of the Eastern grammarians. All that is known of him in short is, that he was the son of a Bráhman priest, devoted to literary studies and author of two great works, his great commentary, and the Yoga Sútra. Though he is said to have lived after the time of Buddha, the Sánkhya and Yoga systems were current before the age of Buddha. Dr. Rajendralála evidences this from Buddha's own notices. The meditations he practised were in accord with the rules of the Yoga system and their nomenclature was the same. But though the antiquity of the system is undoubted, it is not the case with the text-books which are, of all the systems, of later date than Buddha. The Yoga Sútra takes for granted the twenty-five categories of the Sánkhya as the basis of its doctrine and copies some of its aphorisms *verbatim*. I have previously mentioned the common references to each other of the text-books of the other schools. The cardinal difference between the Sánkhya and the Yoga lies in their theistic and atheistic belief, and hence, it is that the Hindus call the Yoga the *Seśvara Sánkhya* or theistical, as opposed to the atheistical or *Niriśvara Sánkhya*. Isolation from the thinking principle is the ultimate aim of both, the Yoga attempting to reconcile the philosophy of Buddha and Kapila with a theistic religion. Dr. Mitra states that the Yoga text-book must be considered as posterior to that of the Sánkhya, and both later than Buddha, though the doctrine of the two schools are very old. He considers them

With regard to the predicaments and the nature of proof and other points, he follows the Sánkhya, but he acknowledges a Supreme Being whom he holds to be absolute existence and intelligence. The creation[1] of the five subtile elements (*tanmátra*), he believes to proceed directly from intellect (*mahat*) without the intermediate agency of *ahaṇkára* (consciousness.) From *vaikṛita ahaṇkára* (modified consciousness), when the mode of goodness prevails, the five external senses are produced, and from *taijasa ahaṇkára*,[2] (ardent consciousness), when the mode of passion is predominant, the five organs of action (*karmendriya*) arise, and from the combined influence of goodness and passion springs *manas* or mind. They believe that the subtile frame (*súkshma saríra*) is subject to extinction, but receives new birth when another body is produced until final liberation is accomplished. But this is not attained without Yoga which is the cardinal doctrine of this attractive system. The thinking principle, *Chitta*,[3] is the substrate of *manas*. *Vṛitti* (function), is the action of *manas*

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the immediate Hindu archetypes of the nihilist theory of Buddha, and indirectly of the pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The term Yoga is derived from the root *Yuj* which means both "to join" and "to meditate" and both meanings are adopted and explained by their several adherents. Technically it signifies detachment of thought from the world to concentrate it on the peculiar meditation which produces the detachment. It is also applied to almost every phase of devotion, and thirteen out of eighteen chapters of the Bhagavad Gíta treat on the same number of separate Yogas. For a fuller account of this system than is given in the following pages by Abul Fazl, I refer the reader to Dr. Ballantyne's translation of the first two chapters of Yoga Sútras and the more complete version and commentary of Dr. Mitra.

[1] The punctuation in the text is incorrect and misleading and must be altered in accordance with the translation. The physical substratum of consciousness is affected by the modes like every other emanation of Prakṛiti. From the influence of 'goodness,' it produces the ten organs and the *manas* which are called, 'good' because of their utility: but it is only when affected by the mode 'darkness' that inanimate matter is created. The passion-mode, (*taijasa*) ardent or glowing, being the exciting mode, must co-operate in the production of all. Davies, p. 60. The Supreme Being with this system is a soul untouched by affliction, action, fruit or stock of desert, who of his own will assumed a body to create. Sarva Darśana Sangraha. He facilitates according to Dr. Mitra the attainment of liberation, but does not directly grant it and though the creator of the world is absolutely unconnected with it.

[2] In this sense *tejas* and *rajas* are synonymous, vide. p. 171 where *taijasa ahaṇkára* is the result of *rajas*: vide also Colebroke, I, 261.

[3] This is the same as the Sánkhya *mahat* and the Buddhists *buddhi*, or what Schopenhauer understands by Will, the absolute existence from which primordial root all organic and inorganic being proceed. Dr. Mitra thinks the term would be better interpreted by Will

in the acquisition of good and evil qualities. *Nirodha* (suppression) is the restraint of those functions in action and the attainment of quiescence.[1] Yoga or meditation is then secured when the foot of desire is obstructed from advance. Certain means to this end are laid down, and I here make a brief abstract in the hope that it may prove of value to the heart-stricken in the path of search. It is said that through the union with *Mahat* (Intellect) of *manas* and the three qualities, five conditions or states of the thinking principle arise which are called the five stages (*bhúmi*). These are, (1). *kshipta*, (restless activity),[2] the heart from the predominance of passion being never at rest: (2). *múḍha* (bewildered), from excess of darkness, being quiescent without attaining the object sought.[3] (3). *vikshipta* (voluptuousness), from excess of the quality of goodness, the goal is reached and a certain repose is secured, but through excess of passion (*rajas*), this is not lasting, and the mind becomes dissipated; (4). *Ekágra* (concentration), through excess of goodness, power is obtained to keep the mind from wandering from the subject of meditation: (5). *Niruddha* (the suppressive state) is a condition in which by dissolution of the three qualities, the mental *residua* (ἀνάμνησις) of active volition are effaced and (those of) the quiescent or suppressive state arise.[4]

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than by the thinking principle which is the definition of Dr. Ballantyne: v. Preface vii. It is defined later by Dr. Mitra as the form of goodness without taint: Yogi Aphorisms. 4.

[1] Or more literally, the effacement of the reverting *residua* (of mental impressions). I suspect that نقش is intended to represent the Sanskrit "*Sanskára.*" *Vṛitti* or *Pravṛitti*, signifies the employment of the senses or organs on sensible objects. (Colebrooke I, 406.) *Nirodha* is the suppression of this function.

[2] According to Dr. Mitra, the object of the reversed order of conditions is that unless activity is made intelligible, no suppression of it can be grasped. The object of placing the quality of goodness last is this, that by its excess the two subsequent conditions become fit for Yoga. By concentration or Yoga, the external functions cease and on that cessation there is a complete dissolution of all functions with their *residua*. In both these conditions Yoga is practicable. Yoga aphorisms pp. 5–6.

[3] Interpreted by Dr. Mitra, as addiction to evil actions without distinguishing between what should be done or not done.

[4] I read نماید for نماند. This definition of the suppressive state seems to apply to what is called "supressive modification (*nirodhapariṇáma*) thus defined by the Parichchheda Bháshya: "the *residua* of the waking state are the attributes of the thinking principle, but they are not intelligent. The *residua* of suppression produced by the intelligence of the suppressive state, are also the attributes of the thinking principle. On the overthrow and success (prevalence) of the two, the *residua* of the waking state are put down and those of the suppressive state rise up, and there is then a correlation of the thinking principle, and the changes

Under the first three conditions, Yoga or meditation, is rarely obtained. They assert that under the first condition *manas* is the recipient of unrighteousness: under the second, of ignorance; under the third, of sensuousness (*avirága*) and impotence (*anaiśvarya*) ; under the fourth, of virtue, (*dharma*), absence of passion (*virága*), and supernatural power (*aiśvarya*) ; and under the fifth, the *residua* of good and evil are suppressed and functions (*vṛitti*), are dissolved. These latter are of two kinds, *klishṭi* (painful), tendency to evil works, and *aklishṭi*, tendency to good works and each according to its good or evil tendency is five-fold. (1). *Pramáṇa-vṛitti* (right notion); perception of things by proof is attained through prevalence of *sattva* (goodness); (2). *viparyaya*, (mis-conception) arises from prevalence of goodness and darkness. If this abides in the person forming a definite conclusion it is called *viparíti*, (perverted) but if he be in uncertainty whether a thing be itself or some thing else, it is called *sanśaya*, doubt; (3). *vikalpa* (fancy)[1], ambiguity regarding a thing, arising from goodness and darkness: (4). *nidrá* (sleep), the state of sleep arising from excess of darkness in which consciousness is lost.[2] The opinion of other Hindu philosophers is that the mind is withdrawn from its peculiar association with the senses: (5). *smṛiti* (memory), is the recovery through the influence of goodness of what has passed from the mind. In the fourth state, the second, third and fourth functions cease and in the fifth, the first and fifth are dissolved and final liberation is attained.

Although this sublime contingency does not occur save by prosperous fortune and the divine favour, yet the sagacity of the experienced base its acquisition on twelve principles.

I. Meditation on the divinity (*Iśvara-upásaná*), that is, to illuminate

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thus constantly occurring in a thinking principle is suppressive modification." Dr. Mitra observes that although there is no stillness of the thinking principle when affected by the functions of the qualities, nevertheless this modification is called *stili* or motionless. "The theory is," he continues, "that every image, shape, or idea exists from eternity in a latent form, circumstances make it manifest, and when those circumstances are over it *reverts* to its former condition." This is in fact the Platonic notion of ideas, and their objective reality either *ante rem* as eternal archetypes in the divine intelligence or *in re*, as forms inherent in matter. This formed in the 12th century, the Realist side of the controvesy with Plato and Aristotle, against the Nominalists with Zeno.

[1] "A notion without reference to the real character of the object". I reproduce the term and definition of Dr. Mitra.

[2] The aphorism is, "sleep is that function (of the thinking principle) which has for its object the conception of nothing;" that this is a function of the thinking principle and not a mere blank is said to be proved by our recollection on arising from sleep of having slept well which could not happened without a consciousness of it Yoga. Aph. 12.

the interior spirit by constant thought of God and to be conscious of its freedom from four things, afflictions, works, deserts, desires. *Kleśa* (affliction) signifies the sum of grief and pain, and this is five-fold› (1). *avidyá,* ignorance of the reality of things: (2). *asmitá* (egotism,) conceiving oneself to possess that which one has not: (3) *rága,* desire for one's own gratification: (4). *dvesha,* aversion, or anger; (5) *abhiniveśa* (ardent attachment to life), fear of death.[1] *Karma* (works), signifies merit and demerit (from works). *Vipáka,* (deserts), the recompense of actions. *Áśaya,* thought regarding merits and demerits which after effacement may recur.

Those who have reached the goal in this path, assert that assiduous meditation on God after this manner, annihilates all evil propensities and exterminates nine depredators of the road. These are (1). *vyádhi* sickness: (2). *styána* (langour), indisposition (of the thinking principle) to efficacious work: (3). *sanśaya;* doubt regarding the (practicable) means of meditation and its results: (4). *pramáda* (carelessness), forgetfulness of the duties of meditation: (5). *álasya* slothfulness in the performance of these duties: (6). *avirati,* (worldly mindedness), propensity (of the thinking principle) to enjoy the pleasures of the world: (7). *bhránti-darśana,* error in perception, (such as mistaking mother of pearl for silver): (8). *alabdha-bhúmikatva,* (non-attainment of any stage), the non-attainment of the fourth out of the five states: (9). *anavasthitatva* (instability), not abiding in the fourth stage and receding from it.

II. *S'raddhá,*[2] (inclination), zeal in following the Yoga and making it the sum of desire.

III. *Vírya* (energy), seeking the fulfilment of the object sought with much eagerness.

IV. *Smriti* (memory), retaining in view the transcendent advantages and great results of this devotion, and never relaxing attention.

V. *Maitrí* (friendliness), desiring the welfare of humanity.

VI. *Karuṇá,* (compassion), being distressed at the sorrows and affliction of mankind, and resolving to relieve them.

VII. *Muditá,* (gladness), being pleased in the happiness of others.

VIII. *Upekshá,* (indifference), avoiding the wrong-doer lest evil principles be acquired, and yet not entertaining malevolence nor rebuking him.[3]

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[1] That is the fear arising from the memory of pain endured in a former life. *Áśaya* is accepted in the aphorisms as the equivalent of *vásaná* and *sanskára,* that is, the unconscious impression in the mind of past actions producing pleasure or pain according as they were good or evil, not at once manifesting their results but remaining latent to a subsequent life.

[2] The text has *Suddha.* I follow the nomenclature of Dr. Mitra.

[3] This indifference is to be acquired both as to pleasure and pain, by friend-

IX. *Samádhi*, (meditation), unity of intention and contemplation of one object.

X. *Prajñá* (discernment), allowing only understanding, rectitude, and the search after truth to enter the mind.

XI. *Vairágya*, (dispassion), is of various kinds, its ultimate stage being detachment from all, and contentment with only the Supreme Being.

XII. *Abhyása* (exercise), being unintermittingly assiduous in the control of knowledge and action till this (steadfastness) becomes habitual.[1]

In the works on this system, *Iśvara-upásaná*, *vairágya* and *abhyása* are treated together: five separate expositions are allotted to *vírya*, *śraddhá*, *smṛiti*, *samádhi* and *prájña*, and the four following *maitri*, *karuṇá*, *muditá* and *upekshá* are likewise separately discussed. They have all been concurrently reviewed in this work.

In this field of philosophy, Yoga is regarded as two-fold, (1) *samprajñáta-samádhi* (conscious meditation), directing the easily distracted mind to one object and gradual concentration on the ideal conception of the Divine Being; and (2) *asamprajñáta* (unconscious meditation), in which this ideal conception of the divinity ceases, and absorption in unitive communion with its essence is obtained. The first is of three kinds, (I) *Gráhya-samápatti* (Tangible Forms), meditation on one of the five gross elements. With regard to the gross and subtile elements it is two-fold. The latter is termed *vitarkánugati*, (attendant argumentation) and the former *vichuránugati*, (attendant deliberation). *Vitarkánugati* is of two kinds; *savitarka* (argumentative meditation), when the cogitation is regarding the relation of words to their meanings, and *nirvitarka* (non-argumentative), when it is independent of this relation. *Vichuránugati* is cogitation on one of the eight princi[illegible] *viz.*, nature, intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements. If the element be considered in its relation to time and space, it is called *savichára* (deliberative), and if otherwise *nirvichára*[2] (non-deliberative).

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liness towards the happy, compassionating the sorrowful, being content with the virtuous and neither encouraging nor reproving the vicious. This condition of mind facilitates the meditation called Samádhi, in its external aspect by removing distractions, and producing concentration, through cheerfulness of mind.

[1] Exercise is the repeated effort that the thinking principle shall remain in its functionless state. Aversion from sensuous objects is produced by 'dispassion' resulting from the *knowledge* of the evil influence of those objects on the thinking principle, and steadfastness is acquired by exercise which makes it a source of happiness and quiet, and by the conjoined effect of the two, the functions of the thinking principle are suppressed. Yoga. Aph. pp. 13-14.

[2] The text has by misprint بربچار for نربچار.

II. *Grahaṇa-samápatti* (Acceptance Form), is cogitation on one of the organs of sense which with reference to time, space, and cause is termed *savitarka*, and if in regard to the inherent meaning only, *vitarka*, and both kinds are called *Sánanda* (joyous).[1]

III. *Gṛihitri-samápatti* (Form of the taker). In this stage the votary withdraws himself from all other pre-occupation, and is merged in the single contemplation of the Supreme Soul. This also in relation to time and space receives the two names above-mentioned, and both kinds are termed *Asmitá* (Egotism).

Asamprajñáta is two-fold:—(1). *Bhavapratyaya* (caused by the world), not distinguishing Nature from the soul, nor holding it to be separate from the elements or the organs of action and sense. If Nature is cognized as soul, this meditative state is called *Prakṛitilaya* (resolved into nature), and if the elements and organs be so cognized, it is termed *videha*, (unembodied). (2). *Upáya-pratyaya* (means of ascertainment); by good fortune and a happy destiny, under the guidance of the twelve principles above-mentioned, the cognition of the soul is attained and the fruition of bliss secured at the desired goal where final emancipation presents itself to view.

The devotees of the Yoga practice are of four classes. The first, called *Práthama kalpika*, (entering upon the course) is he who with firm resolve and steadfast foot enters upon this waste of mortification. The second, *Madhubhúmika* (in the honey-stage), is he who by mortification of the senses and right conduct, effaces rust from the mirror of the heart to such degree that he can divine the reflections in another's mind and see whatever from its minuteness is imperceptible to others. The third, *Prajñájyotis* (illuminated), by happy fortune and zealous endeavour subdues the organs of sense and the elements, and the far and the near, with reference to sight and hearing, &c., become relatively the same to him, and he acquires power to create and destroy. The fourth, *Atikránta bhávaníya* (attaining the highest dispassion), is one to whom the past becomes present.

It is said that conscious meditation consists of eight particulars and these are, as it were, intrinsic parts thereof, in contradistinction to the twelve principles which are accounted extrinsic means. They are called *Ashṭánga-Yoga* (meditation on eight particular parts of the body). These are:—(1). *Yama*, (2). *Niyama*, (3). *Ásana*, (4). *Práṇáyáma*, (5). *Pratyáhára*, (6). *Dháraṇa*, (7). *Dhyána*, (8). *Samádhi*.

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[1] The commentator explains that when the quality of goodness of the internal organ, tinctured with a little of the qualities of foulness and darkness, is pondered, then consciousness being under the influence of goodness, becomes *Sánanda* or joyous. Yoga Aphorisms p. 18.

Yama, restraint, is five-fold:—(1). *Ahinśá* (non-slaughter),[1] avoiding destruction of life and injury (to others). When this habit is formed, in a devotee, enemies are conciliated: (2). *Satya* (veracity) is the habitual practice of speaking the truth, and thus securing acceptance of his desires[2]: (3). *Astĕya*, (non-theft), the non-appropriation of goods beyond what is customarily permitted: the keys of the world's treasures are entrusted to the observer of this principle: (4). *Brahmacharya* (continence), to abstain from women, by which means the ignorant will be able to light the lamp of knowledge from the inspired efficacy of his will. (5). *Aparigraha* (non-avarice), retaining nothing of worldly goods which, being regarded as the capital source of pain, should be abandoned and by this the future will be revealed.

Niyama (obligation), is also five-fold:—(1). *S'aucha* (purification), internal and external[3] purity, avoiding association with men, and acquiring self-control; (by this means) the mind is rendered essentially stainless, commendable desires bear fruit, and the fourth state is reached: (2). *Santosha* (contentedness), desisting from improper desires and being satisfied with the fulfilment of this excellent devotion. Happiness is thus obtained and worldly pleasures have no relish: (3). *Tapas*, (penance), mortification of the spirit and body and enduring heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and silence, until all five afflictions are effaced from the tablet of the mind. Through this practice the votary gains the faculty of seeing things distant, concealed or minute, and can assume any form at will. (4). *Svádhyáya*[4] (sacred study), repetition of the names of the deity, and recounting his attributes and all that is conducive to liberation. If there is inability to read, then by the constant repetition of the word *Oṃkára*[5], the deities and other celestial spirits associate with him and vouchsafe him their assistance. (5). *I'śvara-praṇidhána* (devotion to God), is absolute resignation to the will of God; by this means various faculties of knowledge are acquired and illumination regarding all the degrees of perfection is attained.

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[1] The reason for this negation of the prohibited deed being set down instead of the deed itself is that as, slaughter should be avoided at all times, its absence implied by non-slaughter, is first mentioned. Yoga Aph. p. 92.

[2] Another reading runs 'and thus desires cease to be inclined to evil.'

[3] External purity means the cleansing of the body with earth or water, &c., and the internal is the washing by means of friendliness and the like, of all dirt from the thinking principle. Yoga Aph. p. 94. I read بر آید for سیر آید

[4] The word properly signifies the study of the Vedas, but is here used in the technical sense of the inaudible repetition a great many times, of some selected *mantra* or mystical verse. Yoga Aph. 101.

[5] The abbreviated form of this ejaculatory prayer, *Oṃ*, is a combination o

Ásana (posture), signifies sitting. The austere recluses of this temple of retirement, give the number of these as eighty-four, of which thirteen are esteemed the most efficacious, and each has a special mode and a separate name. Under their influence, cold, heat, hunger and thirst are little felt. Some learned Hindu authorities reckon the same number of sitting attitudes for those who are still attached to worldly concerns but of a different kind. The writer of these pages who has witnessed many of these postures, has gazed in astonishment, wondering how any human being could subject his muscles, tendons and bones in this manner to his will.[1]

Práṇáyáma, regulation of the breath at will, is three-fold.—(1). *Púraka* (inspiration), drawing in the breath by the nose in the following manner: with the thumb of the right hand let the left nostril be closed and the breath slowly inspired by the right nostril. (2). *Kumbhaka*[2] (suspension),

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three letters a, u, m, invested with a peculiar sanctity. According to Wilson (Vish. Pur.) it is typical of the three spheres of the world, the three steps of Vishṇu, &c., and in the Vedas is said to comprehend all the gods, and one text of the Vedas, "Om, the monosyllable Brahma," is cited in the Váyu Puráṇa, which devotes a whole chapter to this term, as signifying by the latter word, either the Supreme Being or the Vedas collectively, of which the monosyllable is the tpye. Barth (Religions of India), states that each of these three letters represent the Brahman, the absolute, in his three manifestations of Brahma, Vishṇu, and S'iva. He observes that the sectarian writers interpret the Triad conformably to their own predilections, one of the persons, either Vishṇu or S'iva, being identified with the Supreme Being and the other two, especially Brahma, playing a subordinate part.

[1] Dr. Mitra mentions 8,400000 as the number practised or recommended by Gorakshanátha, a Yogí of great renown. The names of some of these sufficiently indicate their contortions and perhaps their utility, the Staff, the Bedstead, the Seated Heron, the Seated Elephant, the Seated Camel, the Cow's mouth, the Fowl posture, the Tortoise, the Turned Tortoise, the Lion, the Lotus, the Bow-string and the Peacock. The latter is assumed by holding the ground with both hands, placing the elbows on each side of the navel and keeping the body erect. The Cow's mouth is produced by crossing the right and left ankles on the left and right sides of the chest, but the favourite with the Yogís is the Lion, in which the ankles being crossed under the seat, the hands are placed on the knees, the fingers extended, the mouth wide open, and the eyes directed to the tip of the nose in deep contemplation. The Yoga aphorism recommends such postures as ensure steadiness and comfort. It would require considerable practice before any degree of either could be appreciated by the sitter in these attitudes, but as the aim of the Yoga meditation is the suppression of the thinking principle, there is fortunately no mental strain, and the physical difficulties alone have to be overcome.

[2] This term is derived from *kumbha*, a jar, because the vital air at that time remains quiescent as water in a jar. Dr. Mittra observes without incredulity

to retain the breath within and to make as long an inspiration as possible closing both nostrils with the thumb and little finger of the right hand. The ascetics of this country can so hold their breath that they will breathe but once in twelve years. (3). *Rechaka* (expiration), letting out the drawn breath, very gradually, with the thumb pressed below the right nostril and removing the little finger from the left nostril, suffering it to escape. In short, to inspire with the right and expire with the left nostril. These three functions constitute the *Práṇáyáma.* It is said that the breath extends as far as sixteen fingers from the nose, and some say twelve. By this operation the mind is quiescent, and perfect knowledge is obtained; but this is secured only through the assistance of an experienced master of this knowledge.

At this time the devotee should abstain from meat, hot spices and acid and saline food, and be content with a little milk and rice. He must also avoid the society of women lest his brain be distracted and melancholy ensue.

Pratyáhára (abstraction), is the withdrawal of the five senses from their respective objects of perception. When the mind is quiescent, these perforce cannot escape. Thus objects may present themselves before him without exciting desire.

Dhárana (steadiness), is the confinement of the thinking principle to one place, such as the navel, the crown of the head, between the eyebrows, the point of the nose, or the tip of the tongue.

Dhyána (contemplation), is uninterrupted reflection on what is before the mind, and the absence of every thing but the object, the thought, and the thinking principle of the individual contemplating.

Samádhi (meditation); in this the thinker and the consciousness of thought are both effaced. At this stage the degrees of conscious meditation are surmounted and unconscious meditation begins, till perfect knowledge is attained and Yoga is finally reached. This condition is called *Samádhi.*[1]

The first and second of these eight processes are likened to the sowing of seed in a field: the third and fourth are as the commencement of growth: the fifth is the flower; the sixth, seventh and eighth are regarded as the stages of fructification.

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or suspicion that *when* perfect control has been attained in this respect, the Yogí can live buried under earth for months and years without performing any organic functions whatever. No doubt much depends on the word *when.*

[1] This is a more advanced stage of contemplation than *Dhyána* in which the ideas of other objects other than the one in view are suppressed, but not altogether effaced. In *samádhi* the effacement is complete, and thinking merges into thought which is the sole residuum. The body is then in a state of catalepsy or trance, and is not influenced by external objects: v. Yoga Aph. p. 124.

The last-named three-fold acts are termed *Sanyama.*[1] At this period, the most extraordinary powers are witnessed in the adept which astonish the beholder.

The occult powers are termed *Aiśvarya* and are eight in number.

(1). *Animá* (molecularity), the power of minute disintegration so as to pass through the tissues of a diamond. (2). *Mahimá* (illimitability), capacity of prolongation so as to touch the moon. (3). *Laghimá* (tenuity), to possess such extreme levity as to ascend to the upper regions on a beam of light. (4). *Garimá* (gravity) to acquire illimitable ponderosity. In some works the word *Prápti*[2] (accessibility), is used for the fourth term, and signifies to reach to any point at will. (5). *Prákámya* (irresistible will), to sink into the earth and to rise up elsewhere as if in water. (6). *I'śitva* (sovereignty), the power of creating or destroying. (7). *Vaśitva* (subjugation), to command the elements and their products. (8). *Kámávasáyitva* (self control), the fulfilment of every wish.[3]

Although this language may seem incredible in the eyes of those affected by the taint of narrow custom, those who acknowledge the wonderful power of God will find in it no cause of astonishment.

The doctrines of this great system are comprised in one *Adhyáya* or section, divided into four *charaṇa*,[4] (feet or) chapters. The first is an exposition of the nature of Yoga meditation. The second on the means of its acquirement. The third, on the wonders of the occult powers. The fourth on the liberation of the soul.

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[1] The word is derived from the intensive particle *sam* prefixed to *yama*, restraint, and means vow, binding or confinement, and indicates three means of accomplishing the Yoga.

Yoga. Aph. p. 125.

[2] *Prápti* is substituted for *Mahimá* in Dr. Mitra's Yoga Aphorisms.

[3] The suppression of all carnal desires. Ibid. p. 121.

[4] According to Dr. Mitra, *pada*, which has the same meaning. The number of the aphorisms is 194.

The relation of modern spiritualism to the Yoga has been noticed by Dr. Mitra who regards it as based on this doctrine. The eternity of the soul is acknowledged by both: both recognise a course of gradual progress which has perfection for its goal; the powers of commanding departed souls to be visible to, and to hold converse with, man; the regulation of breath and other exercises to attain occult powers of the most transcendental kind; the projection of body to any place at will and the like. There is however, a difference in the motive of their acquisition of these powers, the mode of life of the Yogí ascetic precluding the idea of material comfort as their object, while it is the profession of the medium and his source of daily bread. Apart from the demonstrative and experimental sciences, of which the law is progress, the archetypes of most modern discoveries in the fields of metaphysics and natural theology, will be found in India and Greece.

Jaina.

The founder of this wonderful system was Jina, called also Arhat[1] or

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[1] The Jainas take this name from the term Jina, a deified Saint, a being worthy of universal adoration and having subdued all passions, equivalent to Arhat, Jinésvara, Tírthankara and other synonyms of this incarnate being. Colebrooke (Essay II, 171) mentions 24 Jinas or Arhats, who have appeared in the present Avasarpiṇi age, 24 others who have appeared in the past Utsarpiṇi period, and 24 others who will appear in the future. The genealogies of the 24 of the present period are briefly given, but will be read rather for curiosity than instruction. Their stature varies from 500 to 15 poles, and their duration of life between 8,400,000 and 100 great years. The Avasarpiṇi and Utsarpiṇi ages together equal 2000, 000, 000, 000, 000 oceans of years. An ocean of years is the time that would elapse before a vast cavity filled with chopped hairs could be emptied at the rate of one piece of hair in a century: the time requisite to empty such a cavity measured by a *Yojana* every way is a *palya* and that repeated 1000 000, 000 000 000 times is an ocean or *Ságara*. The most celebrated of the Jinas, was Párśvanátha of the race of Ikshwáku, and is thought by Colebrooke and Lassen to be the real founder of the sect. He was born at Béṇárasi in Kattiwár and died according to the Kalpa Sútra, a work of great authority among the Jains, 1280 years before the date of that book, which Colebrooke calculates was composed about 1500 years ago, though Weber will not admit a date earlier than the twelth or thirteenth century. The last, Jina, was, Vardhamana, named also, Víra, Mahávíra &c., and surnamed *Charama tírthakrit*, or last of the Jinas, emphatically called Śramaṇa, or saint. His life and institutions form the subject of the Kalpa Sútra translated both by Stevenson (very faultily according to Weber,) and Jacobi. His death according to tradition, occurred more than 2400 years ago or 250 years after the apotheosis of the preceding Jina. Colebrooke discusses and rejects the opinion that the religion and institutions of the orthodox Hindus are more modern than the doctrines of Jina and Buddha. Barth observes that viewed as a whole, Jainism is so exact a reproduction of Buddhism that there is difficulty in accounting for both, their long existence side by side and the cordial hatred between them. The Jainas maintain that Gautama Buddha was a disciple of their founder, and their 24 Jinas correspond exactly with the 24 predecessors of Buddha the last of whom, like the last Jina, was of the royal race of Kaśyapa. They deny with the Bauddhas or Saugatas, the divine authority, of the Vedas, and admit like the Sánkhya philosophy, the eternity of matter and the perpetuity of the world. Their avoidance of injury to life is wellknown, and the Jaina monks usually bear a broom to sweep insects out of their way lest they should unconsciously destroy being. They distinguish five kinds of bodies or *involucra* connected with the soul at various periods of its eternal existence. The soul is never completely separated from matter until it obtains a final release by deification through disengagement from good and evil in the person of a beatified Saint. Intermediately it receives retribution for the benefits or injuries it has given or inflicted in precedent existences, receiving pain or pleasure from the same individual it had thus affected. Like the Buddhists

Arhant. With regard to the Supreme Being, and the doctrines of voluntary actions, rewards, punishments, hell and heaven, they follow the Mímáṃsá and the Sánkhya. In *Svar-loka* twenty-six degrees are assigned

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they are divided into a clerical body, *Yatis* or ascetics, and laity, *Sravakas*, (hearers) and observe the rules of caste without attaching any religious significance to it.

In the south of India, according to Wilson (Essays I, 335), the Jainas preserve the distinction of castes : in Upper India, they profess to be of one caste, the Vaiśya, but the admission to the Jain communion was originally independent of it. Mahavíra, their object of worship, was himself the son of a King and therefore a *Khsatriya* ; his chief disciples were Bráhmans ; his especial attendant, Gośála, was an outcaste, and his followers of both sexes were of every caste. They have adapted themselves to the prevailing form of Hinduism at various places. Jain inscriptions at Abú begin with invocations of Śíva and Dekhan Edicts of Bukka Ráya of Vijayanagar proclaim their identity with the Vaishnavas. A Jain on renouncing his sect, takes his place as a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya, among orthodox Hindus, and their priests are recruited from the Bráhman caste itself. Barth observes that it is to them and to the Buddhists that the first literary culture of the Canarese and Tamil languages can be traced. Before the tenth century they were the dominant caste in the Dekhan, but at the present time they are reduced to very inconsiderable numbers. In Western India they are generally wealthy and given to trade. In Hazáribágh District where the sanctuary Párasnáth is still an object of pilgrimage, they number about 5,000 souls among a Hindu population of nearly 6,50,000. (Stat. Acct. of Bengal XVI, 82). Into the disputed question of the origin and development of the religion and its kinship with, or descent from, Buddhism I do not enter. Hermann Jacobi in his preface to the Jaina Sútras, with Colebrooke and Stevenson asserts the independent rise of the Jaina creed against the combined authority of Lassen, Wilson, Weber and Barth, His arguments though ingenious are not convincing. Other scholars have entered the lists and the controversy is undecided. Weber rightly lays much stress on the fact that Rájagṛiha was the scene of Máhavíra's labours as well as of those of Buddha, and he considers that the whole tenor of Máhavíra's legend strengthens the conclusion that it is but a variation of that of Buddha. (v. Fragment der Bhagavati p. 194. II, and 241, and introduction to Vol. I). In his contribution to the Indian Antiquary on the sacred literature of the Jains, he again deliberately states his conclusion that the Jains are one, though the oldest, of the Buddhistic sects. The number and significance of common features in both traditions in reference to the life and labours of their founders, out-weigh any arguments that make for the contrary opinion. The Jain texts it is to be remembered, were codified in writing 1,000 years after the death of their founder ; an interval which allows considerable scope for the cumulative forces of tradition. Weber thinks it marvellous that the texts, in the face of such a fact, contain so much that is original. The wonder is rather that there is not more.

to the last mentioned abode (heaven) in three groups of twelve, nine and five, in the highest of which dwell the most perfect among the chosen of God. Bodies are believed to be compounded of indivisible atoms. The four elements are composed of homogeneous atoms, and the substrate of each element is different. The world regarded in its atoms is eternal, but non-eternal in its form. Existence takes place on the union of five principles :—(1). *Niyata* (crude matter) potentiality of cause. (2). *Kála*, determinate time: (3). *Svabháva* inherent nature. (4). *Átmá* the rational soul: (5). *Púrvakṛita*, the result of good and evil in former births. Some Hindu philosphers ascribe the creation to God, some to Time, and others to the results of actions, and others again to inherent nature (*svabháva*). Their belief is that the whole universe will not perish, but that some of every kind will survive from the whirlwind of non-existence whence creation will be renewed.

This sect allow only two predicaments :—*Pramáṇa* (proof) and *Prameya* (objects of thought). The first of these is two-fold :—(1) *Pratyaksha*, perception by the five external senses, and by the mind and the soul. The Nyáya, applies this term to the means by which perfect knowledge is obtained. (2). *Paroksha* (imperceptiblity), knowledge obtained not mediately through the senses.

Pratyaksha (perception) is two-fold. (I). *Vyávahárika*[1] (conventional, or practical) : this is acquired by the five senses and *manas*, is employed in external affairs, and called *mati-jñána* (mind-knowledge). This is also two-fold, namely, that which (*a*) is apprehended through the five senses, and (*β*) apprehended through *manas* (mind), which this sect does not include among the five senses ; and each of these two again is four-fold : (1). *Avagraha*, distinguishing from the type whether it be horse or man but not discerning the characteristics : (2). *Íha* inquiring, as to whence the man, and from what country the horse : (3). *Aváya* arriving at a correct identification of the above : (4). *Dhárana*, recollecting the thing particularised and keeping it in mind. (II). *Páramárthika* (transcendental), knowledge that comes from the illumination of the rational soul and is profitable to emancipation. It is two-fold ; *viz*. *Vikala* (defective), knowing some thing and not knowing some other : and *Sakala*, (entire), knowing all, called also *Kevala-jñána* (pure unalloyed knowledge.) *Vikala* is again subdivided into *Avadhi-jñána* (limited knowledge), knowledge of special objects which near or remote, are not differentiated ;[2] and *Manas-*

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[1] The text has two variant readings and a prefix of Sáṃ to *Vyávahárika*.

[2] That is, the abolition of hindrances causes their right intuition.

paryáya-jñána, definite knowledge of another's thoughts and the laying bare of the secrets of the heart.[1]

Paroksha (imperceptibitity) is five-fold. (1). *Smaraṇa*,[2] recollection of what is unseen. (2). *Praty-abhijñána*, knowledge derived from the witness of another. (3). *Tarka*, the knowledge of the mutual relation between subject and predicate. (4). *Anumána*, knowledge from inference, which is established in a series of ten terms, given in detail. (5). *S'abda*, the knowledge obtained from the narration of a speaker without partiality or affection, of clear understanding and true in speech.

Prameya (objects of thought) are six-fold and each is regarded as an eternal substance, and not an aggregate of a determinate measure of atoms; they are likewise held to be imperceptible to the eye and pervade all space. The first is the soul which is a subtile substance in which intelligence abides. It is to the body as the light of a lamp to a house and is believed to be the active agent, or passive recipient of good and evil. It is, of two kinds, *Parátmá* and *Jivátmá*. The first is restricted to the Supreme Being and is distinguished by four attributes. *Ananta-jñána* or analytic knowledge extending to the most minute atoms. *Ananta-darśana* or synthetic knowledge of things collectively. *Ananta-vírya*, infinite power. *Ananta-sukha*, infinite happiness.

They do not accept the doctrine of divine incarnations but believe that a man by virtue becomes omniscient, and his utterances in regard to the things appertaining to the spiritual and temporal life are the word of God, and such a one is termed *Sákára-Paramesvara* (Divinity in bodily form). In the six *aras*,[3] of which mention has been made in a previous section, twenty-four such beings come into existence, and in the third and fourth, their earthly existence terminates.[1]

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[1] By the absence of all envy, by sympathy and the like.

[2] Abul Fazl writes this word *Sumarana* and many of his transliterations are in Hindi or Prákrit *e. g. biddiya* for *vidya* as at p. 11. Throughout this exposition of Hindu philosophy I have adhered to the proper Sanskrit spelling.

[3] These are the six periods into which each of the Utsarpiṇi and Avasarpiṇi ages are divided. Their names are given in Major Mackenzie's account of the Jains in Vol. IX. As. Research, p. 257. These two great ages revolve for ever in ascending and descending periods like the increase and wane of the moon. In the declining period men pass from extreme felicity to extreme misery; in the rising period this order is reversed. In the first ages the lives of men extend to oceans of years and their stature to leagues, and they subsist on the fruit of miraculous trees that yield food, apparel, light, habitation and the necessaries and ornaments of life. In the fourth age the limit of life decreases to 10 million years, and their stature to 500 poles. In the fifth, one hundred years is the normal age and the limit of stature is seven cubits. In the sixth, it is reduced to 16 years and the height to one

The first being of this series was *A'dinátha*, and the last, *Mahávíra.* Each of them is named a Jina, and wonderful legends are told of them which will be briefly noted later on. The Supreme Being is called *Nirguṇa Paramesvara,* or the Deity without qualities.

Jivátmá (soul) is variously distinguished. It may be two-fold, *viz.,* locomotive and immovable, as a man or a tree: or three-fold, as man, woman, hermaphrodite: or four-fold namely, forms of men, of vegetable life, of beings of heaven, and those of hell: or five-fold, possessing but one sense,[2] as the four elements and trees. And these also are of two kinds; (1). such as can be seen, (2). such as are too minute to be perceptible. Each of these (last) five possesses life and has the sense of touch. There are those that possess (at least) two senses,[3] touch and taste, such as shell-fish, leeches &c.; those with three, as the ant which has the additional sense of hearing: those of four, *viz.* flies and wasps which to the above three senses, add that of sight: those of five, mankind. There is a further division of soul into two kinds; those possessing an internal sense and such as are without it, as a leaf.[4] The Nyáya school also hold this opinion. Since

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cubit. In the next period the succession of ages is reversed and afterwards they recommence as before. Colebrooke.

[1] This passage is doubtful in the text and I am not sure of my interpretation, but in Colebrooke's catalogue of the 24 *Arhas* their apotheosis occurs at various periods of the third and fourth ages.

The periodical creations and destructions of the world form part of the Pauranic legends and of the Jaina creed. The heavens and earth in general, are supposed to be eternal, but this portion of the earth, A'rya or Bharata, is liable to destruction and renovation. It is destroyed by a poisonous wind after which a shower of fire consumes the whole region. It is restored by a shower of butter, followed by one of milk, and another of the juice of the sugarcane. Men and animals migrate from the other five regions into which Jambu-dwípa is divided and inhabit the new Arya or Bharata-kánda. The inhabitants of five of the *Kánḍas* are called *mlechchhas* or barbarians. Bharata-kánḍa is divided into fifty-six provinces (*desas*) or *antara-dwípas.* v. Dr. Buchanan's notice of the Jains. As. Res. IX, p. 282.

[2] Namely, touch, see the Sarva Darśana Sangraha, p. 51.

[3] This is applicable to the "locomotive" *trasa,* as distinguished from the immovable, (*sthavara*).

[4] More correctly, the division of souls is into 'mundane' and 'released.' The "mundane" pass from birth to birth and are divided into two, those possessing an internal sense (*samanaska*) and those destitute of it (*amanaska*). The former possess *saṃjñá,* the power of apprehension, talking, acting or receiving instruction, and the latter are without this power. These last are again divided into the locomotive and immovable. Those that possess only the one sense of touch are considered as 'released,' as

the first and fifth are of two kinds, animal life collectively does not exceed seven, and each may be classed under two heads : (1) *Prajá-pati* possessor of six powers, namely, of bodily form, of reception of food, of organs of sense, of the powers of speech of breathing, and the internal sense (*manas*) : (2) *Aprajá-pati*, life which is incapable of these functions. All that possess but one sense, have four faculties, *viz.*, capability of nourishment, assuming form, command of the organs of sense, inspiration and expiration of breath. All that possess two, three, four or five senses, without the internal sense, have five faculties, *viz.*, the four former and that of speech. Those that possess the internal sense have six faculties.

They consider the conjunction in the soul of ten qualities, entitles it to be called living, otherwise it is dead ; they are severally called *práṇa*,[1] *viz.*, the five senses, the internal sense, faculty of speech, reception of form, inspiration of breath, duration of life. Those that possess five senses are of four classes. (1). *Devatá* (celestial spirit) ; (2). *Manusha* (man) ; (3). *Náraki* (inhabitant of the infernal regions) ; (4). *Tiryagyoni* (animal creation). The *Devatá* is formed of a subtile luminous substance by the volition of the Deity, without the process of birth. Their bodies are not of flesh and bone, nor defiled by impurities, and their breathings are redolent of fragrance. They suffer not from maladies, nor does age steal away the freshness of youth. Whatever they desire is fulfilled ; they can assume a thousand shapes, and they move at four fingers' breadth above the surface of the earth. They are of four classes :—

1. *Bhavana-pati.* The Jainas believe the earth to consist of seven tiers superimposed one above the other. The earth inhabited by mankind includes a space of 180,000 *yojanas.* The intervening region between one thousand *yojanas* and as many below, is the location of the *Bhavana-patis.* They are of ten[2] orders, each governed by two rulers, one for the

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incapable of passing into any other state of existence. Among the latter are the souls embodied in earth, fire, water and air and are only perceptible when an infinite number of them are united. They possess but the one organ of touch, have undeveloped (*avyakta*) intellect and feelings (*vedanâ*) but no limbs. Water-lives are divided into the sentient, senseless, and mixed. Only that water which is the abode of senseless lives can be used, therefore water must be strained, after which process only the senseless lives remain. *v.* Sarv. Darś. Sang. and Jacobi's Jaina Sútras, p. 5. *n.*

[1] In its primary signification vital action and chiefly respiration. In a secondary acceptation, the corporeal organs of sense and action. These are variously stated from seven to thirteen ; see Colebrooke I, 380-81.

[2] These ten are the progeny of *Asuras*, Serpents, *Garuda*, *Dikpálas*, Fire, Air, the Ocean, Thunder and Lightning, who are supposed to reside in the several hells or regions below the earth. The Vyantaras, have eight orders. These are the *Piśáchas*, *Bhútas*, *Kinnaras*, *Gandharvas* and other monstrous divinities inhabiting woods, and the lower regions

northern, the other for the southern region. The colour, appearance, raiment, food and modes of life of each are separate. Their duration of life extends between a minimum of ten thousand and a maximum of an ocean (*ságara*) of years, and this is considered the lowest order of all.

2. *Vyantara.* These inhabit a region extending between a thousand *yojanas* above and a hundred below, and they pass likewise into the sphere allotted to men. They are of sixteen orders, each governed by two rulers. Their age extends from ten thousand years to one *palyopáma*.[1]

3. *Jyotishka.* Their location is seven hundred and ninety *yojanas* above the level the earth, and one hundred and ten *yojanas* is its complete[2] limit. They consist of five orders (of luminaries), the first are stars: the second, suns throned at a distance of ten *yojanas* above the stars: the third are moons, eighty *yojanas* higher than the suns: the fourth, constellations of twenty-eight mansions: the fifth, planets at an altitude of four *yojanas* above the mansions, eighty-eight in number. Of these the five most important are Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and Saturn with an interval of three *yojanas* in altitude between them severally. The duration of life of each of the five, ranges between the eighth part of a *palya* at the lowest, to one *palya* and a hundred thousand years as an extreme limit.

4. *Vaimánika.* Their abode is the highest of all, and they are of two orders. The first, *kalpupapanna*, (existing age), dwell in twelve zones of heaven each with a special presiding deity, but four have (only) two regents. These ten principalities possess ten illustrious distinctions, (1) a just prince, (2) a capable minister, (3) a benevolent sage, (4) loyal counsellors, (5) sword bearers, (6) guards, (7) commanders of seven armies of elephants, horses, chariots, bulls, footmen,[3] sword players and

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and air. The third has five orders, the Sun, Moon, Planets, Asterisms and other heavenly bodies. The fourth includes the gods of present and past *Kalpas*. Of the first kind are those born in the Heavens *Saudharma Ísána*, *Mahendra*, *Brahmá Sanatkumára*, *S'ukra*, &c., to the number of twelve. The last class reside in two divisions of five and nine heavens, the five termed *Vijaya*, *Vaijayanta*, *Jayanta*, *Aparájita*, the middle being *Sarvártha-Siddha*: the second termed *Anuttara*, because there are none beyond them, as they crown the triple construction of the universe. A great number of *Indras* are recognised, but *S'ukra* and *Ísána* the regents of the North and South are the chief. Above all these rank in dignity as objects of worship the twenty-four *Tírthankaras* or with those of the past and future periods, seventy-two. Wilson (Essays 1, 320)

[1] Or *palya*, vide n. p. 188.

[2] پورت. I render with misgiving what I take to be a Sanskrit adjective in constructions with a Persian noun.

[3] The *izáfat* after پیادگان must be

musicians, (8) administrators of state, (9) news reporters, and (10) sweepers. This sublime order is said to dwell at a little less than the distance of a *ráju*[1] in altitude. The second order is *kalpátíta* (past age). They do not occupy themselves with others, but keep aloof from friendship, enmity, governance and subjection, and are engaged only in contemplation of the Deity. Above these again are twelve abodes of rest in nine tiers,[2] one above another, and five others like a face, two above, and one below and one between, making fourteen tiers in all.

They consider the world to be composed of three spheres.[3] (1). *Manusha-loka*, nine hundred *yojanas* from the lowest extremity of the earth to nine hundred above. This is the sphere of men. The earth is said to be one *ráju* in length and the same in breadth, and within 4,500,000 *yojanas* of this space, mankind dwell. Below this is (2). *Patála-loka.* Its extent is nine hundred *yojanas* less than seven *ráju*s. The second is twice the size of the first, and to each tier is added a *ráju* so that the seventh is some-

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omitted if seven armies are to be made out of this disorderly aggregate.

[1] A measure of space through which the gods are able to travel in six months at the rate of 2,05,7152 *Yojanas* of 2,000 *Krośa* each in the twinkling of an eye. Colebrooke, II, 198. but Abul Fazl gives another measure lower down.

[2] The nine tiers represent a necklace (*graiveyaka*).

[3] The world, writes Colebrooke, (Essays II, 198) which according to the Jains is eternal, is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another, or as three cups of which the lowest is inverted and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. They also represent it as a woman with her arms akimbo. Her waist, the meeting of the lower cups, is the earth. The spindle above, answering to the superior portion of the woman's person, is the abode of the gods, and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions. The earth which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle of which the diameter is one *ráju*. The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the distance of a *ráju* from each other and its base is measured by seven *ráju*s.

These seven hells are *Ratna-prabhá*, *S'arkará-prabhá*, *Báluka-parbhá*, *Panka-prabhá*, *Dhúmá-prabhá*, *Tamaprabhá* and *Tamatamaprabhá*. The upper spindle is also seven *ráju*s high and its greatest breadth is five *ráju*s. Its summit which is 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints: beneath this are five *Vimána*s or abodes of gods. Next, at the distance of one *ráju* from the summit, follow nine tiers of worlds representing a necklace. Under these are twelve (the Digambaras say sixteen) other regions in eight tiers from one to five *ráju*s above the earth filled with *Vimánas* or abodes of various classes of gods called *Kalpavásis.* These gods are mortal except, perhaps, the luminaries. The earth consists of numerous distinct continents in concentric circles separated by seas forming ways between them of which the first is *Jambu-dwípa* with the mountain *Meru* in the centre. The remaining continents are almost a repetition of these already described by Abul Fazl at page 28 of this volume and do not here need a further notice.

thing less than seven *rájus*. (3). *Svarga-loka* is the celestial region, and is a little less than seven *rájus* high. Its inhabitants possess five organs of sense. Among them the *Vaimánikas* dwell in twenty-six orders which represent paradise. They attain to these bodies and enjoy happiness through good works. Eight orders of *Vaimánikas* dwell within five *rájus*, and four in the sixth *ráju*. Fourteen orders of the inferior class occupy one *ráju*. A *ráju* is the distance traversed by an iron ball of three and a half Akbari *ser's* weight, thrown downwards and continuing to fall for a period of six months six days and twelve *gharis*. It is said that for six *karoh* above the twenty-six orders aforesaid, there is a circular area like crystal.[1] Its length is 4,500,000 *yojanas* and its breadth the same, with a height of eight *yojanas*. After traversing a distance of three and five-sixth of a *Karoh* upwards, the sacred haven of final liberation is reached where men are absorbed in the divinity as light in light.

The ages of the gods extend from something less than a *palyopama* to not more than a *Ságara*.[2] The four classes of deities including two orders of the *Vaimánikas* have a stature of seven cubits; the third and fourth are of six cubits; the fifth and sixth, of five; the seventh and eighth, of four; from the ninth to the twelfth, of three: from the thirteenth to the twenty-first of two, and from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth of one cubit, but all of them possess the power of assuming various shapes. All the deities are said to have the desire of food, but it is not taken by the mouth, as they are satisfied by mere volition. Each of the deities who arrives at the age of ten thousand years, requires food every other day, and breathes once during the time in which a healthy man would breath forty-nine times. Those whose age extends beyond this term to one *Ságara*, eat once between a minimum and maximum of three and nine days and breathe once between four and eighteen *gharis*. Those who live beyond the period of a *Ságara*, eat once after a thousand years, and breathe once in fifteen days. Such as live to a still greater term than this, for each *Ságara*, allow upwards of a thousand years to elapse before they touch food, and in the same proportion of time, increasing intervals of fifteen days pass before a breath is drawn. They also believe that all the deities including two orders of the fourth class, (the *Vaimánika*), have sexual intercourse after the manner of mankind, but pregnancy does not take place: the third and fourth orders by conjunction and the sense of touch: the fifth and sixth by sight, and the seventh and eighth, by hearing; four other orders, by mere effort of imagination, while fourteen orders of the second class are innocent of this intercourse. These are said to attain to this eminence by good works. Extraordinary legends are told of these beings, of which let this little from among much be a sufficiency.

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[1] A variant has بلورما نام, "called *bilora*."

[2] Var. "three *Ságaras*."

The mundane (*manushya*), consists of (souls) of two kinds :—(1). *Saṃjña*, possessing the power of apprehension, and (2). *Asaṃjña*, without power of apprehension. The latter appear (as animalcula) in the flesh, blood and saliva of men and do not live more than the space of two *gharis*. The *Saṃjña* class is sub-divided into two. The Jainas apportion the earth into two parts, and assign one to each division. In the first, commands and prohibitions are in full force, and happiness and misery are the recompense of good and evil actions. Fifteen considerable portions of the earth are allotted to this division.

The Jainas believe that during the six *aras*, the extent of which has been mentioned in a former section, twelve *Chakravartis* successively appear. Thirty-two thousand kingdoms are beneath his sway, and thirty-two thousand princes are subject to him. He possesses 8,400,000 elephants and as many horses and chariots. He has likewise fourteen thousand ministers of state, nine hundred and thirty millions of footmen, eighty thousand sages, three hundred thousand cuirassiers, five hundred thousand torch-bearers, thirty millions of musicians, sixty-four thousand wedded wives, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand female slaves, sixteen thousand mines of gems, nineteen thousand mines of gold and twenty-eight thousand of other minerals, sixteen thousand provinces of barbarians (*mlechchhas*), that is, of races foreign to his institutions, thirty-two thousand capital cities, sixteen thousand royal residencies, three hundred and sixty millions of cooks for the royal table,[1] and three hundred and sixty for his private service.[2] Many other endowments are attributed to him. The first cycle of these began with Rájá Bharata (*Chakravarti*), son of Ádinátha. Some of these on account of their good works, are translated to heaven while others go down to hell. They assert that nine other individuals are born, entitled *Vásudevas*, which is a rank possessing half the powers of a *Chakravartí*, and they believe that these dignitaries descend into a hell, and that Kṛishṇa is among their number.[3] Nine other persons, designated *Baladevas*, are said to exist who possess half the powers of a *Vásudeva*.[5] Over all these, the *Tirthan-*

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[1] "Je sens un grand embarras," says Mr. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, referring to similar extravagances of Buddhist belief, "à exposer toutes ces absurdités, qui ont aussi peu de grace que du bon sens, et je voudrais les épargner au lecteur, si je ne tenais a lui donner une idée fidèle de ces monuments, vénérés par tant de peuples, quelque déraisonnables et monstrueux quils soient." Legende du Bouddha. p. 71.

[2] The text has شولان which I conceive should be شیلان

[3] Colebrooke's order for these person-

kara, who will be presently described, is the supreme head. Much has been written regarding the denizens of this sphere.

There is another extensive region, where its people have garments of the leaves of its trees[1] and their food is wild fruits or the sweet verdure produced by its soil. They are beautiful of countenance and pleasing in disposition. Their stature varies from one to three *karoh*, in height. One son or daughter is born to them after which they die. They are called *Juglyah*[2] and when they grew to adolescence, they marry, and their duration of life extends from one to three *palyopama*.

It is said that those who have not been charitable in deed, nor practised good works, pass after death among this race, and obtain the recompense thereof and bear no burden of pain.

The *Nárakis*, like the *devatás*, can assume various shapes and many of their conditions, but their aspect is terrible and always in dejection and gloom. In the six degrees in which hell is said to be divided, they are agitated in burning torment, and though in agony are ever maleficent and from innate wickedness torture each other.

The class called *Bhavana-pati* have ingress to three degrees of this sphere and are the ministers of chastisement to these fiends. The stature of the dwellers in the first degree is from three to thirty one cubits and six fingers, and their age between ten thousand years and one *Ságara*. The stature of those in the second degree is double that of the first, and this proportion of increase runs through the remaining degrees: the duration of life in the second degree is from one to three *Ságaras*. The age of the denizens of the third degree extends from a minimum of three *Ságaras* and attains to a maximum of seven: of the fourth, from seven to ten; of the fifth, to seventeen; of the sixth, to twenty-two; and of the seventh,[3] to thirty-three.

Tiryagyoni signifies the rest of the animal creation and is three-fold :—

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ages, runs: 24 Jinas or Tírthankaras, 12 Chakravartis, 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativásudevas. Mackenzie's list appears from Colebrooke's note, to be incorrect.

[1] These are the *kalpa-vṛikhas* or celestial trees, of which Major Mackenzie mentions nine varieties. Their gradual disappearance portends the destruction of the world.

[2] For Prákrit, *Jugala*, Sanskrit, *Yugala*, a pair, turned into adjectival form. Major Mackenzie names the people of the three ages, 1st *uttama-bhoga-bhúmi-pravartaka* or "supremely happy inhabitants of the earth" when the miraculous trees were in full produce: 2nd *Madhyama-bhoga-bhúmi-prav.*; moderately happy inhabitants; 3rd *Jaghanya-bhoga*, &c., or *least* happy inhabitants, when the trees were straitened in produce. In the fourth age no miraculous fruits were produced.

[3] This stage is presumably above or below the first or last zone.

(1). aquatic : (2). terrestrial : (3). aerial. The first named order is five-fold, *viz.*, (1). acquatic animals like the *Súśmár*,[1] which resemble men, elephants and horses &c.; (2). fishes of various kinds: (3). the tortoise: (4). the *Karáh*,[2] an animal in the shape of a tent-rope, four yards long and more, which twines itself round the legs of elephants and other animals and prevents their getting out of the water: (5). the crocodile.

The second order is of three kinds: quadrupeds like cattle: those that creep on their bellies, as snakes: and such as can move upon two feet like the weasel.

The third order is of four kinds: two domesticated with man, *viz.*, whose pinions are of feathers, like the pigeon, or of skin, like the bat; and two others that fly in the blissful abodes of the gods, each of which is described with its peculiar characteristics, and many circumstances are related of them. The duration of life in the first class is from two *ghaṛis*[3] to one *púrva* which is equal to seventy krors of lakhs and fifty-six thousand krors of years. (70,560,000,000,000). The second and third classes in their minimum are like the first, but the second does not extend beyond three *palyopama*, while the third has no determinate limit. They assert that the duration of age among such as have but one sense, if formed of the subtile elements, is two *ghaṛis*, and the gross body of the earth does not endure above twenty-two thousand years, nor that of water, above seven thousand; nor of fire, above three days, nor of wind, above three thousand years. Such as have two organs of sense live twelve years; such as possess three organs, forty-nine days, and four organs, six months. The animal creation possessing five organs of sense together with mankind have a life of three *palyopama*, while the *Nárakis* and *devatás* live thirty-three *Ságaras* but not beyond this term.

In the interchange of embodiment of these four[4] classes, they allow twenty-four habitations to the soul which enters into air, fire, water, earth, the vegetable creation of two, three and four organs of sense, quadrupeds born of the womb, the ten classes of the infernal regions, the *Bhavanapati*, *Vyantara*, *Jyotishka*, *Vaimánika*, men and *devatás*. After death, it enters into one of the following five, *viz.*, mankind, the animal creation with five organs of sense, water, earth, and vegetable forms. The souls of men may come and go through twenty-two forms and when they pass into air or fire, no more assume human shape. Hell-bodies may assume two forms, those of men or of animals with five senses born of the womb, and their lives like those of the *Juglyah*[1] class are not of any considerably length, nor do they ever enter paradise. Those of the seventh degree of hell, do not even enter human bodies, but each of the (other) three kinds of animals having five organs of sense, have entry and exit through all the twenty-four habitations.[2]

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[1] Derived from the Sanskrit *S'iśumára* (child-killing), the Gangetic porpoise: in Persian it commonly means a species of lizard.

[2] Probably some kind of eel, but I do not trace the word in any dictionary.

[3] In the text read *ghaṛi* for *gari*.

[4] See p. 193.

The arithmeticians of this sect apply the term *laksha* to one hundred thousand, which the vulgar pronounce *lakh*. Ten *lakhs* make a *prayuta*,[3] and ten *prayutas* are termed a *koṭi*, called generally a *kṛor*. One hundred *kṛors* make an *arba* (Ṣansk-arbuda), and ten *arba* a *kharba*, and ten *kharbas* a *nikharba*,[4] ten *nikharbas*, a *mahá-saroja*,[5] called also *padma*. Ten *padmas* make a *S'ankha*, ten *S'ankha*, a *Samudra*, called also *Korákor*.

They state that if of a seven day's child of the *Juglyah* age, the hair, being four thousand and ninety-six times as thick as the hair of the Delhi people, be taken and cut up till further sub-division be impracticable, and a well, four *kaṛoh* in length, breadth and depth, be filled with such particles, and a single one of the aforesaid particles be taken out of the well at the expiry of each hundred years till the well be emptied, this period would constitute a *palyopama*. The lapse of ten *Samudra* of a *palyopama* constitutes a *Ságara*.

Having now discussed the first of the (six) objects classed under *Prameya*, I briefly mention the other five. The second, *Ákáśa*, ether, is a subtile substance, eternal and all-pervading, possessing neither intelligence nor soul. The third, *kála*, time, is a substance like the preceding, but not all-pervading. It circumscribes the terrestrial abode of man. The fourth *Pudgala*[6] (matter or substance), is four-fold. If not divisible (atomic), nor compounded with another body, it is called *pramáṇa*, and if in conjunction, *pradeśa*. When, several *pradeśa* unite, they are called *deśa*, and the conjunction of several *deśas* is termed *śkandha*.[7] The first is accounted eternal and has five qualities, colour, odour, phlegm, and two out of eight opposite states of gravity or tenuity, rigidity or softness. heat or coldness, greediness or its contrary.[1] The fifth is *Dharmástikáya*, (the predicament virtue). It is a substance by the instrumentality of which, the rational soul and mind (*manas*), and matter (*pudgala*), are capable of movement, as a fish by means of water. The sixth is *Adharmástikáya* (the predicament vice). This is a substance, quiescent, and favourable to repose.[2] In some works there is mention of nine first principles called *tattvas*, *viz.*, (1). *Jíva*,[3] soul; (2). *Ajíva*, the contrary to this, as ether, time, &c.; (3). *Punya*; (4). *Pápa*. By the conjunction of a multiplicity of matter and soul-forms, joy and sorrow, ease and pain are produced and this conjunction is termed *karman* (works), and is also distinguished as *prakṛiti.*[4] All that is productive of virtue is called *punya*, and *pápa* is vice. *Karman* is eight-fold: (1).—*Jṅáná-váraṇiya* (shrouding of knowledge), forms of matter that by their conjunction veil each of the five kinds of knowledge that have been noticed. (2). *Darśana-varaṇíya* (shrouding of study), shrouds apprehension by the five organs of sense. (3). *Vedaníya* (individual consciousness), conjunction of matter by means of which the soul is affected by joy or sorrow. (4). *Mohaníya*, (producing delusion), conjunction of atoms which causes good to be mistaken for evil and the reverse. (5). *Áyus* (age), conjunction of atoms on which depends the continuance of animal life. (6). *Náman*, (namə), conjunction of things[5] which is the

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[1] V. p. 198. n.

[2] To make sense of this passage I have been compelled to omit the و after جانور پنج حاسة دار. The variant دارد is not here admissible, but it shows that the text needs emendation.

[3] Spelt differently at p. 50 of the text, and p. 111 of this volume.

[4] The text has *bikharba* through the correct term is rightly given at p. 51 of the text.

[5] Lake-born; an epithet of the lotus which in Sanskrit is also called *padma*.

[6] Compounds sometimes arise from separation and conjunction combined and hence are called *pudgalas*, because they "fill" (*púr*) and "dissolve" (*gal.*) S'arva, Sangr, Darśana, p. 52. Weber translates it Atom-Stoff. Fragment der. Bhag. p 236. Abul Fazl transliterates *Putgal.*

[7] This word signifies the elements of being or the forms of mundane consciousness of which there are five in the Buddhist philosophy. *Pradeśa*, one of the forms of the soul's bondage, is the entrance into the different parts of the

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soul by the masses, made up of an endless number of parts, of the various bodies developed by the consequences of actions. S. S. Darśana' p. 56. I do not find *prámáṇa* as a division of *pudgala* in Colebrooke nor in the S. S. D.

[1] *Pudgala* possesses colour, odour, savour and tactility according to Colebrooke: as wind, fire, water, earth; either atoms or aggregates of atoms; individual body, collective worlds, &c.

[2] The former of these two last-named, is said to be inferrible from a right direction of the organs. *Dharma* is explained as a substance or thing (*dravya*), from which may be concluded, as its effect, the souls's ascent to the region above. The latter is the reverse of the foregoing. *Adharma* causes the soul to continue embarrassed with the body notwithstanding its tendency to soar. The word *astikáya* signifies a predicament or category, or conformably with its etymology, that of which it is said (*káyate*), that "it is" (*asti*).

[3] *Lebens-geist.* Weber. There are three descriptions of this:—the perfect soul of the deified saints: the liberated soul: and the soul in bondage. *Ajíva* comprehends the four elements and all that is fixed, as mountains, or moveable, as rivers, and is synonymous with *Pudgala*.

[4] The synonymous terms *Dharma* and *Adharma* are used by Colebooke, and in S. S. Darśana for *punya* and *pápa*. The latter work mentions the eight *prakṛitis* or *mula-prakṛitis* called the eight *Karmans* in Govindánandas' gloss, (Ved. Sút.), p. 55.

[5] I read the variant خردهای. The term *Námika* is applied to the individual

creative complement of genus, species and individual existence. (7). *Gotra* (race), the conjunction of atoms by which the soul assumes the forms of eminent and ignoble persons. (8). *Antaráya* (interference), conjunction of atoms by which men abstain from works, are unable to take nourishment, have no inclination for sexual intercourse, take no profit in trade nor practise liberality or mortification.

V. *Ásrava*[1] (flow, movement), evil actions of five kinds, *viz* bodily injury, falsehood, theft, incontinence, unbridled desire.

VI. *Saṃvara* (stopping), is abstention from the above five actions.

VII. *Bandha* (bondage), is the union of matter with soul.

VIII. *Nirjará* is the gradual disruption of conjoined atoms by the mortification of the body.[2]

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consciousness of an appellation, *viz.*, I bear his name. *Gotrika* is consciousness of race or lineage, the reflection that I am a descendant of a certain disciple of Jaina, native of a certain province. The Buddhists similarly degrade the spirituality of man's nature by the assertion that it is by his name that he is conscious of his personality. In a Páli Sútra, specially devoted to the exposition of the theory of causes, (Mahánidána Soutta), the passage is quoted by M. Sainte Hilaire from Burnouf's *Lotus de la bonne foi*. "C'est le nom qui fait que l'individu se connaît lui-même." *Áyushka* is association with the body or person; that, as the etymology denotes, which proclaims (*káyate*) age, (*ayus*), or duration of life. *Jñáná varaṇíya* is the erroneous notion that knowledge is ineffectual, that liberation does not result from a perfect acquaintance with true principles, and that such science does not produce final deliverance. *Darśana-varaṇíya* (Abul Fazl has *Darśá-varaṇíya*) is the error of believing that deliverance is not attainable by study of the Arhat doctrines. *Mohaníya*, is doubt or hesitation, as to particular selection among the infallible ways taught by Jinas or Tírthankaras. *Vedaníya* is individual consciousness, the reflection that "I am capable of attaining deliverance." *Antaráya* is interference, or obstruction offered to those engaged in seeking deliverance and consequent prevention of its accomplishment. Colebrooke.

[1] This means the movement or natural impulse of the soul to act, called *Yoga*. As a door opening into the water is called *Ásrava*, because it causes the stream to descend, so by this impulse, the consequences of acts flow in upon the soul. It is the association of the body with right or wrong deeds and comprises all the *karmans*. All these eight classes of acts are mentioned in the Bhagavati. v. Weber's Fragment der Bhagavati, p. 166, II.

[2] *Nirjará* is that which entirely (*nir*), wears and antiquates (*jarayati*), all sin previously incurred and the whole effect of works It consists chiefly in mortification. Bondage is that which binds the embodied spirit by association of the soul with deeds. *Moksha* is its deliverance from the fetters of works, v. Colebrooke I, p. 407. The Sarva Sang-Darś. enumerates the *tattvas* according to different authorities as two, five or seven. The seven are *jíva, ajíva ásrava, bandha, saṃvará, nirjará* and *moksha*: the five, *jíva, ákáśa, dharma, adharma* and *pudgala*: two, *jíva* and *ajíva*: Wilson mentions nine.

IX. *Moksha*, called also *mukti*, is the total disseverance of atoms, which cannot be attained without knowledge and works. As when a fire takes place in the dwelling of a lame and a blind man, neither of them alone can escape, but the blind man may take the lame on his back, and by the vision of the one and the movement of the other they both may reach a place of safety.

It is said that without the concurrence of three conditions, this great end cannot be secured: (1). knowledge of the Supreme Being: (2). the acquisition of a guide who makes no distinction between praise and blame, wounding and healing: (3). constancy in good works. These three take rise in obedience and service, by which knowledge is gained. This latter is the chief source of a passionless state (*virága*) which annihilates the impulse (*ásvara*) of the embodied spirit, whence proceeds the closing (*saṃvara*) of the passage to such impulses, and this again incites men to austerity whereby they are occupied in the mortification of the spirit and the body. This mortification is of twelve kinds:—(1). not to eat at particular times. Formerly abstinence from solid food for a whole year was practised, and by some for nine months, but in these days six months is the longest duration: (2). to eat sparingly, and to beg for food from not more than five houses, and to fast till the next day if none be forthcoming, and to abstain from five things: *viz.*, milk, curds, butter, oil of sesame and sweets[1]: (3). mortification of the body in enduring the sun's heat: (4). to take rest on hot sand, (5). to endure nakedness in cold: (6). to draw up the arms and legs and sit on the haunches. They say that it requires a long time before these six practices can be successfully accomplished, and many fail in their performance.

Regarding the expiation of sins, strange penances are prescribed for each transgression, such as, obedience to the religious director; service of ascetics; reading of voluminous books; bowing the head in meditation. This latter must not be for less than two *gharis*, and some among former devotees continued it for twelve years: to stand with the arms hanging down, and to refrain from movement. These six exercises quickly lead to perfection.

There are forty-five great texts among this sect, of which twelve are termed *Angas*, considered to be sacred books. (1). *Ácháránga*, rule of conduct for ascetics. (2). *Sútrakritánga*,[2] containing three hundred and sixty precepts of devotees and demonstrations of each. (3). *Sthánánga*, in which from one to ten (acts) essential to purity are enumerated, beginning with one, applicable to the upper and lower worlds, and so throughout the series to ten. (4). *Samaváyánga;* herein from ten to ten millions are enumerated and divers other truths. (5). *Bhagavatyánga;* this contains thirty-six thousand questions put by Gautama to Mahádeva[1] and the answers thereto. (6). *Jnátádharmakathá*, containing thirty-five million ancient legends. (7). *Upásakadaśá*, an account of ten devotees of Mahadeva.[1] (8). *Antakriddaśá*, on those who have attained the eternal beatitude of liberation. (9). *Anuttaropapáti-kadaśánga*,[2] on the blessed

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[1] These are mentioned *passim* in the Akáranga Sûtra as delicacies to be avoided. Jacobi.

[2] I correct the transliterations from H. H. Wilson's text (Essays I, 284). The *Sthánángam*, is on the organs in which life abides, or the ten acts essential to purity. The *Samaváyángam*, on

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the hundred *Padárthas* or categories. The *Bhagavatyangam*, on the ritual or rules for worship. The *Jnátádharmakathá*, an account of the acquisition of knowledge by holy personages. The *Upásakadaśá*, rules for the conduct of Śrávakas or secular Jains, apparently in ten lectures. The *Antakriddaśá*, on the actions of the Tírthankaras in ten lectures. The ninth is on the principal or final births of the Tírthankaras in ten lectures. The tenth is a grammar of questions, probably on the code of the Jains. The eleventh on the fruits or consequences of actions. To this list which is taken from Hemachandra of the Svetambara sect, who was a zealous propagator of the Jain doctrines in the twelfth century, a supplementary twelfth Anga, called *Drishtiváda* is added, divided into five portions. Besides these which profess to be derived from the oral instructions of Mahávira himself to his disciples and especially to Gautama, there is a class of works fourteen in number, enumerated by Hemachandra, called *Púrvas* because they were drawn up by the Gaṇadharas *before* the Angas. Abul Fazl has taken this aggregate of fourteen works, as the entire twelfth *Anga* to which he prefixes *Púrva* with the Hindi numeral *chaudah*. The *Púrvas*, treat of the doctrine of existence, and non-existence, of holy knowledge, discussion of truth, investigation of spirit, nature of corporeal life and the like.

The tradition of the Svetambaras runs that the fourteen *Púrvas* had been incorporated in the twelfth Anga, the *Drishṭiváda*, which was lost before 1000. A. V. A detailed table of contents of it and the *Púrvas* has survived in the fourth Anga, the Samaváyánga and in the Nandi Sútra. Jacobi: Jaina Sûtras p. XLV). I refer the reader to Weber's Sacred Lit. of the Jains published in the Indian Antiquary for an exhaustive criticism on the *Angas* and *Púrvas*, their tenor and antiquity. The existing Siddhánta belongs exclusively to the Svetámbaras, and the loss of the *Drishṭiváda*, he conjectures, is due to the influence of their orthodoxy, as it had direct reference to the doctrines of the schismatics. It had been added to the other eleven as a secondary addition and its incongruity with the rest led to its suppression. Uncertainty and want of fixity attach to the entire Jain writings; the oldest portions of their literature are but *disjecta membra*, and as regards the date of their composition, separated from each other by extensive periods. I. A. Part CCXIII, p. 285.

[1] An error for *Mahávíra.*

[2] In the text *Anuttaro-vayánga.*

who for their good works have passed into the twenty-sixth degree of paradise. (10). *Praśnavyákaraṇánga*, mentions various works, the source of good and evil acts. (11). *Vipákaśrutánga*, former consequences of actions, which having borne the recompense of good and evil are forever laid to rest. (12). *Chaudah-púrvánga* (*anga* of fourteen *Púrvas*), containing questions that concern mankind generally, with various reflections and classes of acts.

The twenty-four *Tírthankaras* having in these deliverances revealed the will of the Supreme Being, their successors collected them and reduced them to writing. Twelve of them are termed *Upángas*, in which the purport of the former books has been concisely recorded with some additional matter. Four books are called *Múla-Sútras*, in which are given the usages of religious preceptors, the mode of begging, manner of life, mortification, worship of God and rules of composition. Six works are termed *Chedda-grantha*, on expiation of sin. Ten others are called *Páinna*,[1] explanation of the anatomy of the limbs, the manner of birth in animals, and all that takes place at the dissolution of elemental connection, and other subjects. Another work designated *Nandi-Sútra*, treats of the five kinds of knowledge, which have been already mentioned.

The devotees of this sect are called *Yatis*.[2] *S'ishya* (disciple), is an inquirer who enters on this path. *Ganeśa-śishya*[3] is an ascetic who for six months at a stretch restrains the inordinate spirit within the prison of freedom from desire. If he eats one day, he fasts two, and defiles not his hand with milk, curds, butter, oil nor sweets. He eats only of a little parched wheat thrown into hot water, and begs for alms only from one house; his nights are spent till morn in prayer, and five hundred times during each night he prostrates himself in worship, and in the day reads the book of Bhagavati.[1]

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[1] The Sanskrit for this Prákrit word is *Prakirṇa*, and signifies a collection of miscellaneous rules.

Weber in his Sacred literature of the Jains says that the third group of texts of the Siddhánta is formed by the ten *páinnas*, a name which denoting 'scattered, hastily sketched" pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic *pariśishtas*. It is as yet undetermined how old is their position as the third part of the Siddhánta and what caused their location there. They are with few exceptions in metre and a considerable portion of them refers to the proper sort of euthanasy, the confession required for this end and the abjuration of everything evil. Physiology, mythology and astrology and hymns are also treated. (I. A. Part CCLIX. April 1892,) Weber is unable to make out the significance of the title *Múla-Sútra*, of which there are four. The text is composed in metre and principally *ślokas*. The entire Siddhánta according to Weber, at present embraces 45 texts divided into six groups. (1). eleven or twelve Angas. (2). twelve Upángas. (3). ten Painnas. (4). six Cheddasútras. (5). two Sútras without a common name, Nandi and Anuyògadváram. (6). four Múla-Sutras.

The names of all these will be found in I. A. Part CCXIII, October, 1888,

[2] The term *S'ramana* (in Prákrit and Hindi, written *Samana*) is also applied by the Jainas to the *Yati* with the same meaning, and is similarly employed by the Buddhists: and Wilson (I. 175) supposes that the Sommonacodom of Siam is merely a corruption of the words *S'ramana Gautama*, the holy Gantama or Buddha.

[3] From *Gaṇa-iśa* lord of troops; *Gaṇa*

The *Pravartaka* (founder), has much the same character, but on account of his zeal and experience is nominated by the chief religious authority of the time over the pilgrims in this desolate wilderness, to superintend their daily actions and appoint suitable penance for such as are indolent and inclined to ease. The *Sthávira* (elder), is an assistant to the preceding who controls the refractory and aids the languishing. The *Ratnádhika*, or *Paṇíyása* as he is also called, is zealous in the service of God wherever duty calls and thither speeds to remedy disorder: he also prepares the place for the *A'chárya* or spiritual teacher, and has the care of his garments and the settlement of disputes among the ascetics is committed to him. The *Upádhyáya* (sub-teacher), has nearly the same rank as an *Áchárya*, and the disciples verify under his direction the words of the sacred texts and the questions thereto appertaining. These teachers possess nothing of their own but the garments which will be particularised later. The *A'chárya* is a personage of a genial disposition, reverent of aspect, pleasant of speech, grave, learned and benevolent. He must be acquainted with the proofs of the doctrines of his sect, and learned in the precepts of the

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with the Jains signifies a school or a school derived from one teacher, and *Gaṇadhara*, the head thereof. Abul Fazl employs either the Hindi or Prakrit forms for these words. *S'ishya* is *Síkh*, commonly applied to the followers of Nának.

[1] This work is mentioned by Wilson (I. 281. Essays 1862, Rost) as one of the eleven primary works of the Jainas, an instruction in the various sources of wordly pain, or in the paths of virtue, and consists of lessons given to Gautama by Mahávíra and is in Prákrit, in 36,000 stanzas. The Bhagavati is named by Hemachandra in his enumeration of the sacred Angas or Jaina scriptures, in the fifth place. Its title signifies 'the blessed' (*i. e.*,) "instruction" or εὐαγγέλιον, an honorific title for *vyákhyáprajńapati* (instruction in doctrine) probably the most authentic work extant on the life and teaching of Mahávíra (Weber, Fragment der Bhagavati. Page I). It consists of a series of questions by Imdabhúti, Roha, and other disciples of Mahávíra to that sage, and his answers, relating to a variety of topics, such as time and matter and their duration, the nature of hell-bodies, their punishments, states and continuance; whether existence or non-existence be prior in time, the condition and duration of embryonic life, questions of casuistry, moral duties, fruits of works, legends, deities and the ages of worlds.

other eight schools and skilled to refute them, and no treatise should be unknown to him. The burden of the care of his flock lies upon his shoulders, and to promote the welfare of his institute must be his chief aim. Garments and books that are in excess of ordinary requirements are in his keeping for supply at need to inquirers of this road. The *Gaṇadhara* by fullness of knowledge and good works arrives at an exalted degree of wisdom, and possesses the eight miraculous endowments mentioned in the Pátañjala system. He is the representative of the *Jina*. The *Jina* who is also called *Tírthankara* (creating a passage through the circuit of life), surpasses this dignity and attains omniscience, is beautiful of countenance, and perfect in the moral order. His breath is redolent with fragrance and his words full of wisdom. His flesh and blood are white, and none has ever seen him eat or defecate. Neither sickness nor sweat nor dirt contaminate his holy person. His nails and hair grow not long. His words fall so harmoniously that every listener might deem that his speech was music. In whatsoever land he resides, snakes, scorpions and other venomous reptiles disappear, neither excess nor deficiency in rainfall occurs, and war, pestilence and drought cease. When he moves abroad, the trees are voiceful in praise, and many ministering spirits attend to guard him. It is said that his beatified soul is imprisoned in the ventricular cavity of his form by a special connection, and in contradistinction to men in general, he is illumined by three kinds of apprehension, obtains cognition through the organs of sense and mind (*manas*) and the purport of all books is laid open to him. He discerns all that has form whether far or near, and after being born, and through the discipline of austerities, he becomes cognisant of the secret thoughts of men and arrives at the sublime degree of omniscience. These qualities belong to the whole twenty-four *Tírthankaras* of whom mention has been made.

The ascetics of this body have no intercourse with women, and avoid the spot where the sound of her voice is heard. They abstain from meat, fruit and sweetmeats. They cook no food in their own dwellings, and at the meal-time of others, they approach a house and there stand and announce themselves by the words, "*dharma lábha*" that is, 'he who doeth good, receiveth a reward," and without importunity, take whatever of daily cooked food is brought. They may not take away[1] milk, oil and rice together for food, and without being covetous of the taste thereof must speedily swallow their meal. And they must not knowingly accept food cooked especially for them or for the sake of mendicants in general, nor which has been brought from out of a dark room, nor fetched by mounting from a low to an elevated place, nor for which the lock of a door has been opened nor brought out having been previously purchased.[1] They drink nothing but warm water and do not eat or drink[2] during the night. They never light a lamp nor have a fire in the house in which they dwell. They may not pick up any thing fallen nor wash any member of the body but that which is actually soiled. They must avoid avarice and anger, and abstain from falsehood, from injury to life and from theft, and may have no worldly goods, but only necessary raiment. This, in other than winter time, consists of three robes. One of these is used as a loin cloth, a second thrown over the shoulder like a belt and the third worn over the uncovered head.[3] In winter a special woollen garment is added. They have also a cloth a little more than a span and a half in length and breadth which they keep folded in four. This is placed over the mouth when reading and the two ends are stuffed into the ears so that no insect may enter and be injured, nor the person nor the book be defiled by saliva. They also carry a *Dharmadhvaja*[4] made of woollen hairs like a tassel, bound with scarlet cloth and fixed in a wooden handle. As they constantly sit on the ground, they first gently sweep it with both hands that nothing may remain beneath. The elders of this sect, who have been briefly mentioned, spread an old woollen cloth by way of carpet, and spend their days profitably in fasting and good works. Every six months they pull out the hairs of their head with their hands and nails, and go barefoot among thorns and stony places, but in the rainy season they do not stir abroad.[5]

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[1] I read نبرند instead of either نپزند or ببرزد.

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[1] I translate with diffidence this crabbed and ungrammatical sentence. The *Akáranga Sútra* lays down rules for these cases. The reason for the prohibition regarding food set on a loft, or platform or elevated place, is that the layman might fetch and erect a stool or ladder and fall from it and thus hurt his person or injure other living beings in his descent. Neither should a monk or nun accept food prepared over the fire, (Jacobi, p. 105, 113) nor accept food which for the sake of another has been put before the door, if the house-holder has not permitted him to do so or if he gives it to him. (p. 118), nor which he knows has been prepared for the sake of many S'ramaṇas, and Bráhmaṇas, guests, paupers and beggars. (91).

[2] The text has پوشیدن to dress, an error of the diacritical points for نوشیدن

[3] Two of the three robes are linen under garments, *Kshaumikakalpa*, and one woollen upper garment (*aurṇikakalpa*). Besides these (*kalpatrya*), the monk possesses an alms-bowl (*pátra*), with six things belonging to it, a broom (*rajoharaṇa*), and a veil for the mouth (*mukhavastrika*). Jacobi, p. 67, *n.* 3.

[4] "The emblem or ensign of religion." This term is commonly applied in Sanskrit to a hypocrite, as one who hangs out a flag of religion to cover other designs. Their broom is called '*rajoharaṇa*, dust remover.

[5] The reason of this is, that many living beings are produced and many

The laity of this sect are called *Srávaka.* They observe, firstly, the following twelve rules. I. Never to injure the innocent. II. To avoid (the following) five kinds of untruths which are accounted great falsehoods; (1) false testimony, (2) breach of trust, (3) regarding land, (4) in praise and and blame of others, (5) concerning a cow. III. Not to stain their hands with dishonesty. IV. Not to look upon the wife of another. V. To be content with a moderate share of worldly goods. VI. To give the surplus in charity. VII. On journeys, to move stated distances. VII. To determine the daily need of food and other necessaries, and to live accordingly. IX. Not to approach a spot where a *sati* has taken place or a robber executed. X. To set apart two or three *gharis* of the twenty-four hours, and with complete detachment of heart to employ these in devotion to the bountiful Creator. XI. At the hour of sleep to resolve on abstention from further food, and effacing the suggestions of desire, to lay down to rest. XII. On the 8th, 14th, 15th, and 1st day of the 1st quarter of the moon, to abstain from food and drink throughout the day, and to feed the first beggar (met with) on the morn of the break of fast. The points aforesaid should be gone over every day and at the time of rest, and the conscience be therein examined.

The claim of rectitude of life in this austere sect is applicable to a man who fulfils the following conditions:—He should constantly listen to the reading of the sacred texts, perform works of charity, make a practice of praising the virtuous, defile not his tongue in disparagement of another, especially of temporal rulers. He should take in wedlock one who is his equal, and be ever in fear of committing sin. He should conform to the laws of the land wherever he abides, and should so choose his dwelling that it be not public to every passer-by, nor yet so secluded that none can discover it, and it should not have more than two or three doors. He should choose good neighbours and associate only with the virtuous. He should be dutiful to his father and mother, and avoid a city or a province invaded by foreign troops. He must regulate his expenses in accordance with his income, and make his dress conform to the same standard. He must be assiduous in reading the divine books, and avoid an unrestrained spirit in the regulation of his life.[1] He must take his meals at stated times, and observe due measure in his regard for worldly wealth, and the getting thereof and attachment thereunto, and should be zealous in hospitality to a guest, an ascetic, and in the care of the sick. He should not be self-

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seeds spring up, the footpaths are not recognisable. (Jacobi) p. 136.

[1] There are various readings to this passage, one being exactly the reverse of the prohibitory injunction in the text.

opiniated, nor a lover of his own speech. He must prize learning. He must not journey out of season, nor into a country where he cannot practise his religion, nor enter into a quarrel without discerning his ally from his enemy. He must sympathize with his kindred, and be provident and far-sighted, and recognize the claims of gratitude, and so bear himself in his outward conduct that men may hold him in regard. He must be modest, gentle and courteous in demeanour, and exert himself in the interests of others, and subduing his internal enemies, hold his five senses under the control of reason.

The prohibitions to be observed by both the ascetics and the laity are, to abstain from flesh-meat, wine, honey, butter, opium, snow, ice, hail, everything that grows beneath the earth, fruits whose names are unknown, or that contain small seeds, and from eating at night.

The Jaina institutes recognize two orders, the *Svetambaras* (clad in white), and *Digambaras* (sky-clad). The latter wear no clothes and go naked. According to the *Digambaras*, a woman cannot attain final liberation.[1] They say that when any one arrives at the sublime degree of *mukti*, he needs no food till he dies. They are at one with the *Svetambaras* on many points. The writer has met with no one who had personal knowledge of both orders and his account of the *Digambaras* has been written as it were in the dark, but having some acquaintance with the learned of the *Svetambara* order, who are also known as *Sewra*[2] he has been able to supply a tolerably full notice. From ancient times, throughout the extent of Hindustan, the Bráhmans and Jains have been the repositories of knowledge and ceremonial observance, but from short-sightedness have held each other in reproach. The Bráhmans worship Krishna as a deity, while the Jainas relegate him to service in hell. The Bráhmans deem it better to face a raging elephant or a ravening lion than to meet with one of this sect. His Majesty, however, in his earnest search after truth, has partially dispelled the darkness of the age by the light of universal toleration, and the numerous sectaries, relinquishing their mutual aversion, live in the happy accomplishment of a common harmony.

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[1] There is a division between the Digambaras and Svetambaras on this point, the latter conceding the doubtful privilege of final annihilation to women also. The other points of difference may be read in Wilson's Essays I. p. 340. They are not of sufficient importance to record in a note, but not too trivial to create the bitterest rancour between the orders. The priestly caste among the Jainas, as among the Brahmanical Hindus, is divided into four orders; the student (*Brahmacharya*), the householder (*grihastha*), the hermit (*vána-prasha*) and the mendicant (*bhikshuka*).

[2] سیوڑا a religious mendicant of the Jaina sect according to the Dictionaries, but Colebrooke (II, 175) applies it to the Jains in general.

Bauddha.

The founder of this rational system of faith is known as Buddha, and is called by many names.[1] One of these is *S'ákyamuni*, vulgarly pronounced *Shákmúni*. It is their belief that by the efficacy of a life of charity, he attained to the highest summit of wisdom, and becoming omniscient, secured the treasure of final liberation His father was *Rája Sudhodana*, prince of Behár, and his mother's name was *Máyá*. He was born by way of the navel[2] and was surrounded by a brilliant light, and the earth trembled, and a stream of the water of the Ganges showered down upon him. At the same time he took seven steps, uttered some sublime words, and said, "This will be my last birth." The astrologers foretold that on his attaining the age of twenty-nine years and seven days, he would become a mighty ruler, institute a new religion, and accomplish his final liberation. At the very time foretold, he renounced the world and retired into the desert. For a short period he lived at Benares, Rájgir,[3] and other sacred places, and after many wanderings reached Kashmír.

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[1] Among these are, Bodhi-sattva (essence of intelligence) S'ramaṇa Gautama, Mahá S'ramaṇa (the great ascetic), Tathágata (one who hath gone, *i. e.*, proceeded like his predecessors, the Buddhas), Sugata (the Welcome) Bhagavat (the divine), Arhat, Sarvártha-Siddha (all fulfilled) Devatideva (god of gods) and others. E. Rockhill. (Life of Buddha) and Saint-Hilaire (Le Bouddha et sa religion). Abul Fazl gives the name of the father as Siddhodan, Bishop Bigandet, Thoodaudana, doubtless the Burmese pronunciation of the palatal sibilant.

[2] According to Foucaux (Histoire du Bouddha Sakya Mouni), from the right-side of his mother 'sans que le côté droit de sa mére fût brisé, de méme qu' autrefois quand il y etáit entré (p. 97.) A plate taken from a bas-relief of the Calcutta Museum is given by Foucaux in the appendix to his volume, showing the birth of Buddha in the fashion described. The earthquakes take place when a Buddha enters and leaves the womb of his mother, and when he passes into Nirvána, (59). The light filled the world at the time of his leaving the Tushita, or fourth heaven, accompanied by hundreds of millions of deities, to enter the womb of his mother, and again broke forth eclipsing the sun and moon, and the splendours of Brahmá and Indra at his birth. His steps were made in the direction of the cardinal points, and according to the Tibetan account of Rockhill, looking to the East he said, "I will reach the highest Nirvána :' to the South, 'I will be the first of all creatures :' to the West, " this will be my last birth :" to the North, " I will cross the ocean of existence :" but the directions, the sentences, the manner of the steps, differ in Rockhill, Bigandet, Hardy, and Foucaux. I may conclude with Saint-Hilaire ; "je ne citerais point ses folies si elles ne servaient d' abord à faire connaître la tournure d'esprit des Bouddhistes, et ensuite à montrer a'quelle hauteur ils placent leur Bouddha au dessus de tous les dieux du Panthéon brahmanique."

[3] The ancient Rájágriha of which the

Many of Hindu race, and from the coasts, and from Kashmír, Tibet and Scythia were 'converted' by him. From the date of his death to the present time, which is the fortieth year of the Divine Era, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed.[1] He possessed the gift of an efficacious will and the power of performing miracles. He lived one hundred and twenty years.[2] The learned among the Persians and Arabs, name the religious of this order *Bhikshus*;[3] in Tibet they are styled *Lámas*. For a long time past scarce any trace of them has existed in Hindustan, but they are found in Pegu, Tenasserim and Tibet. The third time that the writer accompanied His Majesty to the delightful valley of Kashmír, he met with a few old men of this persuasion, but saw none among the learned, nor observed anything like what is described by Háfiz Ábru and Banákati. The Bráhmans regard him as the ninth *avatára*, but do not accept the doctrine commonly ascribed to him, and deny that he is their author.

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ruins may still be seen in the Patna district, identified by Genl. Cunningham as the residence of Buddha and the capital of the ancient Magadha, called also, by him Kuśágára-púra (town of the *Kúsa*-grass); Kusinárá and Kusinagara in Rockhill. It was visited and described by the Chinese pilgrims Hiouen Thsang and Fa-Hian. It is girdled by its five hills, one of which Baibhár, is the *Webháro* Mountain of the Páli annals, containing the Sattapanni cave, in front of which the first Buddhist Synod was held in 543, B. C. Another cave is in the Ratnagiri hills, which in the Lalita Vistara, is said to have been the scene of Buddha's meditations: V. Anc. Geog. of India.

[1] The 40th year of the Iláhi era, corresponding with A. D., 1596, would make the date of the Buddha's death B. C., 366. The supposed date of this occurrence differs widely, as Mr. Cowell observes (Colebrooke. Essays I. 414, n.) in the various Buddhist countries, the most probable being B. C. 543 or 477. Foucaux gives fourteen dates found in the Tibetan works, *viz.*, B. C. 2422, 2148, 2135, 2139, 1310, 752, 653, 546, 880, 837, 576, 884, 1060, 882 (from Csoma, Tibetan Grammar, p. 199–201.) Trans. Lalita-vistara, Introd, xi.

[2] In the Tibetan version of the Mahápariuirváṇa Sútra, "The Book of the Great Decease," are related the events of the last year, the *seventy-ninth* of the Buddha's life; v. Rockhill, p. 122.

[3] In the text *Bakhshi*. This word occurs in Marco Polo (Yule I. 293) as *Bacsi* and in a note (p. 305) it is explained to be a corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanskrit term for a religious mendicant and in particular for Buddhist devotees. The word was probably applied, adds the note, to a class only of the Lámas but among the Turks and Persians became a generic name for them all, and this passage from the Ain is quoted in support. It continues, that according to Pallas the word among the modern Mongols is used in the sense of *teacher*, and is applied to the oldest and most learned priest of a community, who is the local ecclesiastical chief. Among the Kirghiz Kazzáks the word survives in Marco Polo's sense of a "medicine-man" or conjurer. In Western Turkistán it has come to mean a Bard. From its association with persons who could read and write, it seems to have

They hold the Deity to be undefiled by incarnation, and with the *Sánkhya*, *Mímáṃsá*, and *Jaina* systems, do not consider him the author of creation. The world, they deem to be without beginning or end, and the whole universe to be at one moment resolved into nothingness, and at another created again as before.[1] They accept the doctrine of the recompense of good and evil deeds, and of hell and heaven, and knowledge, according to them, is a quality of the rational soul. The ascetics of this religion shave their heads, and wear garments of leather and red cloth.

They are frequent in their ablutions, and refuse nothing that is given them as food, and hold all that dies of itself as killed by the act of God, and therefore lawful. They hold no commerce with women, and kill

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gradually passed into the sense of a clerk. Under the Mahomedan rule, it was applied to an officer who performed duties analogous to those of Quartermaster General and thence came to mean a paymaster.

[1] There are four well-known sects which have arisen among the Bauddhas. The *Mádhyamikas* or Nihilists maintain, on a literal interpretation of Buddha's *sútras*, that all is void. The *Yogácháras* or Subjective Idealists, acknowledge all else but internal sensation or intelligence to be void. The *Sautrántikas*, or Representationists, allow no external objects apprehensible by perception. The *Vaibháshikas*, acknowledge the direct perception of exterior objects. Both these latter think that objects cease to exist when no longer perceived; they have a brief duration like a flash of lightning, lasting no longer than the perception of them. Their identity is momentary; the atoms or component parts are scattered, and the concourse or aggregation was momentary. The Sarva Sangraha Darśaṇa, discusses the subtile position at some length. The momentariness of fleeting things, the colour blue, &c., is to be inferred from their existence; thus whatever *is*, is momentary like a bank of clouds, and all these things *are*. An existence of practical efficiency is established by perception to belong to the blue and other momentary things, and the exclusion of existence from that which is not momentary is established, provided we exclude from it non-momentary succession and simultaneity, as exclusion of the continent is exclusion of the contained. Practical efficiency is contained under succession and simultaneity. It cannot reside under the permanent because during its exertion of present practical efficiency it has no such power over the past or future. Hence succession and simultaneity being excluded from the non-fluxional, and the latter being without practical efficiency, the existence of the alternative of momentariness is established. Professor Gough in a note, illustrates this view by a quotation from Ferrier's Lectures and Remains, in which he considers the heavens glowing with a thousand hues continually changing, so that no abiding colour can be seen, even for the shortest time. In the millionth part of a second, the whole glory of the painted scene undergoes an incalculable series of mutations; it is a series of fleeting colours, no one of which *is*, because each of them is continually melting into and vanishing in another.

nothing that has life, and looking on plants as possessing it, they refrain from digging them up or cutting them.

Their spiritual energies are directed to six objects : the repression of anger, the pursuit of wisdom, soliciting alms,[1] true understanding of the worship of the Supreme Being, fortitude in austerities, perpetual commune with God. Three things are affirmed by them to be the source of goodness : knowledge, disinterestedness, freedom from envy ; and twelve seats the source of good and evil, *viz.*, the five senses, their faculties,[2] the common sensory, and intellect. These twelve, they term *Áyatana* (seats).

There are four objects of thought which in place of *padártha* (categories), they call (*chaturvidha*) *Árya-satya*, four sublime truths. The first is *Duḥka-satya* reality of misery, which is of five kinds. (1). *Vijñána*, (sensation). (2). *Vedaná*, consciousness, the recompense of good or evil. (3), *Sanjñá*, name or denomination of things. (4). *Sanskára*, (impression), aggregate of merit and demerit. Some assert that since all things are in a state of momentary flux and reflux of existence, the intellectual consciousness thereof is designated by this term. (5). *Rúpa* (form), comprehends the five elements, and their evolutes, and because all these five produce bodily sufferance, they are distinguished under this head.[3]

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[1] This reading is in the notes to the text, which selects a variant having a directly opposite meaning, but this would be in contradiction to the common practice of the *Bhikshus*, and of Buddha himself, v. Rockville pp 56–57.

[2] So in the Sarva Sangraha Darśana, "After acquiring wealth in abundance, the twelve inner-seats are to be thoroughly reverenced : what use of reverencing aught else below." The five organs of knowledge, the five organs of action, the common sensory, and the intellect have been described by the wise as the twelve inner seats." For دیومره in the text, read the variant دوره. The words of the S. S. D. are

ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव तथा कर्म्मेन्द्रियाणि च ।
मनो बुद्धिरिति प्रोक्तं द्वादशायतनं बुधैरिति ॥

[3] These five are termed *Skandhas* (in Páli. *Khandhas*) that is the elements and attributes of being. They embrace all the essential properties of every sentient being, possessed in a greater or less degree, according to the being. When a man dies, his *Khandhas* perish, but by the force of his merits (*Kamma*) a new set starts into existence, and a new being appears in another world, who though possessing different *Khandhas*, and a different form, is in reality identical with the deceased, because his *Kamma* is the same. v. Colebrooke, I. 418, n. from Childers. Prof. Cowell observes that thus according to the stricter schools of Buddhist philosophy, as represented in Ceylon, soul does not exist apart from the five Skandhas, and is simply their aggregation, and consequently, any real transmigration cannot properly be affirmed of Buddhism.

The second, *Samudaya-Satya* (progressive accumulation of evil), is all that arises from desire and anger, and which under its influence says, 'I am,' or, 'that is mine.'

The third is *Márga-satya* (reality of means), the habit of thought that the world is in momentary annihilation and reproduction. The fourth is *Nirodha-satya* (reality of annihilation) which they call *Mukti* or final liberation. Ten conditions are necessary to attain this degree: (I). Charity. (II). Abstention from evil and practising virtue, that is, to refrain from the following ten actions, *viz.*, taking life, molesting, taking that which is not given, incontinence, falsehood, speaking ill of the good, irascibility, idle speech, evil intention, intercourse prohibited by religious precept. Seven duties are to be fulfilled. Respect for the religious guide and spiritual director; veneration of idols; observing the service of others;[1] praise of the good; influencing to good works by gentle speech; perseverance through success or failure in sustaining others in virtue: learning the duties of worship. (III). To be neither elated nor depressed by praise or blame. (IV). To sit in a particular posture. (V). To introduce an idol into a temple which they call *chaitya.* (VI). To regard the things of the world as they really are. (VII). To be zealous in the seven practices of *Yoga* prescribed in the Pátañjala system. (VIII). To acquire the habit of five duties: *viz.*, a true and firm acceptance of the commands of the religious director; to be mindful of them and to carry them out: to reduce the body and spirit by rigid austerities; to efface from the heart all external impression; to keep the mind fixed only on the Supreme Being. (IX). To strengthen the bonds of knowledge so that they cannot be broken. (X). To enter upon the knowledge by which final liberation is accomplished. *Pramáṇa*, proof, with this sect, consists of *pratyaksha* (perception), and *átman*[2] (self), and there are two causes of knowledge, evidence of the senses, and demonstration. The first is four-fold, *viz.*, apprehension by the five senses, or perception by the common sensory or apprehension of the knowledge of the things themselves, or when by reason of the mortification[3] of the senses, the non-apparent and the visible become identical.

In regard to inference and the exposition of the external *percipibile*[4] their argumentation is lengthy and extremely subtile.

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[1] A variant has—' Seeking to do the pleasure of others.'

[2] The Bauddhas do not recognize soul (*Jíva* or *átman*) distinct from intelligence (*chitta*). This latter dwelling within the body and possessing individual consciousness, apprehends objects and subsists as self. In that view only is *átman*, self or soul. Colebrooke I, 47.

[3] The full stop after برياضت in the text, is an error and should be removed.

[4] An external *percipibile* is not admissible in consequence of the following dilemma. Does the object cognitively

The Bauddhas are divided into four sects.

1. The *Vaibháshikas*, like the Nyáya school, believe in separate indivisible atoms for each of the four elements but perceptible by the eye; and with them existence is predicable of two entities, cognition and its objects, the latter being apprehended by the senses.

2. The *Sautrántikas* affirm that objects are cognised by inference.

3. The *Yogácháras* admit only intellect which produces the forms of objects.

The *Mádhyamikas* hold both cognition and objects to be void (*śúnya* Hindi *sun*) and confound existence and non-existence.[1]

Many treatises have been written on each of these divisions and there is considerable variance of opinion on questions of objective and subjective existence. Three sciences are regarded by them as important; the science of proof: the science of administration: the science of the interior life.

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apprehensible arise from an entity or not? It does not, for that which is generated has no permanence, nor is it non-resultant, for what has not come into being is non-existent. Or do you hold that a past object is cognitively apprehensible as begetting cognition? If so, it is nonsense because it conflicts with the apparent presentness of the object, and on such a supposition, the sense organs might be apprehended. Further is the *percipibile*, a simple atom or a complex body? The latter it cannot be, this alternative being ejected by the dilemma as to whether the whole or part is perceived The former alternative is equally impossible, an atom being supersensible. Intellect having therefore no other *percipibile* but itself, is shown to be its own *percipibile*, and luminous with its own light. Sarv. Sang Dar. p 24.

[1] The derivation of these terms is thus given by the Sarva. Sang. Dar.

The Nihilists are excellent in assenting to that which their religious teacher announces, and defective in interrogation, hence their conventional designation of Mádhyamikas or Mediocre. The Yogácháras are so styled because while they accept the four points of view proclaimed by their spiritual guide, and the void of external things, they ask 'why has a void of the internal (or baselessness of mental phenomena) been admitted.' The name Sautrántika arose from the fact that the Buddha said to certain of his disciples who asked what was the ultimate purport (*antra*), of the aphorism (*sútra*). 'As you have inquired the final purport of the aphorism, be Sautrántikas. Those that reject belief in a void, and that sensation alone is reality and that sensible objects are inferrible, hold all this to be absurd language (*viruddhá-bháshá*) and are known as Vaibháshikas.

Whether the same sects yet subsist among the Bauddhas of Ceylon, Tibet and trans-gangetic India and in China, Professor Gough thinks deserves inquiry. It may be safely affirmed that their continuity is as little enduring as that of the doctrine from which they sprung. One hundred and ten years after Buddha's death ten propositions were put forward by the Bhikshus of Vaisáli, which were not of the master's teaching, and condemned by that Council. V. Rockhill. Chap. IV. The history of

Nástika.[1]

Chárváka, after whom this school is named, was an unenlightened

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eighteen schools produced by a great schism is briefly sketched in the following chapter.

[1] This term signifies one who disowns the existence of a future life. *Chárváka* is mentioned in the *Mahábhárata*, according to Prof. Cowell. (Colebrooke, I. 426, n.), as a *rákshasa* who endeavoured by a false report of Bhíma's death to win the Páṇḍavas in the moment of their triumph. The founding of the sect is ascribed to Vṛihaspati, whose aphorisms, (Várhaspatya Sútras) quoted by one of the commentators of the Vedánta, were made the object of a long and fruitless search in India by Dr. Fitz Edward Hall. (Dr. Muir. Journ. R. A. S. 299–314). Dr. Muir is not aware how far this sect can be traced back in Indian literature. *Nástikas* (Nihilists), *Páshaṇḍís* (heretics), and revilers of the Vedas are mentioned in many parts of Manu's Institutes, but it is not clear what sects are comprised under these terms: traces of a sceptical spirit are found throughout Indian and indeed all literature, the common parasitic growth on all systems of belief. Dr. Banerjea, clearly shows the results of philosophical speculations on the Brahmanical creed, and how small was the essential difference between the heretical and so-called orthodox schools. The Lokáyatikas (worldlings or prevalent in the world, from *loka-áyata*) are a branch of this sect according to Colebrooke, but the term is employed as a synonym for the Chárvákas in the *Sarva-Sangraha Darśaṇa*. This latter work gives an exposition of their doctrine, which in brief is that the end of man is enjoyment of sensual pleasure, the only hell, mundane pain, the only Supreme, an earthly monarch and the only liberation, death. The four elements are the original principles from which when transformed into the body, intelligence is produced, as sugar with a ferment and other ingredients becomes an intoxicating liquor, or as betel, areca, lime and extract of catechu chewed together, possess an exhilarating property not found in those substances severally. The soul being identical with the body, the attribution of qualities, as fatness, leanness, &c., to the body is intelligible as being the seat of self-consciousness. Inference is not admitted, (as smoke from fire), because the invariable connection of the middle term with the major, found likewise in the minor, does not possess its power of causing inference by virtue of its *existence*, as the eye, &c., are the causes of perception, but through its being *known*. The means of this connection being known, is not *perception* neither external, because in the case of the past and future, the universal proposition, embracing the invariable connection of the major and middle terms, cannot in every case be known, nor internal, since the mind is dependent on the senses; it is not *inference*, because every inference requires another to establish it, causing a retrogression *ad infinitum*: it is not *testimony*, nor *comparison*, and since the knowledge of the condition must precede the knowledge of its absence, it is only in the former case that a knowledge of the universality of the proposition is possible, that is, a knowledge in the form of such a connection between the middle term and major term, as is distinguished by the absence of such a condition, and as, again, the knowledge of the condition

Bráhman. Its followers are called by the Bráhmans, *Nástikas* or Nihilists. They recognise no existence apart from the four elements, nor any source of perception save through the five organs of sense. They do not believe in a God nor in immaterial substances, and affirm faculty of thought to result from the equilibrium of the aggregate elements. Paradise, they regard as a state in which man lives as he chooses, free from the control of another, and hell the state in which he lives subject to another's rule. The whole end of man, they say, is comprised in four things: the amassing of wealth, women, fame and good deeds. They admit only of such sciences as tend to the promotion of external order, that is, a knowledge of just administration and benevolent government. They are somewhat analogous to the sophists in their views and have written many works in reproach of others, which rather serve as lasting memorials of their own ignorance.

THE EIGHTEEN SCIENCES.

(Aṭhára Vidyá).

Having taken a brief survey of the nine schools of philosophy existing in this country, I proceed to state some of the points on which the Bráhmans of the first six systems are agreed and thus brighten the interest of this exposition.

They say that he has attained the summit of knowledge who has garnered his stores of wisdom from this number of sciences and by fathoming their depths, satisfied the desire of his heart.

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depends on that of the invariable connection, the fallacy of reasoning in a circle is produced. Hence by the impossibility of knowing the universality of a proposition inference is impossible. The chapter concludes with a quotation from Bṛihaspati in recommendation of the maxim 'eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' imputing the invention of religious rites to the desire of gaining a livelihood, and the authorship of the Vedas to buffoons, knaves, and demons. Abul Fazl's concluding words are fully justified. It is this sect which appears to be denounced in the Bhagavad Gíta (XVI. 10 ff.), "Giving themselves up to insatiable lusts, full of deceit, vanity and folly, they cherish immoderate thoughts ending in death, accounting the enjoyment of their lusts their chief good. 'This' they say, 'I have gained to-day; that desire of my heart I shall obtain. This possession is now mine: that also shall be mine hereafter. I am rich, I am noble. What other man is like unto me. I will give largesse. I will be merry.' Tossed to and fro by many thoughts, enveloped in the meshes of delusion, devoted to their lusts, they go down to hell." The Bhagavad Gíta was probably not written before the third century, A. D., and the thoughts and language strikingly recall the Christian Scriptures from which it is suspected with much reason, that it drew its inspiration.

The first division consists of the *Ṛig Veda:* the second is the *Yajur Veda:* the third is the *Sáma Veda;* and the fourth, the *Atharvan.*

These four are considered to be divine books, as already mentioned. Each of them treats of four matters :—(1). *Vidhi,* precept and its cogency; (2). *Arthaváda,*[1] praise and its recompense; (3). *Mantra,* invocation and prayer which are profitable in particular cases; (4). *Námadheya,* appellation of important acts. Each of them also treats of three things :—(1). *Karma,* exterior works; (2). *Upásaná,* religious meditation; (3). *Jñáná,* perfected knowledge.

The fifth, the *Puráṇas.* Eighteen distinct works are styled by this name. They explain in a clear manner the difficulties occurring in the four Vedas above mentioned, and each of them treats of the following five subjects:—(1). The creation of the world. (2). The dissolution thereof. (3). Genealogies of various families. (4). Account of the fourteen *Manvantaras.* These are fourteen *Manus* or holy spirits who, during the whole life of Brahmá, will appear successively for the guidance of mankind, and sustain by their power the burden of the world. The life of each is seventy-one times the four ages, a revolution of the four ages being four million three hundred and twenty thousand years.[1] They likewise mention the fourteen *Indras* associated with them, (for they say that during Brahmá's life, fourteen deities will successively rule the celestial regions), and the actions by means of which they attain to this dignity. There are further the legendary narratives of celebrated monarchs.

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[1] In the Mimáṃsá, "*Vidhi* refers to those passages of the Veda, which being in the potential, imperative, or passive future participle, have a directly *injunctive* force; *Arthaváda* refers to those which *explain and illustrate* the object of some act enjoined by a former *Vidhi.*" (Colebrooke, I. 327, note by Prof. Cowell.) A sketch of the general tenor of the Vedas will be found in Colebrooke, I. 8–102. The *Ṛigveda* contains *mantras* or prayers, chiefly encomiastic whence the name, from the verb *ṛich* to praise, and the term has become applicable to such passages of any Veda as are subject to rules of prosody. The first Veda in Vyása's compilation comprises most of these texts and is called the Ṛig Veda. The *Yajur Veda* relates chiefly to oblations and sacrifices as its name implies, from the root *Yaj,* to worship. It contains some passages called *ṛich* as being in metre. It is divided into two the white Yajur Veda and the Black. The first is the shortest of the Vedas, and both contain prayers and invocations. The distinction of colour is from the disgorging of the original Veda by a disobedient disciple at the command of his preceptor Vaiśampáyana, the rest of whose disciples were instructed to pick up and swallow the soiled texts, which were then called 'black.' This they did in the form of partridges, (*tittiri*) hence the name *Taittiriya,* applied to it. The disciple over whelmed with sorrow, invoked the sun who supplied a new revelation, called the *white* or pure. The *Sámaveda* derives its name from its efficacy in removing sin (from the root *Sho,* to destroy). The prayers in this are intended to be chanted (Colebrooke I. 71). The *Atharvaveda,* consists of formulas obviating the effects of error, or untoward incident in the performance of a sacrifice, and is essentially different from the other three Vedas, which are sometimes mentioned without any notice of the fourth, from the difference in its use and purport. The derivation of the word is said to be, according to Monier Williams, from an obsolete word *athar,* fire, and hence a priest who has to do with fire and *Soma;* and *Atharvan* is also the name of the priest, represented as a *Prajápati,* who was the first to obtain fire and offer *Soma,* and the author of the Veda.

The names of the *Puráṇas* are :—(1) *Matsya*. (2). *Márkaṇḍa*. (3). *Bhavishya*. (4). *Bhágavata*. (5). *Brahma-vaivarta*. (6). *Brahmáṇḍa*. (7). *Brahma*. (8). *Váyu*. (9). *Vámana*. (10). *Vishṇu*. (11). *Váráha*. (12). *Agni*. (13). *Nárada*. (14). *Padma*. (15). *Linga*. (16). *Kúrma*. (17). *Skanda*. (18). *Garúḍa*.[2]

There are eighteen other books called *Upa-puráṇas*, explanatory of the foregoing, which are said by some to be of recent origin.[3] Their names are :—(1). *Sanatkumára*, originally *Saura*, so called from the name of its compiler.· (2). *Náradíya*. This was also the name of a *Puráṇa* and the same may be said of some others. The *Upa-puráṇas* in fact, contain accounts not given in the *Puráṇas*, and they are styled by the designations of their originals. (2). *Nárasinha*. (3). *S'ivadharma*. (4). *Durvásasa*. (5). *Kápila*. (6). *Mánava*. (7). *S'ánkara*.[4] (8). *Aus'anas'a*. (9). *Váruṇa*. (10). *Brahmáṇḍa*. (11). *Kálí* and also *Káliká*. (12). *Máhes'vara*. (13). *Nánda*. (14). *S'ámba*. (15). *A'ditya*. (16) *Párás'ara*. (17). *Bhágavata*. (18). *Kúrma*.

The sixth of the sciences is called *Dharma-S'ástra*, (institutes of the law) or doctrine relating to good works. This is also taken from the Vedas, and accompanied by a multiplicity of detail. It is also called *Smṛiti,*[1] and has a similar number of divisions. The principal subjects of these books are three. The duties of the four castes regarding religious worship, the duties of administration, and the expiation of sins.

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[1] See *n.* 4, p. 174 of this volume.

[2] A few variations occur in these names, some lists of the Puráṇas omitting a few and substituting others. Their general contents are given in Wilson's preface to his translation of the Vishṇu Puráṇa.

[3] The text is here doubtful, but this reading seems to be tenable. The greater number of these are not procurable, and the names of only a few are specified in the least objectionable authorities. In the few instances known (I quote Wilson) they differ little in extent or subject from the Puráṇas themselves.

[4] This name does not occur in either of Wilson's lists, which substitute *Saura*, the name given by Abul Fazl, as the original of the first, Sanatkumára. These lists are taken from the Deví Bhágavata and the Revá-Khánda, authorities of questionable weight. The former pretends to be considered the authentic Bhágavata which Wilson does not admit. The name of Bhágavata, he says, does not occur in any authentic list amongst the Upa-puráṇas, and it has been placed there to prove that there are two works so entitled, of which the Puráṇa is the Deví Bhágavata, and the Upa-puráṇa, the Srí Bhágavata. The true reading should be Bhárgava, the Puráṇa of Bhṛigu, : the Deví Bhágavata is not even an Upa-puráṇa.

The names of the eighteen codes of memorial law (*smṛiti)* are as follows :—

(1). *Manu.* (2). *Yájñavalkya.* (3). *Atri.* (4). *Angiras.* (5). *Uśanas* (6). *Gaútama.* (7). *Paráśara.* (8). *S'ankha Likhita.* (9). *Vishṇu.* (10). *Hárita.* (11). *Vasishṭha.* (12). *Yama.* (13). *S'átátapa.* (14). *A'pastamba.* (15). *Kátyáyana.* (16). *Vṛihaspati.* To these some have added the following two. (17). *Vyása.* (18). *Daksha.*[2]

The names of the eighteen *Ụpa-smṛiti* or minor law codes are—

(1). *Angiras.* (2). *Jábáli.* (3). *Náchiketa.* (4). *Skanda.* (5). *Laugákshi.* (6). *Káśyapa.* (7). *Vyása.* (8). *Sanatkumára.* (9). *Shatrzu.*[3] (10). *Janaka.* (11). *Vyághra.* (12). *Kátyáyana.* (13). *Játukarṇya.* (14). *Kapinjala.* (15). *Baudháyana.* (16). *Kaṇáda.* (17). *Viśvámitra.* (18). *Sumantu.*

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[1] Besides the evidence of precept from an extant revelation (*sruti*), another source of evidence is founded on the recollections (*smṛiti*) of the ancient sages. These recollections have come down by unbroken tradition, and are known under the title of *Dharma-S'ástra,* the institutes of law, civil and religious. This sacred code of law comprises a system of duties, religious and civil. The latter includes law, private and criminal, the forms of judicial procedure, rules of pleading, law of evidence, adverse titles, oaths, ordeal, &c. By the terms *Sruti* and *Smṛiti,* it is signified that the Veda has preserved the words of revelation, while the system of law records the sense expressed in other words. It has been promulgated by thirty-six ancient sages, named in three verses of the Padma Puráṇa. The Hindus revere these institutes as containing a system of sacred law, confirmed by the Veda itself in a text thus translated by Sir W. Jones.

"God, having created the four classes, had not yet completed his work ; but in addition to it, lest the royal and military classes should become insupportable through their power and ferocity, he produced the transcendent body of laws : since law is the King of Kings, far more powerful and rigid than they. Nothing can be mightier than the law, by whose aid as by that of the mightiest monarch, even the weak may prevail over the strong." V. Colebrooke, pp. 337-466.

[2] These legislators are sometimes classed, according to Monier Williams, in three divisions under the three heads of *Sáttvika, Rájasa* and *Támasa,* according to the tendency of their writings.

[3] Or *Shatarzu* . Doubtless the *Shattrinśa* a well-known work on law. The *Shattrinśanmata* was a collection of the opinions of 36 Munis of whom the names of all 18 mentioned in the above list, occur ; and several of the second. In *Janaka,* and *Játúkarṇya,* Abul Fazl writes z for j.

The seventh is *S'ikshá* (Phonetics), the science of letters.[1]

The eighth is *Kalpa*, ceremonial, a science which treats of ten kinds of duties from the beginning of marriage to the time when the son is invested with the Brahmanical thread; *viz.*, the marriage; cohabitation: the third month from pregnancy to the fifth: the sixth to the eighth: the birth: the naming of the child: carrying him out to see the sun: feeding him: cutting his hair: investing him with the sacred thread. At each of these times special prayers and important ceremonies are required.

The ninth is *Vyákaraṇa*, the science of grammer and linguistic analysis, upon which are based the rules for the composition of letters. Firstly, they reckon fifty-two letters under three kinds. Fourteen are vowels (*Svara*) which are both letters and diacritical accents, and can be pronounced without extraneous adjunct: These are, a (अ): á (आ): i (इ): í (ई): u (उ): ú (ऊ): ṛi (ऋ): ṛí (ॠ): li (ऌ): lí (ॡ): (diphthongs) e (ए): ai (ऐ): o (ओ): au (औ). Thirty-three letters are called *Vyañjana*,[2] consonants which cannot be sounded without a vowel. These are k (क): kh (ख): g (ग): gh (घ): ṅ (ङ) which is a letter having a nasal sound produced by the throat and nose, ch (च): chh (छ): j (ज): jh (झ): ñ (ञ): ṭ (ट): th (ठ): ḍ (ड): ḍh (ढ): ṇ (ण): t (त): th (थ): d (द): dh (ध): n (न): p (प): ph (फ): b (ब): bh (भ): m (म): y (य): r (र): l (ल): v (व): ś (श): sh (ष): s (स): h (ह). There are five other letters, one of which is called *Anusvára*, sounded like *kaṇ* with a quiescent nasal. Another is *visarga* (a surd breathing), like the final *h* in *kah*, A third is called *jihvámúlíya*, a letter between an *h* and a *kh*, and occurs as a medial and is sounded from the root of the tongue.[3] The fourth is called *gaja-kumbha kṛiti*, a quiescent medial letter approximating in sound to a *bhá*. The fifth is *ardhabinda*, a quiescent nasal, like a suppressed *nún* (ن).[1]

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[1] For these following six doctrines of Phonetics, Prosody, Grammer, Etymology, Astronomy and Ceremonial, commonly called the Vedángas, see Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 113, ff. The first are considered requisite for reading the Veda, the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifices *S'ikshá* is derived from *śak* to be able. and means a desire to know. The doctrine of the *S'ikshá* was embodied in the *Araṇyakas*, and perhaps the Bráhmaṇas. Kalpa or Ceremonial is the fifth and most complete Vedânga. The ceremonies mentioned by Abul Fazl, are described in the *Gṛihya-Sútras* and are briefly alluded to by Müller: p. 264.

[2] In Hindi *binjan*, as Abul Fazl transliterates. I think it better to adhere, for the sake of uniformity, to the Sanskrit orthography throughout, rather than alternate from one to the other as the text does and not seldom with corrupt or unintelligible readings.

The third Vedanga is *Vyákaraṇa* or Grammar, represented by the Grammarians ending with Pâṇini, whose work however, superseded those of his predecessors to such an extent that little but their names and a few rules under their authority have come down to us, V. Hist. Sansk. Lit.

[3] This and the *upadhmáníya* spirants are regarded by Whitney as pure grammatical abstractions, devised like the

Such is the exposition of the Sanskrit alphabet as far as I have been able to transcribe it. Some points which it has been beyond my power adequately to explain I have but alluded to. The last five letters are employed with vowels and consonants alike, and each consonant is capable of being vocalized with the fourteen vowels. At the present day the fourteen vowels (*svara*) are called *mátra*[2] and two being commonly omitted,[3] twelve only are employed. Each written letter is separate and unconnected with the next. Letters are of four kinds. If without a moveable vowel a letter is called (*vyáñjana*). If it be a simple short vowel or if it add one *mátra* to a quiescent long vowel, it is called *hrasva*.[4] Twice the prosodial time of a short vowel is called *dírgha*, and if longer than two (*i. e.* three *mátras*) it is called *pluta* or prolated.

Eight modes of utterance are reckoned, *viz.*, from the middle of the chest: the throat: the root of the tongue: between the teeth: the nose: the palate: the lip: and the crown of the head. There is considerable diversity of opinion in all that they discuss but I have chosen the most generally accepted view. Before the writer had gained any acquaintance with this language, he considered the grammatical structure of Arabic to be without a rival, but he is now more fully aware of the immense labours of Hindu philologists, and the powerful regulative influence of their system.

The tenth science is *Nirukta*, (etymology), a detailed commentary of Vedic texts.[5]

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long *l* vowel in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. Their use is to take the place of *s* or *r* before a surd labial or guttural and their sound is in the direction of the German *ch.* and *f.* sounds; when written at all they are commonly transliterated by χ and ϕ. They are now obsolete and replaced by the Visarga. tal globe of an elephant's head) is the sign ≍ of the *upadhmáníya* spirant, pronounced like the Greek ϕ.

[1] This is the *anunásika* sign ن or the *anusvára*, written above a syllable to imply a nasal infection of the preceding vowel. Some MS. employ the ن where a nasalized (*anunásika*) vowel is to be recognized and elsewhere the ˙, but the two, Whitney observes, are doubtless originally and properly equivalent. The *Gaja-kumbha kṛiti* (*lit.* form of the fron-

[2] Properly the prosodial time of a short vowel.

[3] These are the long i and the long l: the latter does not occur in a single genuine word in the language, and is added, says Whitney, for the sake of an artifical symmetry.

[4] Abul Fazl writes *rhasva* for *hrasva*.

[5] This is the fourth Vedánga as represented by the *Nirukta* of Yâska and applies to Vedic etymologies exclusively. Like Páṇini's Grammar where the science of *Vyákaraṇa* took shape as a Vedánga, so Yáska was one of the last authors to embody the lexicography of Vedic terms

The eleventh *Jyotisha*[1] is on astronomy and its wonders.

The twelfth *Chandas*[2] is on metre and the classes of verse.

The last six are called *Angas*,[3] that is to say that a knowledge of these six is necessary to the comprehension of the Vedas.

The thirteenth is the *Mímáṃsá* of which the three kinds have been already mentioned.

The fourteenth is the *Nyáya* which has been summarily treated among the sciences.

The fifteenth is the *A'yur-veda*, the science of anatomy, hygiene, nosology and therapeutics. It is taken from the first Veda.[4]

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in one work. It is important to distinguish his *Nirukta*, the text of which is usually called *Nighaṇṭu*, from his commentary of the *Nirukta* to which the term *Nirukta* alone is often applied. The *Nirukta* consists of three parts; the *Naighaṇṭuka*, the *Naigama*, and the *Daivata*, in five chapters, containing lists of synonyms, words and Divinities. Max Müller points out that the Greeks and Hindus alone of all nations have had independent conceptions of the sciences of Logic and Grammar, but they started from opposite points. The Greeks began with philosophy and endeavoured to adjust its terminology to the facts of language. The Hindus began with etymology and their generalisations never went beyond arrangement of grammatical forms, partly due to the sacred character of the Vedic hymns, wherein a mispronunciation might mar their religious effect. Thus the grammar of the latter has ended in a colossal pedantry, while that of the Greeks still influences modern culture throughout the civilised world. It is remarkable that while the Greeks were long in arriving at a complete nomenclature of the parts of speech, Plato knowing but two, the noun and the verb, and the preposition not occurring till the time of Aristarchus, the Hindus had early an exhaustive classification. V. Hist. Sansk. Lit. p. 160, ff.

[1] *Jyotisha* is the last of the Vedángas. Its literature is scanty and is mainly represented by a small treatise representing the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy. Its practical object is not to teach this science but to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the auspicious times for Vedic sacrifices. It is in fact a sacred calendar, the moon being looked upon as the chief means of measuring time, a fact indicated by its etymology, its name being the same in Sanskrit, Greek and German and derived from a root that originally means to measure. The connection between the names of moon and month likewise indicates the existence of an ancient lunar chronology. *Ibid.*

[2] Chandas or Metre is the second Vedánga and is represented by Pingalanága's Metric which treats of Prákrit as well as Sanskrit metres, and is not older than the Mahábháshya, the famous commentary on Páṇini. *Ibid.*

[3] Lit, 'a limb.' It is said of Sváha the wife of *Agni*, the goddess presiding over burnt-offerings, that her body consists of the four Vedas, and that her limbs are the six Angas, or members of the Veda. The name does not imply the existence of six distinct books, but the admission of six subjects of study for the reading, understanding, and sacrificial employment of the Vedas. *Ibid.*

[4] It contains eight departments: 1 *S'alya*, surgery; 2. *S'álákya*, inquiry into

The sixteenth is *Dhanur-veda*, the science of archery and of the use of various other weapons, taken from the second Veda.[1]

The seventeenth is *Gándharva-veda*, the science of music, vocal, instrumental and practical, taken from the third or Sáma-veda.

The eighteenth is *Artha-śástra*, treating of the acquisition of wealth and its profitable employment.[2] These four are termed subordinate or *Upa-vedas*.

The arts and sciences cultivated throughout the extent of Hindustan are too numerous to mention, but somewhat of them shall be briefly reviewed as an acceptable offering to the curious, in the hope that it may prove interesting as well as an incentive to inquiry.

KARMA-VIPÁKA.

Or the ripening of actions.[3] This is a system of knowledge of an amazing and extraordinary character, in which the learned of Hindustan concur without dissentient opinion. It reveals the particular class of actions performed in a former birth which have occasioned the events that befall men in this present life, and prescribes the special expiation of each sin, one by one. It is of four kinds.

THE FIRST KIND discloses the particular action which has brought a man into existence in one of the five classes into which mankind is divided, and the action which occasions the assumption of a male or female form. A *Kshatriya* who lives continently, will, in his next birth, be born a *Bráhman*. A *Vaiśya* who hazards his transient life to protect a Bráhman, will become a *Kshatriya*. A *S'údra* who lends money without interest and does not defile his tongue by demanding repayment, will be born a *Vaiṣya*. A *Mlechchha* who serves a *Bráhman* and eats food from his

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diseases of the head and its organs: 3. *Káya-chikitsá*, treatment of diseases affecting the whole body: 4. *Bhúta-vidya*, treatment of diseases of the mind supposed to be produced by demoniacal influence: 5. *Kaumára-bhṛitya*, treatment of children: 6. *Agada-tantra*, doctrine of antidotes: 7. *Rásáyana-tantra*, doctrine of elixirs. 8. *Vájíkaraṇa-tantra*, rules for increasing generative powers. Monier Williams. Sansk. Dict.

[1] Regarded as an *Upa-veda* connected with the Yajur-veda, and ascribed to Viśvá-mitra; or, according to others, to Bhṛigu. *Ibid.*

[2] According to Monier Williams, it is the science of polity, or moral and political government.

[3] That is, the good and evil consequences in this life of human acts performed in previous births. This work of Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa explains expiatory rites to be performed in cases of disease, supposed to be the punishment of offences committed in a previous state of existence, written in *S'lokas* in the form of a dialogue between S'akuntalá Bharaṭa and Sátátapa-Bhṛigu. Monier Williams.

house till his death, will become a *S'údra.* A *Bráhman* who undertakes the profession of a *Kshatriya* will become a *Kshatriya*, and thus a *Kshatriya* will become a *Vaiśya*, and a *Vaiśya* a *S'údra*, and a *S'údra* a *Mlechchha*. Whosoever accepts in alms a *Kṛishṇájina* [1] or skin of the black antelope, or the bed on which a man has died, or a buffalo, or receives an alms in the shrine of *Kurukshetra*, will, in the next birth, from a man become a woman. Any woman or *Mlechchha*, who in the temple of *Badari-Náráyaṇa* [2] sees the form of *Náráyaṇa*, and worships him with certain incantations, will in the next birth, if a woman, become a man, and if a *Mlechchha*, *a Bráhman.* This shrine is in the hills north of Hardwár. They say that for any one who has not an accurately defined caste, the horoscope of the result of any particular action is taken, and the place of Mars is observed. Whatever may be its position, the *dominus domûs* shows the caste of the inquirer, and the dominant of the seventh house of Mars shows the caste of the inquirer in his former birth. If Venus and Jupiter, his caste is *Bráhman:* if the sun and Mars, a *Kshatriya:* if the moon, a *Vaiśya:* if Saturn, a *S'údra:* if the head and tail of the Dragon, a *Mlechchha.*[3]

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[1] Probably on account of its sacred uses as in the ceremony of binding the Brahmanical thread and serving religious students for a couch or covering. The skin of the antelope is taken as a symbol of the Brahmachárin state, because the pupil wears a skin. Müller. Hist. Sanst. Lit. p. 409. The Brahmachárin is a Hindu religious student bound by vows of obedience and chastity.

[2] Commonly *Badrináth*, a peak of the Himalayan range in Garhwál Dist. N. W. P. reaching to a height of 23,210 feet above the sea. Its glaciers are the source of the Alaknanda river. On one of its shoulders at an elevation of 10,400 feet, and 56 miles N. E. of S'rinagar, is another shrine of Vishṇu bearing the same name. The existing temple is said to have been erected 800 years ago by S'ankara Swámí who brought up the figure of the deity from the bottom of the river. Below the shrine is a sacred tank in which pilgrims bathe. The god is daily provided with food, and served on vessels of gold and silver. Immense numbers of pilgrims visit Badrináth annually, 50,000 persons having in some years attended the great festival. I. G.

[3] The last chapter of Albirúni's Indica is occupied with the complicated explanation of the astrological calculations of the Hindus. I refer the curious reader to the tabular representations of the different planets, their aspects, influences, houses and indications, together with the tables of the Zodiacal signs and their dominants which are there given. The science has always been more profitable to the astrologer than to the dupe, and its truth subordinated to its emoluments. Jupiter, Venus and the moon are accounted the lucky planets, while Saturn, Mars, the Sun and the Dragon's head, though the latter is not in reality a star, unlucky. Mercury is variable and depends for its fortune on the planet with which it is combined. Sometimes two planets indicate the same thing, exercise the same influence and stand in the same relation to the event

THE SECOND KIND shows the strange effects of actions on health of body and in the production of manifold diseases. Physicians attribute these to constitution, but this science to the results of former conduct. Hindu philosophers class diseases under three heads:—(1). Those that can be cured by medicinal treatment; (2). Those that are removable by observing the following courses of procedure; (3). Those that require the application of both. To diagnose each of these, certain symptoms are recognised which are classed under three states, *viz.*, (1). actions deliberately committed in a state of wakefulness; (2). such as are unconsciously done in that condition;[1] (3). and those that are effected during sleep. In the first, the sickness is incapable of remedy; in the second a remedy can be applied; in the third case, medicinal treatment to some extent restores health, but there is liability to relapse. Disorders of the heart, they consider, as originating in intention, and those of the body from inadvertency and error. Volumes have been written on this subject and the advice of physicians disregarded as unprofitable. Some of these causes of sickness are here set down for purposes of illustration.

HEADACHE is caused by former violent language used to father or mother. The remedy is to make the images of *Kaśyapa*[2] and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold and give them to the poor. The first of these two is regarded as the father of the *Devatás*, and the latter as the mother.

MADNESS is the punishment of disobedience to father and mother. The cure is to perform the *Chándráyaṇa*,[3] which is to eat one mouthful on

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in question, in which case the preference is given to the larger. The friendship and enmity of the planets among each other, and the influence of their *dominus domûs* is of great importance, and at particular times their *dominium*, the time of which is computable, loses its original character. Many of Albirúni's terms are taken directly from the Greek.

[1] "By what is a man impelled, O Várshṇeya!" says Arjuna in the Bhagavad Gítá, "when he commits sin even against his will, as if compelled by force?" "It is lust;" replies Kṛishṇa "it is wrath born from the 'passion' mode: know, that this all-devouring, all-defiling is here our foe. Knowledge is enveloped by this which is the eternal foe of the wise man ... and is an insatiable flame." Davies' Translation.

[2] One of the Prajápatis or mind-born sons of Brahmá. He married thirteen of the daughters of Daksha, of whom the first was *Aditi* by whom he had the twelve *Ádityas*. See the Vishṇu Pur. Wilson. *v.* also Vol. II. 38.

[3] This expiatory penance is continued increase and diminution of food by one mouthful during the dark and light fortnights of the moon, beginning with 15 at the full moon, to 0 at the new, and increasing in like manner. If this penance begins with the full moon it is called *Pipiliká-madhya* (having the middle thin like an ant): if with the new moon, *Yava-madhya*, having the middle thick like a barley-corn. Monier Williams, Sansk. Lex.

the first day, and to increase the food daily by the same quantity for one month, and then to decrease in the same measure till one mouthful is again reached, and to make two images as above of two *tolahs* of gold and bestow them in alms with one cow.

EPILEPSY results from having administered poison to another at the command of a superior. The cure consists of these two images, a cow, a piece of land and thirty-two *sers* of sesame-seed, with a repetition of some incantations in the name of *Mahádeva.*

PAIN IN THE EYES arises from having looked upon another's wife. The cure is *Chándráyaṇa.*

BLINDNESS is the punishment of a matricide which is followed by many years of suffering in hell. The cure is *Prájápatya,*[1] which is of five kinds:—(1). Bestowing a cow in charity; (2). Or one *tolah* of gold; (3). Or feeding twelve *Bráhmans;* (4). Or throwing into the fire ten thousand times a mixture of sesame-seed, butter, honey and sugar; (4). Or walking a *yojana,* bare foot to a shrine. Let one or several of these be done in charity thirty times. Or let him make a boat of four *tolahs* of gold, the mast of silver, and six paddles of copper. Or, if it be a punishment of disobedience to father and mother, the cure is, as already described, the images of *Kaśyapa* and *Aditi.* These should not be of less than two *tolahs.*

DUMBNESS is the consequence of killing a sister. The cure is to bestow in charity a cow made of four *tolahs* of gold, its horns being of two *tolahs* of silver, its hump of two or three *máshas* of copper with a brass vessel for milk, and for seven days he should eat a mixture of curds, butter, urine and cowdung.

COLIC results from having eaten with an impious person or a liar. The cure is to fast for three days, and to give twelve *tolahs* of silver in charity.

STONE IN THE BLADDER[2] is the punishment of incest with a step-mother. The cure is *Madhu-dhenu* (honey-milch cow). Let it be supposed that a milch-cow of honey is formed thus:—Fourteen vessels full of honey, each of which shall contain a *man* and a quarter, must be placed with one *tolah* of gold in front to represent the mouth; four *sers* of sugar-candy must represent her tongue; thirty-two *sers* of fruit, her teeth; pearls for the two eyes; and two sticks of lignum aloes for her horns;

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[1] Sacred to Prajápati. It signifies the giving away of the whole of one's property before entering on the life of an ascetic. It is also a kind of fast lasting twelve days and likewise a form of marriage. Monier Williams.

[2] Abul Fazl writes سنگ مسانه for سنگ مثانه.

two plantains stand for her two ears; and barley-flour for her teats, with three sticks of sugar-cane for each leg. A white woollen cloth is thrown over the vessels to represent her hide, and *Dába*,[1] which is a particular kind of grass, is strewn above it. The hoofs are to be of silver, the hump of a *ser* and a quarter of copper: the tail of silk, thirty fingers in length, with skeins[2] of silk eleven fingers long hanging therefrom. Two pieces of red cloth must be thrown over her neck, and seven heaps of grain, each of two *sers* weight, must be made, and a brass vessel placed in front, and another vessel full of honey set near to represent her calf, and a copper[3] vessel filled with sesame-seed. Next, certain incantations are made, and prayers are said, and alms given.

LAMENESS is the result of having kicked a *Bráhman*. The cure is to bestow in charity a horse made of a *tolah* of gold, and to feed one hundred and eight *Bráhmans*.

FEVER arises from killing an innocent *Kshatriya*. The cure: thirteen *Bráhmans* should read incantations in the name of *Mahádeva* one hundred times, and sprinkle water over his image.

CONSUMPTION is the punishment of killing a *Bráhman*. A lotus flower of four *tolahs* weight of gold should be made, and the ceremony of the *Homa*[4] performed and alms given to righteous *Bráhmans*.

TUMOUR is caused by killing a wife without fault on her part. The cure is to spread a black antelope-skin (*Krishnájina*) and place thereon a heap of sesame-seed and a hundred *tolahs* or more of gold, and read incantations and perform the *Homa* oblation. But the acceptance of such an offering is considered blameable.

ASTHMA results from having accepted of this oblation, or of one of the sixteen great offerings, or of an alms at *Kurukshetra*. The cure is to take a buffalo of iron, with hoofs and horns of lead, and to make a sectarial mark of stone on its forehead, garland it with flowers of the *Kaner* (*Nerium odorum*), and place upon it a black blanket and four *tolahs* of gold, and three *man* and a half of pulse (*Másh*, *Phaseolus mungo*). The performer must have a sectarial mark drawn upon his forehead with the finger. The acceptor of this charity is not well regarded.

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[1] The *Kuśa*, *Poa Cynosaroides*; a sacrificial grass. A Bráhman when he reads the Vedas, must, according to Manu (Institutes, II. 75), sit on *kuśa* grass with the points to the east.

[2] The word in the text is incomplete, probably آویزهای is intended.

[3] A variant reads thirty for this word.

[4] This is an oblation to the gods made by casting clarified butter into the fire, accompanied by prayers and invocations.

DYSENTERY is the punishment for robbing a house. The cure is to give in alms a house and its necessary furniture, and seven kinds of grain, thirty-two *sers* of each kind, a handmill, a pestle and mortar, a repository for drinking water, a kitchen-hearth, a broom, a cow, and money according to means.

THE THIRD KIND indicates the class of actions which have caused sterility and names suitable remedies.

A WOMAN whose husband dies before her, was in a former birth of a great family and followed a stranger and on his death consigned herself to the flames. The cure is self-martyrdom by austerities, or suicide by throwing herself into snow.

A WOMAN who does not menstruate, in a former existence while in her courses, roughly drove away the children of her neighbours who had come as usual to play at her house. The cure is to fill an earthen vessel with water from a hundred wells, and to throw therein a betel-nut and one *másha* of gold, anoint it with perfumes and give it to a *Bráhman*. She should also give five, seven, nine or eleven kinds of fruit to children to eat.

STERILITY [1] is occasioned by a man or woman in a former birth having sold the children of other people, or the young of an oviparous animal, or reproached others for barrenness. Cure: the man and woman should enter the water at the meeting of two streams, wrapped in a single sheet, and bathe, and reciting certain incantations, pray to *Mahádeva* and give one *mohur* each to eleven *Bráhmans*, and a cow in alms on certain conditions, and make two images of *Kaśyapa* and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold each, and making an image of Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation (*Vámana*), bestow it in charity. And they should also fill eight winnowing-baskets with seven kinds of grain, and lay upon it a cloth and cocoanuts and various kinds of fruit, with flowers of saffron, and sandal-wood, and give each of these to a virtuous woman, and hear the recital of the *Harivanśa*,[2] which is the conclusion of the *Mahábhárata*.

A WOMAN whose son dies shortly after his birth is thus punished for having in a former birth followed a common practice in Hindustan of exposing any child to die that is born when the moon is in the lunar station called *Múla* (*v.* Scorpionis) or *Áślesha* (*a* 1 and 2 Cancri) or near the end of *Jyeshṭhá* (*a* Scorpionis, Antares), and a birth is especially a matter of reproach in *Múla*. The cure is to make a cow of four *tolahs* of gold, its hoofs of a *tolah* of silver, jewels for her tail, brass bells on her neck, a calf of a *tolah* of gold, its hoofs being of half a *tolah* of silver.

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[1] *Suturwan*, lit. mule-like, and signifies a barren woman, or having but one child.

[2] See, p. 285, Vol. II. The name signifies the family of Kṛishṇa (as identified with Vishṇu). It is supplementary to the great epic on the history and adventures of Kṛishṇa and his family. It contains 16,374 verses in three sections; 1. *Harivanśa*, a description of the creation of the world, and the history of the solar and lunar races; 2. *Vishṇu-parvan*, a biography of *Kṛishṇa*; 3. *Bhavishya-parvan*, an account of the future condition of the world and its corruptions. Monier Williams.

A WOMAN who gives birth to only daughters is thus punished for having contemptuously regarded her husband from pride. The cure is to plate the horns of a white cow with four *tolahs* of gold and burnish its hoofs with four *tolahs* of silver, and make a hump of one *ser* and a quarter of copper and a vessel of two *sers* and a half of brass, and bestow this in charity. One hundred *Bráhmans* should also be fed and she should fashion a figure of the deity of ten *máshas* and two *surkhs*[1] of gold, and reciting incantations, give alms and feed fifty *Bráhmans*.

A WOMAN who has had but one son, is punished for having taken away a calf from its dam. Cure: let her give away a fine milch-cow with ten *tolahs* of gold.

A WOMAN who has given birth to a son that dies and to a daughter that lives, has, in her former existence, taken animal life. Some say that she had killed goats.[2] The cure is the fast of the *Chándráyaṇa*, a cow given in charity and the feeding of twelve *Bráhmans*.

A WOMAN who has continued in a state of pregnancy for sixteen years, has in a former birth been burnt when pregnant; the cure is an alms of *Hiraṇya-garbha*.[3]

BEING A MAID-SERVANT is the punishment for having in a former existence, from ignorance, had criminal intimacy with the husband of another and been burnt for his sake. The cure is, if she be in the house of a *S'údra*, to convey her to the house of a *Vaiśya*, and thus by gradation of caste to a *Bráhman's*, where she should remain in service till her death.

In order to discover whether these punishments are for the deeds of the man or the woman, they should both take the horoscopes of the results of particular actions. If in the horoscope, either the fifth or eleventh (mansion), shows the *ascendens* to be the Sun, Mars, or Saturn or the head or tail of the Dragon (ascending or descending node), and these affect the character of the woman (as based on the three modes of goodness, passion and darkness) which is considered under the influence of Saturn, the punishment is reckoned to be that of the woman, otherwise it appertains to the man. If in both mansions, the results apply to both.[1]

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[1] See p. 354, Vol. II.

[2] One variant "with arrows."

[3] That is, the figure of Brahmá. See p. 163. The text has incorrectly separated these two words and carried 'Garbha' to the next paragraph.

THE FOURTH KIND treats of riches and poverty, and the like. Whoever distributes alms at auspicious times, as during eclipses of the moon and sun, will become rich and bountiful (in his next existence). Whoso at these times, visits any place of pilgrimage, especially *Ilahábás* (Allahabad), and there dies, will possess great wealth, but will be avaricious and of a surly disposition. Whosoever when hungry and with food before him, hears the supplication of a poor man and bestows it all upon him, will be rich and liberal. But whosoever has been deprived of these three opportunities, will be empty-handed and poor in his present life. The cure is to fulfil scrupulously the duties of his state to whichsoever of the five classes he belongs, and also at *Kurukshetra*, in times of eclipse of the moon and sun, to bury in the ground a piece of gold, if it be but one *másha*, as an oblation.

Works have been written on each of these four kinds, detailing the causes, symptoms, and remedies of these actions. I have but adduced a little as an exemplar of much by way of illusration.

Svara[2]

Is the extraordinary science of predicting events by observing the manner in which breath issues from the nostrils. The expiration of breath from the nostrils is in three ways. The first is when it comes principally from the left nostril, and this they ascribe to the influence of the moon. It is then called *Iḍá* (vital spirit), or *Chandra-náḍi.*[1] The second is chiefly from the right nostril, and is called *Pingala* (sun, or fire) and *Súrya-náḍi.* The third is when the breath issues from the nostrils equally, which is styled *Sushumná* and also *Sambhú-náḍi.* This is attributed to the influence of *Mahádeva.*

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[1] Each of the Zodiacal signs has peculiar qualities, and these have been tabulated by Albirúni, from the *Laghujátakam*. The cardinal points of Hindu astrology, as he observes, are the planets, zodiacal signs and the houses. The nature of the aspect of every sign depends upon the nature of the *ascendens* which at a given moment rises above the horizon. The aspect between one sign and the fourth or eleventh following, is a fourth part of an aspect: that between one sign and the fifth or ninth following, is half an aspect; between the sixth and tenth, three quarters, and between a sign and the seventh following, a whole aspect. If a planet stand in signs which in relation to its rising, are the 10th, 11th, 12th, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th signs, its nature changes for the better: if in other signs for the worse. The Houses indicate severally, various parts of the body, future events as to life, property, disposition, the influences of particular planets and Zodiacal signs, &c. Some of the signs are male and others female alternately from Aries to Pisces. The first half of each male sign is unlucky, as under the influence of the sun which produces males, while the second half is lucky under the influence of the moon which produces females. Women are indicated by the seventh House which is under the influence of Saturn, as Abul Fazl rightly observes.

[2] In Hindi *sur*. The word signifies sound or musical tone, or air breathed through the nostrils.

Experts in this science distinguish the excess or even breathings by placing the thumb beneath the nostril. Two and a half *ghaṛis* is the time usually allotted to the two former kinds. The third occupies the time taken to pronounce a long vowel (*guru*), that is, a prolated vowel, as in *má,* thirty-six times. From the first *ṭiṭhi* called *pariwá*[2] to the third *tithi,* the order of breathing is the *Chandra-náḍi,* followed by the *Súrya-náḍi* for the same period, and, so on, alternately, to the end of the month. Some authorities regulate the order by weeks, allotting Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday to the *Súrya-náḍi,* and Monday, Wednesday and Friday to the *Chandra-náḍi*: others, according to the sun's course through the Zodiacal signs, beginning with Aries for the *Súrya-náḍi* breathings, Taurus for *Chandra-náḍi,* and so alternately through the signs to the close of the year. Others again take the retardation of the moon in the Zodiacal signs in the same manner. All are however agreed that irregularity in the prescribed order is productive of temporal misfortune. If the intermission continue for two or three days, quarrels will ensue; if for ten days, a misfortune will befall the wife; if for fifteen days, a severe illness will disturb the happiness of the house. Should it last for a month, the brother will die. If the *Súrya-náḍi* breathings are in excess for one day and night, the man will die after the expiration of a year. If this anomaly continues for two and three days at a time, he will live a year for every day after the close of the year, according to the number of days. But if it continue for one month, he will die in a month. If the excess of the *Chandra-náḍi* be a day and night, the man will fall ill after the expiration of the year, and in the same way, according to the number of days, after the close of the year, his sickness will continue. If the irregularity last for one month continuously, he will be ruined in estate. If the excess of *Sushumná* continues for ten days, the man will die at the entry of the sun into Aries. If *Chandra-náḍi* last this period, perturbation of mind and sickness will ensue. If *Chandra-náḍi* continues in operation throughout sixteen days after the entry of the Sun into Aries, symptoms of sickness will supervene. When the Sun is in Scorpio, if *Chandra-náḍi* continues in operation for two or five days, the man will die in eighteen years, but if the Sun be in Virgo, in fifteen years. All are agreed that if at sun-rise, either *Súrya-náḍi* or *Chandra-náḍi* be operative, and the reverse of either at its setting, good fortune will result, otherwise a calamity will ensue, and if the *Chandra-náḍi* breathing be reversed in four *gharis*, it is a sign of the occurrence of fortunate events.

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[1] Abul Fazl transliterates *Chandr-náṛi* and *Sarúj-náṛi,* as in Hindi. *Náṛi,* or properly, *Náḍi,* signifies in Sanskrit any tubular organ of the body, vein, &c.

[2] A lunar day, or the thirtieth part of a whole lunation, the first of which is called *pariwá.* See Vol. II, p. 17.

According to the varied conditions of hours, days, Zodiacal signs, planetary movements, and manner of breathing in the three ways, divers events attended with joy or sorrow and other circumstances may be predicted. The *Súrya-náḍi* and *Chandra-náḍi* are each five-fold, and each division is named after one of the five elements. In two *gharis* and a half, twenty *pals* are allotted to air; thirty *pals* to fire; forty *pals* to water; fifty *pals* to earth; and ten to ether.[1] Some however give five *pals* to ether, ten to air, fifteen to fire, twenty to water, and twenty-five to earth, which are altogether equal to a *ghaṛi* and a quarter. When this revolution is completed, the recurring series begins with earth, followed by water, fire, air and ether. Some suppose one *ghaṛi* to be allotted severally to the elements of earth, water, fire, air and ether, and each element is distinguished by the manner of the breathing. If it rise upwards, it appertains to the element of fire; if laterally and not beyond the measure of four fingers' breadth, to that of air; if it descend, to that of water, its motion being sensible at a distance of twelve fingers. If the impulse be on a level with the nostril, neither upwards nor downwards, nor high nor low, and extending to a distance of eight fingers, it belongs to ether.

In what relates to the particular conditions affecting human actions, this science also furnishes information. Repose betokens the elemental influence of earth; love of sensual pleasures and interior coldness signifies that of water; anger and the conditions that dispose the good inclinations of men to evil are the result of the fiery influence; and that of ether produces states of divine contemplation, and the emptying of the interior soul of extraneous affections.

They also erect a gnomon on a level surface of ground, and take the extent of its shadow according to determinate finger-measures, counting the length of one finger for Sunday, two for Monday, and so on, up to seven fingers for Saturday. To this they add twelve more and divide the whole into five parts. If no digit-index is left, it is ascribed to ether; if one, to air; if two, to fire; if three, to water; and if four, to earth.

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[1] Two and a half *gharis* = 60 minutes, and a *pal* is equal to 24 seconds.

Another practice is to insert the two thumbs in the orifices of the ears, and to close the mouth with the little and fourth fingers of each hand, while the middle fingers press each nostril, and the corners of the eyes are drawn down by the fore-fingers, and the glance is directed between the brows. A spherule then becomes visible. If it have a quadrangular shape, and as if liquescent, it appertains to the element of earth; if it be the shape of a half-moon, and incline to white and appear hard and cold, it is of water; if it be round, bright, hard and black, and variously spotted, it is thought to belong to the element of air; if triangular and luminous, to that of fire, and if no spherule be visible, it is the effect of ether.

Imparting instruction, donations, visiting religious teachers and guides, repairing to the presence of idols, entering a city or house, and other particulars of movement and change of place, and (according to one opinion), undertaking a journey into a foreign country (and in accordance with general custom), buying and selling, the antidotes to various poisons, the repelling of ominous stellar influences, conditions of friendship, culling medicinal plants and herbs in the woods, operations in alchemy, works relating to *Yoga* and other duties of the same gracious character, are believed to be most salutary during the *Chandra-náḍi* period; while entering the presence of kings, and undertaking war are best during the *Súrya-náḍi.* In the *Chandra-náḍi* times, in battle, the enemy should be engaged from the left; during the *Súrya-náḍi,* from the right. Bodily safety is generally ascribed as dependent on the particular side of the breathing. The conquest of a province and (according to one opinion) travelling in one's own country, eating, sexual intercourse, bathing, imprisonment, withdrawing from any work, obstructing another's affections, and the like inauspicious actions, are suitable to the *Súrya-náḍi.* In the *Sushumná* period, no work is undertaken.

All works of an auspicious nature are undertaken under the influence of the elements of water and earth, while those that are to be durable are chosen with reference to the elements of fire and air. No good work is ascribable to ether. When proceeding to any place, that foot is first lifted on whichever side the breathing is greatest, and if a person meets a superior to whom reverence is due, or from whom he expects to receive a favour, he takes care in his movements to keep that personage on the side on which he himself breathes;[1] but an evil-disposed person, or a creditor, and the like, should be kept on the non-respiratory side. They also say that upper and forward situations are dominated by *Chandra-nádi*, and those inferior and behind, by *Súrya-nádi*, and in both cases the parties must continue in their several positions till the action is concluded.

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[1] The و after بر گیرد in this sentence is an error and should be omitted.

Answers to inquirers.

Should any one inquire whether a child about to be born, will be a boy or a girl, the person questioned must ascertain from which of his own nostrils the breathing is greater. If the questioner be on that side, he will gladden him with the news of a son; if not, he will reply that it will be a girl. If he breathes equally through both nostrils, there will be twins. If it should so happen that during the inquiry, he should breathe through one nostril more than another, he will predict the extinction of that life. Another opinion is that if the questioner stand on the *Chandra-nádi* side, it will be a girl; if on the *Súrya-nádi*, a boy, and if the breathing be of the kind *Sushumná*, an hermaphrodite. Some say that the times referrible to the elements of earth and water, indicate a boy, and those of fire and air, a girl, and ether implies death. If the inquiries relate to matters concerning study, tuition, marriage, menial service or its employment, attendance on the great, and buying and selling, the element of water prognosticates speedy success; that of earth, more tardy; of air, the success will be small; of fire, gain followed by loss. Ether shows no benefit. If the inquiry be regarding rain, the elements of earth and water indicate that rain will fall, but in the latter there is greater evidence of a plentiful supply to the crops. The element of air predicts clouds without rain; and fire, gentle showers. Regarding questions as to crops, water and earth show that they will yield the revenue, and in the latter case a full harvest; air indicates a moderate crop, and fire that it will be burnt up. No evidence of result is shown by ether. Should the inquiry be relative to sickness, and if the period be *Chandra-nádi*, and the questioner be on the *Súrya-nádi* side, or *vice versa*, the sick person will die, but if he stand on the *Chandra-nádi* side, the patient will quickly recover. Should the question be made on the *Súrya-nádi* side, the illness will be protracted, but recovery will follow. Others look to the manner of the breathing. If the question be put during an inspiration which is called living breath, it is a sign of life; but if during an expiration, which is styled lifeless breath, the patient will die; in all inquiries this rule is regarded. A man bitten by a snake or under demoniacal possession, or mauled by a hyæna[1] is accounted among sick persons.

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[1] That is, a mad hyæna, which only in that state is supposed to attack a man.

Should the question be regarding invasion by a foreign force: if the period be *Chandra-náḍi*, and the questioner stand on that side, it indicates an affirmative; if he stand on the *Súrya-náḍi* side, a negative. Others say that if the times appertain to the elements of earth and water, no invasion will occur, but those of fire and air denote an advance. Ether gives no response. If the inquiries be concerning war and peace, *Chandra-náḍi* implies the latter, and *Súrya-náḍi* the former. Some maintain that the earth-periods predict a severe engagement and that many will be wounded, while fire, air and ether point to losses on both sides. Water signifies a peace. If the question relate to the issue between the querist and his enemy, earth implies war, and that many will fall; fire predicts victory to the questioner; air defeat, and ether his death in the engagement; water indicates a coming peace. If information be sought regarding the result of hostilities between defenders of a country and foreign troops, *Chandra-náḍi* denotes victory to the former, and *Súrya-náḍi* to the latter. Some are of opinion that if the questioner stand on the left, and the period be *Chandra-náḍi*, if the letters of the name of the questioner be even, he will be successful: if he stand on the right, and it be *Súrya-náḍi*, and the number of the letters be odd, victory will rest with the latter. If both names have an equal number of letters, and the questioner be on the side of the breathing nostril, the former will have the advantage; if on the side of the non-breathing nostril, the latter.

If information is asked, regarding a person absent, the water-periods indicate his speedy arrival; earth, that he is settled where he is; air, that he has emigrated to another country, and fire implies his death. Ether reveals nothing. If the thoughts of the questioner refer to any subject of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, earth-periods imply the vegetable; water and air, the animal, and fire, the inorganic and mineral; the ether-periods point to the absence of these thoughts from the mind of the questioner.

Such is this strange account, of which let the foregoing suffice:—

ÁGAMA

is a doctrinal treatise on incantations relative to things that will produce advantage or repel hurt, increase knowledge and remedy diseases, augment wealth, destroy enemies, cement friendship, secure conquest and advance good government, and the like.

S'AKUNA

or augury,[1] is the extraordinary art of predicting events from the motions of birds. Their song, their silence, their movements and repose, and indications of pleasure and sadness, and similar signs, discover the present and the future. There are many in this country who are skilled in this important science. One day, in a royal preserve, two *maïnás*[1] sat perched side by side chirping low together. His Majesty deigned to inquire the subject of their converse from an expert in this divination, who replied that were he to reveal their confidence to his Majesty, he would not be believed. The male desired to pair while the female excused herself. It was not improbable that if the nest were searched stains of blood would be found. On examination being made, his words were found to be true. The sooth-sayers of Hindustan foretell future events chiefly by means of five methods, the stars, breathing from the nostrils, augury, incantations, and *kevala*[2], which is divination by the throwing of dice, and it comprises various other kinds of prognostication.

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[1] The word signifies a bird in general, and has no precise application to any particular kind, though it is loosely rendered, kite, vulture, and sometimes a hen-sparrow.

SÁMUDRIKA

or Palmistry, predicts events from observation of the character of the members of the body and their movements, and from lines and marks, and the results are generally accurate.

GÁRUDA[3]

is a science treating of snakes, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, the effects of whose injuries it averts. By reciting incantations and repeating the genealogical descent (of the person affected) and praising his ancestry, the animal is made to appear. An extraordinary circumstance is the following:—They take an old snake of a particular kind, and after certain incantations they make it bite a Bráhman. When the poison works, the man becomes senseless, in which state he answers any questions put to him, and these prove correct. The Hindu sages believe that during the Kali cycle, nothing can be more true than these revelations of the unknown, and several works containing these answers are still extant.

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[1] *Acridotheres tristis.* The word is *sár* in the Persian, a starling. The *Sturnus vulgaris*, or common starling, is the *teliyá mainá.*

[2] This word in the Pátañjala system signifies the isolation of the soul from the bondage of all worldly ties (*Kaivalya*). With the Jainas, *Kevala* signifies the pure unalloyed knowledge such as ascetics seek by penance The definition of Abul Fazl I can nowhere discover.

[3] This is the name of the 17th Puráṇa relating to the birth of Gáruda, the mythical bird or vulture, half-man, half-bird, on which Vishṇu rides. He is the king of birds, descended from Kaśyapa and Vinatá, a daughter of Daksha, and a great enemy of serpents; a hatred inherited from his mother, who had quarrelled with her co-wife Kadru, the mother of serpents. He is represented as having the head, wings, and talons of an eagle, and the body and limbs of a man, and has many names and epithets. According to the Mahábhárata, his parents gave him liberty to devour wicked men, but he was recommended not to touch a Bráhman. Curiosity, or hunger, however, once prevailed, and he is said to have swallowed a Bráhman and his wife together; but his throat was so burnt in the act that he was glad to disgorge them. It is probably this circumstance which gave rise to the practice mentioned by Abul Fazl.

INDRA-JÁLA

is the art of sorcery, of magical spells, and sleight of hand. The wonders performed by these means are beyond the power of expression.

RASA-VIDYÁ

or Alchemy, is the science of the fusing of mercury (*rasa*), gold, silver, copper, and the like. It is by this art that the elixir, or philosopher's stone, is produced.

RATNA-PARÍKSHÁ

is the art of testing jewels and precious stones of various kinds, and treats of their production, properties, value, and kindred subjects.

KÁMA-ŚÁSTRA

treats of the generation of the human race.

SÁHITYA

or rhetorical composition, is a science comprising various kinds of knowledge. It sets forth the shades of signification in words, appropriateness of expression, and solecisms of language. They hold the Supreme Being to be its author. The meaning underlying a word is said to be four-fold:—(1). *S'akti* (*power* of a word), is denotation and its conventional relation to the thing designated. (2). *Lakshaná* (indication),[1] communicates the applied meaning desired. (3). *Gauṇa*, (qualitative), illustrates figuratively the thing compared. (4). *Vyanjañá* (suggestion), is to say one thing and mean another which has no apparent application. As, for example, a woman sent her maid-servant with a message to call her husband who, when she entered his private apartment, used criminal familiarity with her and sent an excuse by her for his not returning. When she took back the message, from the pallor of her face and the obliteration of her marks of sandal-wood and collyrium, and of the colour (from her lips), the wife understood what had really occurred. Though much pained, she showed no signs of it in her speech, but said,—'You are speaking an untruth; you never went to fetch him, but you went to the banks of the stream and bathed, for the collyrium is no longer round your eyes nor the sandal-wood unguent on your person." By this delicate irony she discovered her knowledge of what had taken place, and her own distress of mind.[1]

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[1] This term is thus explained in the *Sáhitya Darpaṇa*, by Viśvanátha Kavirája, to which work Abul Fazl is apparently indebted for his information. 'The power by which in such an expression as "the impetuous Kalinga," a word such as "Kalinga," incompatible with the epithet 'impetuous,' if taken in its own sense of a particular country on the Coromandel coast, causes one to think not of the country, but the men connected therewith .... this power communicated to it, other than that which belongs to it naturally, is called Indication. Of this element in the drama there are 6 kinds. The treatise classes a word according to the three-fold accident of its function, as Expressive, Indicative and Suggestive. The *expressed* meaning is termed *Váchya*, conveyed to the understanding by the word's denotation (*abhidha*, literally, power or sense of a word) as a 'cow,' or 'horse;' the *meaning indicated* is held to be conveyed by the word's indication, *lakshaná*, as above explained: the *meaning suggested* (*vyangya*), is conveyed by the word's Suggestion (*vyañjaná*). "Indication" has a further eight-fold subdivision, into pure (*suddha*), and qualitative (*gauṇa*), which latter Abul Fazl classes separately, though acknowledging, later on, its inclusion by some authors under the second head. *v.* p. 16 and ff. of Pramadà Dása Mitra's translation of the above treatise.

Some consider the figurative sense (*gauṇa*), to belong to the second head, and they describe with peculiar force and elaborate detail all that makes for literary ornament and grace of expression. It is held to be the highest form of dramatic poetry, of rhetorical art, and metrical composition.[2] This science also comprises the *Navarasa*,[3] or the nine sentiments, which inspire universal interest. The first is *S'ṛingára-rasa* (the erotic passion), that is, the mutual affection of men and women, and all that relates to their union and separation. Secondly, *Hásya-rasa*, mirth of various kinds. This is produced, they say, by variations in person, speech, action and dress. It is three-fold:—1. *Smita*, (smile), a slight alteration in the cheek, eye and lip. (2). *Vihasita* (gentle laugh), in which the mouth is a little open. (3). *Apahasita*, laughter accompanied by sound of the voice.[4]

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[1] This identical example occurs in the *Sáhitya Darpaṇa.*

[2] This refers to Chapters IV and V. on what is called "Suggestive poetry," which is regarded as its chief beauty. The Sanskrit term for this figurative style is *Dhvani*, and it is said by the author of the work of this name, "Like a beautiful woman with a single member ornamented, the sentence of a good poet shines with 'Suggestion' displayed by a single word."—Sahitya Darpaṇa, p. 150.

[3] *Nauras* in Hindi, as Abul Fazl transliterates. He also gives the following Hindi transliterations differing from the Sanskrit forms, *Singár-rasa*, *Hási-rasa.* For *Bíbhatsa*, he writes *bibhichha*. *Rasa* signifies 'flavour', from the verb *ras*, to taste or relish, and implies the emotions which give a zest to the representations of character. *S'ṛingara* is from *S'ṛinga*, a horn, and means the budding of love. S. D., p. 111.

[4] A fourth division is mentioned in the S. D., *viz.*, *Atihasita*, convulsion of laughter, where the limbs lose all control.

Thirdly, *Karuṇa-rasa*, pity or regret, as at the loss of a friend or property. Fourthly, *Raudra*, anger. Fifthly, *Víra* (heroism), the admiration produced by acts of munificence, clemency and valour. Sixthly *Bhayánaka*, terror. Seventhly, *Bíbhatsa*, aversion. Eighthly, *Adbhuta*, wonder, as at the sight of any (extraordinary) object. Ninthly, *Sánta* (quietism), the tranquillity that comes of knowledge and the indifference which regards friend and foe as alike. Of these they make various sub-divisions and illustrate them by delightful examples.[1]

The relations between the sexes are also considered in this branch of knowledge, and the passion of love amply discussed. In Irán and Ṭúrán, this affection chiefly subsists between men; in Hindustan and Ḥijáz, between men and women. Devotion to the female sex is the characteristic of the Arab, while the native of India includes both sexes alike in his regard.

The Hindus term a heroine (in dramatic poetry), *náyika*, and three kinds are named. (1). *Svíyá*, (own wife), a virtuous woman devoted to her husband: from modesty she looks neither to the right hand nor to the left, but only from the corner of her eyes so that her glance is rarely seen: her laugh does not pass beyond her lips and her teeth are not disclosed: she speaks seldom and never loudly: she rarely loses her temper, and if she be provoked to anger, it is restrained within her heart and does not appear in her eyes or manner. (2). *Parakíyá*, (belonging to another), is one who clandestinely carries on an intrigue with other than her husband. If a married woman she is called *Prauḍha*; a maiden, *Kanyaká*. Other classifications of this kind are carried to an indefinite extent.[2] *Sámányá* (courtesan), is the property of none, and is concerned only in making money.

Svíyá is classed under three heads:—(1). *Mugdhá*, (artless), one who from her childish age and inexperience goes [3] out-of-doors, and in whom youth begins to grow headstrong, and who may be to some extent conscious of her beauty or otherwise, and shrinks from the embraces of her husband. When she retires to sleep, she regards him furtively and pretends to slumber lest he should enter into conversation but from fear of him sleeps not. The age of such a one ranges from eight to twelve and at times to thirteen. (2). *Madhyá* (middling or adolescent) is one in whom modesty and love for her husband are combined in an equal degree. She may speak in anger but never thus to her husband. Her age does not exceed .thirty-two. (3). *Pragalbhá* (bold or mature) makes her love and address pleasing to her husband and captivates him by her experienced arts. The age of this kind extends to fifty-two years.

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[1] A tenth is sometimes added, *vátsalya*, paternal fondness; but according to others there are only eight *rasas*, the last two being omitted. These affections are supposed to lend to dramatic composition its relish and interest, and examples are culled from works that illustrate their force and beauty, as for instance, Bhava-bhúti's drama of the *Víra-charita* exemplifies the *rasa* of heroism, the Mahábhárata that of quietism or tranquillity, &c. These various sentiments are discussed and evidenced by instances from dramatic poetry, in the Sáhitya-darpaṇa.

[2] The Sáhitya Darpaṇa gives 384 kinds, and alludes to other divisions too numerous to mention.

[3] This appears to be an error. The Sáhitya Darpaṇa says that she 'never goes out of the inner apartments, no longer laughs unconstrainedly, but practises every moment some bashful restraint. Little she speaks," &c. Verses, taken from the marriage of *Prabhávati* by the author.

The last two are further subdivided into three classes. (1). *Dhírá* (constant). If her husband pay attention to another woman, though fired by jealousy, she becomes more assiduous in her devotion and service and by this means makes him ashamed of his conduct. (2). *Adhírá* (capricious). Such a one takes no notice of his infidelity and holds her peace, but she will address him cheerfully so as to cover him with confusion and say :— " It is strange that while you are wakeful, my eyes glance love and while you are drunk with wine, my heart is in agitation." (3). *Dhírá Adhírá*, is one who unites both these dispositions and sighs to show that she understands. Some add a conversation after the manner above indicated.[1]

Svíyá is also of two kinds. (1). *Jyeshṭhá* (pre-eminent, eldest), is one who is preferred by her husband above all women. (2). *Kanisṭhá* (inferior, youngest) is one for whom her husband's affection is less strong.

Parakíyá is of five kinds. (1). *Guptá* (guarded) covers her conduct, and skilfully conceals her past indiscretions and her future designs, feigning plausible excuses. If for instance she has been scratched by her lover's nail, she will say " I cannot sleep in this room :—a cat chases a mouse, and in the scramble gives me this scratch." (2). *Vidagdhá* (adroit or artful). By her persuasive speech she acquires influence and her winning manners secure it. (3). *Lakshitá* (notorious), shows her affection openly and without fear. (4). *Kulaṭá* (unchaste), has many lovers and retains the affections of each without pecuniary considerations. (5). *Anuśayáná* (regretting), is one who from timidity does not keep her assignation and is fearful lest her lover come and not find her.

They also class women under eight heads :—(1). *Proshita-bhartṛiká* is one *whose husband is abroad*, and she is distressed at his absence from her, or he is on the point of setting out and she is disquieted by her fears.

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[1] This sentence is, I think, connected with the one preceding, as I have rendered, and should not begin a new paragraph as in the text.

Other opinions subdivide this, making nine classes. (2). *Khaṇḍitá* is one who is disconsolate at being *betrayed* by her husband or lover. (3). *Kalahántaritá* is one *who has quarrelled* with her lover and is penitent and wishes to appease him. (4). *Vipra-labdhá* goes to an assignation but is *disappointed* at not finding her lover. (5). *Utká*[1] is *disconsolate* at her lover's not coming, and seeks the cause thereof. (6). *Vásaka-sajjá* is joyful at the coming of her lover, and is *dressed in her ornaments* to receive him. (7). *Svádhína-patiká*, (independent—having her own way), is a woman whose lover is obedient to her wishes. (8). *Abhisáriká*, is one who invites her lover, or herself *goes to* him.

Another classification of women is of three kinds:—(1). *Uttamá* (best), is one who is in love with her husband though he show her no affection. (2). *Adhamá* (worst), opposite of the above. (3). *Madhyamá* (intermediate), is sometimes united in harmony and affection with her husband and at times is unfriendly and estranged.

A further division is four-fold:—(1). *Padminí*, is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned; her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste and obedient to her husband. (2). *Chitriṇí*, is somewhat inferior to the former; is neither stout nor thin, has a slender waist and a full bust. (3). *S'ankhiní*, is fat and short, constantly quarrelling with her husband and has a violent temper. (4). *Hastiní*, is repulsive in appearance and manners.

All these are treated at length, with the particular classes of men that are suited to each. *Mána* signifies indignation in a woman at misconduct on the part of her husband. It is of four kinds:—(1). *Laghu*, (trifling), when she gives herself airs at the least caress or endearment of her husband or lover. (2). *Madhya* (middling), is when she is estranged by some slight provocation. (3). *Guru* (weighty), when after much fond[2] entreaty on his part, she lays aside her wayward humour. (4). *Rasábhasa* (simulated sentiment), is when she refuses reconciliation.

The lover or hero (in a drama) is called *Náyaka*. These also are named suitably to the heroines, but are restricted to three:—(1). *Pati* (lord or husband), chooses in wedlock only a Hindu woman. (2). *Upa-pati*,[3] (μοιχός). (3). *Vaishayika*, a sensualist.

Each of these is subdivided into four kinds:—(1). *Anukúla*, (faithful), is attached to one woman only. (2). *Dakshiṇa* (impartial), pays his addresses to many, and adroitly secures the favours of all. (3). *Dhṛishta*, (cool or impudent), is one whom the heroine in her indignation repels while he caresses and flatters her the more. (4). *Saṭha*, (perfidious), by cunning and simulating affection wins her heart (though attached to another.)[1]

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[1] *Utkaṇṭhitá* is the more correct term in the heroic drama for a woman who longs after her absent lover or husband.

[2] I read محبت for محنت.

[3] Abul Fazl transliterates *Upati*, and for *Dhṛishṭa*, *Dhishta*.

In the treatment of love-episodes, the greatest art is shown in the situations of the hero and heroine and the dramas abound with the most felicitous passages.

Sakhi is the term for the usual female confidante on whose faithful service the heroine relies. Her advice and devotion are of the greatest comfort. She jests and amuses her mistress and never fails her in the time of need. She arranges her ornaments and assists in tiring her. By her persuasive representations she removes the misunderstandings between husband and wife and effects a reconciliation. She is ever ready with her counsel and good offices, and is entrusted with messages. Such a female is called *dúti;* if a man, *dúta.* She is conversant with all the mysteries of union and separation and is an expert in matters connected with love and rivalry.

In this art the manners and bearing of the hero and the heroine[2] are set-forth with much variety of exposition, and illustrated by delightful examples. The works on this subject should be consulted by those who are interested in its study.

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[1] These four divisions are subdivided into sixteen. The cool or impudent lover is thus amusingly exemplified in the Sáhitya Darpaṇa 'Perceiving her countenance crimson with passion, I went near intending to kiss her. She spurned me with her foot; but having humbly caught hold of it, I burst out laughing. O my friend, the anger of the fair-browed one, shedding tears, from her then being unable to do anything, prolongs, whenever thought of, the amusement of my mind," p. 59.

[2] Their characteristics are described with considerable detail and much unconscious humour in the *Sáhitiyá-darpaṇa*, p. 56 and ff. Mitra's translation.

SANGÍTA

is the art of singing, accompanied by music and dancing. The subject is treated in seven chapters (*adhyáyas*).

THE FIRST is *Svarádhyáya*, on musical tone which is of two kinds. (1). *Anáhata*, sound produced without cause (*i. e.*, otherwise than by percussion). This is considered to be one and eternal. If a man close both orifices of his ears with his fingers, he will be conscious of a resonance, and this is signified by the above term. They believe this to proceed from *Brahmá*, and when the consciousness of it becomes habitual and it is heard without mediate aid, final liberation (*mukti*) is then attained. (2). *A'hata*, sound produced by a cause, which, like speech, is accounted a quality of air and is produced by percussion and protrusion. They say that in each of the three locations of the abdomen, the throat, and the head, twenty-two fibres or chords have been divinely created. The primary movement of air is from the navel, and the volume of sound produced depends upon the strength or softness of the initial force exerted.[1]

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[1] The doctrine of the vital airs has already preceded in the account of the schools of Hindu philosophy. The abdomen is supposed to be the seat of the fire which keeps up the heat of the body, and this fire is surrounded and retained in place by the airs called *Samána*. In the Pátañjala system, by the subdual of this air, the perfected Yogin appears illumined by the radiance of the flame which then escapes from the body. The same internal heat plays an important part in the production of the voice. According to Rájah Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, in his pamphlet, "The Twenty-two Musical S'rutis of the Hindus," when the animal soul wishes to speak, the mind acts on the abdominal fire which mixes with the vital air pervading the ligament known as *Brahma Granthi*, below the navel. This vital air thus expands, causing in the navel the *ati súkshma náda*, or the very minute sound; in the chest, the *súkshma* or the minute; in the throat, the *pushta*, or the developed; in the head, the *apushta*, or suppressed; and in the mouth, the *kritrima*, or artificial. Connected with or based upon these chords, are the twenty-two *śrutis*, or particles of sound sensible to the ear, which are essential to the formation of the Hindu *Saptaka*, or heptachord.

The voice is distinguished according to its *Grámasthána* or the appropriate organs concerned in its modulation, as *mandra*, *madhya*, and *tára*. The first is supposed to proceed from the chest, the second from the throat, and the third, or *tára*, from the head, varying in quality and pitch according to its place of origin: the throat-voice vibrating twice as rapidly as the chest-voice, and so on. In each of these places there are twenty-two *śrutis*, and as the compass of the voice is limited to within three octaves, the *śrutis* of the lowest are said to belong to the *mandra-sthána*, or *mandra* octave, those of the middle to the *madhya*, and those of the highest to the *tára*. Thus, the Hindu *Saptaka*, is divided into 22 intervals, or *S'rutis* mathematically equal

They consider that the fifth, sixth, eighteenth and nineteenth chords

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or unequal accordingly as the scales are harmonical or of equal temperament; in the former case, the series rises by geometrical progression, four *śrutis* being allotted to the major tones, three to the minor, and two to the semi-tones, indicating that a semi-tone is half a major tone, and the minor three quarters of the major tone, or one and a half times the semi-tone. Its serial progression obviously resembles to a great extent the enharmonic genus of the Greeks. That the *śrutis* are capable of exact musical expression, has been denied by Mr. C. D. Clarke in his well-known article in the *Calcutta Review* (No. CXVI. of 1874) in which he complains of the want of a precise definition of the term and of the vibration number of the intervals. He shows that the intervals between C and D and A and B, measured by the ratio of their vibration number, are harmonically the same, *viz.*, as 1 to $\frac{9}{8}$, while the interval between G and A is a little less, *viz.*, 1 to $\frac{10}{9}$; and taking the tone from C to D as 4 *śrutis*, from G to A as 3, and A to B as 2, he asks,—What is a *Śruti?*—His error lies in starting with the *sa* as C instead of as D, because by taking the former as the tonic of the *Sharja gráma*. he turns a minor into a major interval and a semi-tone into a minor, it being of importance to remember that the notes of the Hindu *Sharja* scale when being termed of four or other number of *śrutis*, represent the intervals from their immediate *lower* notes and not the higher. The neglect of this condition has been the capital source of all the mistakes made in regard to the scales and the modes. Therefore the interval between G and A which he rightly says is a little less than between C and D, according to Western computation, is not so in the Sanskrit *Sharja* scale, but only in the *Madhyama* which latter tallies almost exactly with the English scale, assuming of course that D and not C is the note corresponding to *sa*. The *Madhyáma-gráma* differs from the *Sharja* in the note *pa* only which is one *śruti* lower in the former than in the latter. *Gandhára-gráma* has *ga* and *ni* of four *śrutis*, *ma*, *pa*, *dha*, *sa*, three *śrutis* and *ṛi* of two. This was rarely or never employed. Sir S. M. Tagore maintains that the perfect modulation of these delicate intervals is neither impracticable nor difficult, and is constantly performed by practised singers. The point can be decided, not by the mathematician, but by a fine ear trained to this modulation. A nomenclature of Hindu technical terms, in the language of Western Music, is still a desideratum. It is strange that, though the *śrutis* form the basis of Hindu Music, Abul Fazl does not mention the term nor allude to them except by implication as vocal chords in the human frame.

The *Śrutis* are personified as Nymphs, and have each their name, though varying in different writers. The 21 *múrchhanás*, which also play an important part in Hindu Music, are omitted by Abul Fazl. They have been confounded with the *śrutis* even by native musicians and were not correctly understood by Sir W. Jones. Mr. Patterson's erroneous view of them is their use to the *learner*, teaching him to rise and descend by tones and semi-tones and greater intervals. Captain Day ("Music of Southern India") states at p. 23, that it is doubtful what these *múrchhanás* signified, and at p. 39, he defines them incorrectly. According to the *Sangíta Ratnakára*, (Ed. Vedantavágíśa and Sáradá Prasáda Ghósha, p. 61) the seven different orders in the succession of intervals in each of are mute and the remaining eighteen are classed under the seven primary notes in the following order:—

(1). *Shadja*,[1] is taken from the note of the peacock (and extends to the fourth chord). (2). *Ṛishabha*, is taken from the note of the *Papíha* (Coccystes Melanoleucos), and beginning after the fourth chord (omitting the fifth and sixth), extends from the seventh to the tenth. (3). *Gándhára*, is from the bleating of a he-goat and its compass extends from the ninth to the thirteenth. (4). *Madhyama*, resembles the cry of the Coolen Crane[2] (*Ardea Sibirica*), and its compass is from the thirteenth to the sixteenth. (5). *Pañchama*, is taken from the note of the *Ko'il* (*Cuculus Indicus*), and is attuned on the seventeenth. (6). *Dhaivata*, is like the croak of the frog, and its compass extends from the twentieth[3] to the

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the three scales or *grámas*, caused by taking each note *seriatim* as the fundamental, in the ascending and descending series, were known as *múrchhanás*. Seven necessarily are formed in each scale and they are 21 in all. The first *múrchhaná* of the Sharja scale begins from *sa* of the middle heptachord the second from *ni*, and so on. The first of the *madhyama* scale begins from *ma*, (the initial indicative of the name, and the characteristic note) the second from *ga*, &c. The first of the *Gándhára* begins similarly from *ga*, the second from *ṛi* and so on. They are therefore simply such changes of scale as would be analogous to our diatonic series taken successively first from C, then D, E, F, &c. This is called *S'uddha*, simple or unmixed, and omitting the *Gándhára* scale as little or never used, there are 7 *múrchhanás* in each of the two lower scales or 14 in both. By the introduction of a modification or *Vikṛiti-svara* in the *ni*, the *ga*, and both *ni* and *ga* simultaneously, called respectively *kákalí*, *santára* and *santára kákalí*, three different sets or modifications of scale were furnished, each capable, like the simple form, of 14 expressions, making 56 *múrchhanás* in all. These *Múrchhanás* and not the *rágas* may be said to correspond to the Greek modes of the Æolian, Lydian, Ionic, Doric or Phrygian, so named according to the character of the sentiments they inspired. The effect of the different *múrchhanás* when played on the *sitára*, is very striking.

[1] Pronounced *Sharja*. It means literally six-born; *i. e.*, the fundamental from which the other six notes arise.

[2] According to the *Sangíta Darpaṇa* the note is that of the *Krauñcha*, or heron (*Ardea Jaculator*).

[3] The text has eight, which must be an error of هشتم for بستم. The seven notes of the scale are represented by the seven initial syllables of their names, after the manner of Guido's notation, thus: Sa, ṛi, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, corresponding to our,—

D. E. F. G. A. B. C.

and the *S'rutis* are allotted to the several notes, as follows: to *Sa*, *ma* and *pa*, four; to *ṛi* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *ni*, two. The authority for Abul Fazl's division of the vocal chords among the notes of the octave I have not been able to trace. It appears to be taken from the idea of the division of the 22 strings. After dividing the heptachord into 22 parts, the ancients fixed the 7 notes in different places twenty-second. (7). *Nisháda* is taken from the sound of the elephant[1] and its compass is from the twenty-second to the third of the next series (of twenty-two). Each heptachord occurs successively in each series, and in the third, *Nisháda*, cannot, of course, go beyond the twenty-second chord.

A system of intervals in which the whole seven notes of the gamut are employed, is termed *Sampúrṇa*. If there be only six, the fundamental must be one of them, and it is styled *Sháḍava ;* if five, *Auḍava*, the fundamental being of necessity one of them. None has fewer than these, but the *tána* which is a separate intonation may consist of two.[2]

THE SECOND is *Rága-vivekádhyáya*, on divers musical compositions and their variations.[3]

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to construct the scales. Assuming the sound of the 4th string for *sa*, those of the 7th, 9th, 13th, 17th, 20th and 22nd were assigned to the remaining 6 notes and thus their principal or *Sharja-gráma* scale was formed.

[1] The *Sangíta Darpaṇa* describes the sound as that made by the elephant when goaded by its *mahout*. These *notes* of birds and animals as they are termed, really signify the *compass* of their several calls and thus represent the number of *śrutis* of the scale-notes of which they become the equivalents.

[2] By the term *naghma* which I have rendered system of intervals, a *múrchhaná* must be meant. Each *múrchhaná* is said to be *sampúrṇa*, or complete, when all seven notes are employed, and *asampúrṇa* when defective. When wanting one it is called Sháḍava (षाड़व) and wanting two Auḍava (औडव). In the *múrchhanás* of *Sharja*, *sa*, *ṛi*, *pa*, *ni*, and in those of *Madhyama*, *sa*, *ri*, *ga*, used to be omitted one at a time, to make *Sháḍaví Múrchhanás* which were 49 in number, *viz.*, 28 of Sharja and 21 of Madhyama. The *Auḍari múrchhanás* of *Sharja* were formed by omitting *sa*, *pa*, or *ṛi*, *pa*, or *ga*, *ni*, and were therefore 21. The omission of *ṛi*, and *dha*, at one time, and at another of *ga* and *ni*, formed the twelve *Auḍaví múrchhanás* of Madhyama. The total number of these latter is therefore 35 in the two *grámas* which with the 49 *sháḍavís* make 84 *asampúrṇa múrchhanás* which were called *tánas* by some authors. The various combinations of the different notes in a *múrchhaná*, are called *tánas*, each, from seven notes to one; having a separate name. The aggregate combinations of all these by a process of simple arithmetic show a total of 13,699.

[3] So I render "maḳám" and "shubah" by which Abul Fazl signifies *rágas* and *rágiṇís*. Willard and Carey dispute the usual translation of *rága* by *mode*, and Sir S. M. Tagore confirms their dissent by his own; he says there is no corresponding term in English for *rága*. Carey calls *rága* a tune, which Willard disallows, but himself gives nothing better. He shows that various *rágas* and *rágiṇís* may be played on one adjustment of frets on the *sitára*, while the frets have to be shifted for others. These fret-adjustments permit only those tones to be sounded which are proper for the mode to which the frets have been transferred and each adjustment, called *ṭháṭh*, or a frame-work, he would style 'mode.' Several *rágiṇís*, by a varied order of succession, may be adapted to the same *ṭháṭh*, but they must belong to it and cannot be played but on their proper *ṭháṭh* which determines the relative distances of the

Their origin is ascribed to *Mahádeva* and (his wife) *Párvati*. The first-mentioned had five mouths,[1] from each of which issued a melody in the following order:—

(1). *S'rí-rága.* (2). *Vasanta.* (3). *Bhairava.* (4). *Pañchama.* (5). *Megah.* (6). *Nata-Naráyaṇa* was produced by *Párvati.* Each of these six modes is called in Sanskrit *Rága*, and they are reckoned the primary orders of sounds. Each of them has numerous variations.

The *S'rí-rága* has the whole seven notes (*sampúrna*) of the gamut. In this, *Rishabha* has a compass to the eighth chord, *Gándhára* to the tenth, *Madhyama* to the thirteenth, and *Dhaivata* to the twenty-first: *Nisháda* is allotted but one. And in like manner other changes occur throughout all the modifications.

1. VARIATIONS OF S'RÍ-RÁGA:—(1). *Málaví.* (2). *Tirovaní.*[2] (3). *Gaurí.* (4). *Kedárí.* (5). *Madhu-mádhaví.* (6). *Vihárí.*

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sounds of the heptachord, while the *rága* disposes their succession and marks their principal effect. From an able article in the Cal. Rev., CXXXVII. of 1879, by Sárada Prasáda Ghósha, the learned co-editor of the Sangíta Ratnakára, to which I am already indebted for the substance of this information on the *múrchhanás* and *tánas*, I borrow the following explanation of the *rága*. It is defined as a musical composition consisting of not less than five notes of a MÚRCHHANÁ (mark this term) in accordance with certain rules with a view to a particular æsthetic effect. The chief rules are that a note is assumed with which the Rága begins. This is called *graha;* another with which it must invariably end, called *nyása;* a third, which is the tonic or predominant, repeated oftener than the others, and perhaps more noticeable also in the *time*, and called *anśa* or *bádí:* a fourth, which is 9 or 13 *śrutis* above or below the *bádí*, used almost as frequently and termed *sambádí*. A *rága* differs from another consisting of notes of a different *múrchhaná*, when a *bádí*, *sambádí* or *gráha*, &c., in the one is not the same in the other. Other distinctions and subtleties of interchange and mutilations of the scale produce countless varieties of the *rága*. It will be thus seen that the *rága* depends chiefly on its *múrchhaná* which can produce only *rágas* in a certain setting, the change of the *múrchhaná*, *bádí* and *sambádí* altering the class of the *rága*.

[1] The *Sangíta Darpaṇa* names the particular mouths from which the *Rágas* respectively issued. They are represented as minor deities wedded to their five *Rágiṇís* or variations, and the rest of this chapter in the above work treats of them and their pictorial representations symbolic of their characters and seasons. Sir W. Jones considers that the fancy of Shakspeare and the pencil of Albano might have been finely employed in giving speech and form to these aërial beings. Were they trammelled by the traditional types of the *Sangíta Darpaṇa*, the genius of both would, in my opinion, have failed to raise them to any standard of beauty that Western ideas could appreciate or recognise.

[2] I take the following variants from the *Sangíta Darpaṇa*,—*Trivaṇá, Kedárá*, and *Pahári.*

2. VARIATIONS OF VASANTA :—(1). *Desí.* (2). *Devagirí.* (3). *Vairátí.*[1] (4). *Todí.* (5). *Lálitá.* (6). *Hindólí.*

3. VARIATIONS OF BHAIRAVA :—(1). *Madhya-mádi*[2]. (2). *Bhairaví.* (3). *Bángah.* (4). *Varótaka.*[3] (5.) *Sindaví.*[4] (6.) *Punarjñeya.*[5]

4. VARIAṬIONS OF PAÑCHAMA :—(1). *Vibhása.*[6] (2). *Bhúpáli.* (3). *Kánará.*[7] (4). *Baḍhansiká.* (5). *Malaśri.* (6). *Padhamanjari.*[8]

5. VARIATIONS OF MEGHA :—(1). *Malár.* (2). *Sorathí.* (3). *Ásávarí.*[9] (4). *Kaisukí.*[10] (5). *Gándhárí.* (6). *Harsingárí.*[11]

6. VARIATIONS OF NÁṬA NARÁYAṆA :—(1). *Kámodí.* (2). *Kalyáṇ.*[12] (3). *Ahírí.*[13] (4). *S'uddhanáṭa.*[14] (5). *Sálak.*[15] (6). *Naṭ-Hamíra.*[16]

Some allow only five variations to each mode and numerous other differences occur. Others in place of *Vasanta, Pañchama* and *Megha,* substitute *Málakauśika,*[17] *Hindola* and *Dípaka,* and make five instead of six variations to each, with a few other discrepancies of less importance. Others again, in place of the second, third, fourth and fifth modes, have *Suddha-bhairava, Hindola, Deśakára* and *Suddha-náṭa.*

Songs are of two kinds. The first is called *Márga* or the lofty style as chanted by the gods and great Ṛishis, which is in every country the same, and held in great reveration. The masters of this style are numerous in the Dekhan,[18] and the six modes abovementioned with numerous variations of which the following are examples, are held by them to appertain to it.

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[1] *Varáti.*

[2] *Gurjarí.*

[3] *Reva.*

[4] *Guṇakrí.*

[5] This is a blunder through ignorance of Sanskrit from which Abul Fazl's pandits should have saved him. This list is taken from *Hanumán* who gives but five *Rágiṇís* in the exact order of the names in Abul Fazl and concludes the fifth in the S. D, with the *śloka* पुनर् ज्ञेया भैरवस्य वरांगना, *i. e.,* "*and* (Sindavi, &c.,) *are to be understood* as the beautiful wives of Bhairava." The words in italics have been mistaken by Abul Fazl for the name of a *Rágiṇí.*

[6] *Vibhasaśvá.*

[7] *Karnáṭi.*

[8] *Paṭamañjari.*

[9] *Savérí.*

[10] *Kauśiká.*

[11] *Harsṛingára.*

[12] *Kalyání.*

[13] *Abhírí.*

[14] *Náṭiká.*

[15] *Sálangí.*

[16] *Naṭa Hambhírá.*

[17] In the S. D. the term *mála* is explained as the *garland* of the heads of his enemies worn by this *Rága* in his symbolic representation. His *Rágiṇís* are *Ṭoḍí, Kambhávalí, Gaurí, Guṇakrí* and *Kakubhá.* Those of *Hindola* are *Velavalí, Rámakalí, Deśa,* Paṭamañjari and *Lalitá.* Those of *Dípaka* are *Kedarí, Kánara, Deśí, Kamodí* and *Náṭaka.*

[18] According to Capt. Day ("The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India," Chap. VIII), from early times Tanjore has been the chief seat of

(1). *Surya-prakáśa.* (2). *Pañcha-táleśvara.* (3). *Sarvato-bhadra.* (4). *Chandra-prakáśa.* (5). *Rága-kadamba.* (6). *Jhúmara.* (7). *Svara-vartaní.*

The second kind is called *Deśí* or applicable to the special locality, like the singing of the *Dhurpad* in Agra, Gwalior, Bári and the adjacent country. When Mán Singh[1] (Toṇwar) ruled as Rájá of Gwalior, with the assistance of *Náyak Bakshú*, *Macchú*, and *Bhanú*, who were the most distinguished musicians of their day, he introduced a popular style of melody which was approved even by the most refined taste. On his death, *Bakshú* and *Machhú* passed into the service of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Gujarát where this new style came into universal favour.

The *Dhurpad*[2] (Dhruva-pada) consists of four rhythmical lines without any definite prosodial length of words or syllables. It treats of the fas-

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Music in Southern India, and most of the chief Karnâtik musicians have either lived there or were educated in the Tanjore School.

[1] See p. 611. n. Vol. I. The fame of the Gwalior School of Music dates from the reign of this prince. Bakshú continued at the court of Bikramájít, the son of Mán Singh, and after his death entered the service of Rájá Kírat of Kálinjar, whence he was invited to the court of Gujarát. Blochmann, who does not state his authority, gives the name of the Gujarát prince as Sulṭán Bahádur who reigned from 1526 to 1536. He was succeeded by Sulṭán Maḥmúd in the latter year. The names Macchu and Bhanu have several variants in the notes to the text. They do not appear in Blochmann's list of musicians at p. 612. Bayley in his "History of Gujarát," speaks of a minstrel called *Bacchu* attached to Sulṭán Bahádur's court, who was taken before Humáyún on the capture of Mandu in 1535. The Emperor had given orders for a general massacre, but being told that this musician had not his equal in Hindustan, he was directed to sing and so charmed the royal ear, that he was given a dress of honour and attached to the court. He subsequently fled to Sulṭán Bahádur who was so rejoiced at his return that he declared his every wish fulfilled and sorrow banished from his heart. Bayley notes that the name is variously written and that it seems to be either *Bacchu* or *Chittú*. Willard mentions the following as the most renowned of the *Náyaks* or masters; Gopál, a native of the Dekhan who flourished under Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín; his contemporary Amír Khusrau of Delhi; Sulṭán Hosain Sharḳi of Jounpúr; Rájá Mán Singh of Gwalior, and "Byjoo, Bhoonoo, Pandvee, Buksoo and Lohung. The four following lived at the time of Rájáh Mán of Gualiar,— Jurjoo, Bhugwan, Dhoondhee and Daloo." Among these names, the spelling of which I leave unaltered, Bhoonoo and Buksoo are evidently the two mentioned in the text. His list contains other names which I need not here record.

[2] Willard calls the *Dhurpad* the heroic song of Hindustan, the subject being frequently the recital of the memorable actions of their heroes, and also treating of love and even of trifling and

cinations of love and its wondrous effects upon the heart. In the Dekhan these songs are expressed in their language by the term *Chind*, and consist of three or four lines, and are chiefly laudatory. In the Tilanga and Carnatic dialects they are called *Dhruva*, and their subject is erotic. Those of Bengal are called *Bangúla*, and those of Jounpúr, *Chuṭkala*, while the songs of Dehli are called *ḳaul* and *tarána*. These last were introduced by *Amír Khusrau*, of Dehli, in concert with *Ṣámit* and *Tatár*, and by combining the several styles of Persia and India, form a delightful variety. The songs of Mathura are called *Bishn-pad*, (Vishṇu-pada) consisting of four, six and eight lines, sung in honour of Vishṇu. Those of Sind are styled *Kámi* and are amatory. Those in the dialect of *Tirhút* are called *Lahchárí*, and are the composition of *Biddyá-pat*, and in character highly erotic. In Lahor and the adjacent parts, they are called *Chhand;* those of Gujarát, *Jakri.*[1] The war songs and heroic chants called *Karkha*, they term *Sádara*, and these consist also of four, six, and eight lines, and are sung in various dialects.

Besides these that have been named, there are numerous other modes, amongst which are the following:—

Sárang; Púrbí; Dhanáśrí; Rámkalí; Kurái, (which His Majesty has styled *Sughrái*);[2] *Súha; Deśakála* and *Désákha*.

THE THIRD is called *Prakírṇádhyáya* or a chapter of miscellaneous rules and treats of *Alápa*,[3] which is of two kinds. (1). *Rágálapa*, the deve-

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frivolous topics. Its origin he ascribes to Rájá Mán Singh whom he calls the father of *Dhurpad* singers. He describes it as having four *tuks* or strains: more correctly, rhythmic cadences or lines as Ábul Fazl expresses it. They are severally named like the divisions of the *alápa* in Sir S. M. Tagore's "Six Principal Ragas," p. 39. Two of these *Dhurpads* are given in the Brajbihár of Naráyan Swámi, one being in the Sárang mode. Specimens of others will be found in the *Súr Ságar* of Súr Dás, a contemporary of Akbar. *Chind* in the text I suspect to be an error for *Chhand*, (Sansk. *Chhandas*) a sacred hymn and also a musical measure; *Dhruva* signifies the introductory stanza or recurring verse of a poem or song repeated as a refrain. *Chuṭkala* is a jest or pleasantry and these songs resemble probably the ancient Fescennine verses designed to catch the coarse and indelicate humour of the mob. The *Bishan-pad* according to Willard, was introduced by the blind (*súr*) poet and musician *Súr Das*. His name occurs in Blochmann's list, p. 617, I. Of Sámit and Tatár I find no mention. Some of these singers came from Mashhad, Tabríz, Kashmír, and from beyond the Oxus.

[1] By Willard, *Zikri*, a much more probable name, as they are on the subject of morality. This class of religious song was introduced into Hindustan by *Kazi Maḥmúd*. V. Willard's treatise on "The Music of Hindustan.".

[2] Probably to change the ominous name, *Kurái*, signifying stocks for the feet, and *Sughrái*, beauty or grace.

[3] Sir S. M. Tagore explains in his 'Six Principal Rágas," that it is a prac-

lopment of the rága, commonly termed (in Persian) *adá* and *taṣarruf*, and (2). *Rúpálápa:* which comprises the metrical setting of the words to the air and their vocal expression.

THE FOURTH, or *Prabandhádhyáya*, is on the art of composing a rhythmic measure (*gíta*)[1] to vocal music. It consists of six members, *viz.* (1). *Svara*, (notes as *sa*, *ṛi*, &c., taken at their proper pitch). (2). *Viruda*, panegyric. (3). *Pada*, name of its object. (4). *Tená*, a cadence of notes on a symbolic standard, as *tena*, *tená*, and the modulation of the lines. (5). *Páṭa*, the continuous imitation of sounds (proceeding from percussion instruments) as *tena*, *tená*, *máná*, &c., from three letters to twenty, in a specific order as a supplementary guiding measure. (6). *Tála*, rhythm expressed by beat. If the whole six members be present, the composition (*prabandha*) is called *mediní*;[2] if one less, it is termed *ánandiní*; if two less, *dípaní*; if three less, *bhávaní*, and if four less, *tárávalí*; but with only two it does not (commonly) occur.

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tice with singers, before commencing a song, to develop the character of the *rága* by means of *gamakas*, and *tánas*. This is called *alápa* in which the notes peculiar to the *rága* are sung as a prelude to show its character. There is no fixed rule as to the time, but it should be in general keeping with the whole movement. Willard calls it a rhapsodical embellishment which after going through a variety of *ad libitum* passages, rejoins the melody without interfering with it, the musical accompaniment keeping time throughout,—these passages are not essential to the melody but introduced as grace notes, according to the fancy of the singer, but restricted to the characteristic notes of the melody and to its time. On account of the brevity of the melodies in general, a singer of pretensions does not go through the song more than once in its simple form, but on its repetition, introduces these embellishments to avert monotony. *v.* Capt. Day's "Music of Southern India," p. 41.

[1] *Pada* technically is a sentence formed of words having a meaning. *Tena*, meaningless words used by singers to exhibit the air alone, unaccompanied by words. The six members of the *Gita* may be thus briefly exemplified:—

1st (*Svara*), *sa*, *ga*, *ṛi*, *sa*.
2nd (*Viruda*), Thou art my God.
3rd (*Pada*), I look to thee.
4th (*Tena*), Tena, na, te, na.
5th (*Páta*), Dha, Dhin, Kath, Thege.
6th (*Tála*), beats by hand at equal intervals.

The sounds commonly sung are *dha kath*, *thege*, *dhrigra*, *ghena*, *trikat*, &c., imitative of the resonance of the instrument, as analogous sounds might be employed in English. I must here once more express my obligation to the courteous aid of Bábu Sáradá Prasáda Ghósha whose knowledge of the theory of Western, and both the theory and practice of Hindu music has been at my service both in his writings and his practical explanation of them on the instrument of which he seems a master.

[2] Abul Fazl writes, *medaní* and *ánadaní*. I follow the *S. D.* Sir S. M. Tagore makes *tála* synonymous with *chhandas*, or metre, and guiding its move-

These four *adhyáyas* treat of the various refinements of melody.

THE FIFTH is *Táládhyáya*, on the nature and quantity of the musical beats.

THE SIXTH is *Vádyádhyáya*, on the various musical instruments. These are of four kinds.

(1). *Tata*, stringed instruments. (2). *Vitata*, instruments over which skin is stretched. (3). *Ghana*, all that gives resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies. (4). *Sushira*, wind instruments.

The First Kind, or Stringed Instruments.

The *Yantra*[1] is formed of a hollow neck of wood a yard in length, at each end of which are attached the halves of two gourds. Above the neck are sixteen frets over which are strung five steel wires fastened securely at both ends. The low and high notes and their variations are produced by the disposition of the frets.

The *Víṇá* (Hindi. *Bín*) resembles the *Yantra*, but has three strings.

The *Kinnar* resembles the *Víṇa*, but with a longer finger-board and has three gourds and two wires.[3]

The *Saṛ-víṇá* is also like the *Víṇá* but without frets.

The *Amrití* has the finger-board shorter than the *Sar-víṇá*, and a small gourd below the upper side, and one steel wire upon which all the scales may be played.

The *Rabáb*[3] has six strings of gut, but some have twelve and others eighteen.

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ment. The beat conforms to the variety of the metre, upon the rhythmic feet of which is based, as with the Greeks, their musical measure. Willard limits the variety of beats now practised to ninety-two, the musical values of which he tabulates. *Tála*, the rhythm, is not to be confounded with *laya*, musical time properly so called, divided into slow (*vilambita*), moderate (*madhya*), and quick, (*druta*), with which the beats accord. The bars are measured by *mátras*, or prosodial quantity of vowels (v. p. 223) of which the divisions are explained by Sir S. M. Tagore in his work on the *Rágas*, p. 44, ff. *Cf.* Capt. Day's "Music of Southern India," Chaps. II and IV.

[1] *Yantra* (Hindi Jantra) signifies an instrument of any kind. I do not anywhere find mention of a particular musical instrument under this name.

[2] A coloured drawing of this instrument, as well as of the *Víṇá* and most of those mentioned in the text, will be found in Capt. Day's superb volume. The plates, besides their utility as illustrations, are artistically beautiful and a description of the instrument accompanies each. The *kinnar* is called in Sansk. *Kinnari víṇá*, varieties of which are detailed in the *S. Ratnakára*.

[3] This name, if not the instrument, is of Arabian origin. Specimens of the *Rabáb*, as well as of the *ḳánún*, the lute and other instruments are given in Lane's "Modern Egyptians," Chap. XVIII.

The *Sarmanḍal*[1] is like the *Kánún*. It has twenty-one strings, some of steel, some of brass, and some of gut.

The *Sárangi* is smaller than the *Rabáb* and is played like the *Ghichak*.[2]

The *Pinák*, called also *Sur-batána*, is of wood about the length of a bow and slightly bent. A string of gut is fastened to it and a hollow cup inverted, is attached at either end. It is played like the *Ghichak*, but in the left hand a small gourd is held which is used in playing.

The *Ádhati*[3] has one gourd and two wires.

The *Kingara*[4] resembles the *Víṇá*, but has two strings of gut and smaller gourds.

The Second Kind of Instruments.

The *Pakháwaj*[5] is made of a thick shell of wood shaped like a myrobolan and hollow. It is over a yard in length and if clasped round the middle, the fingers of the two hands will meet. The ends are a little larger in circumference than the mouth of a pitcher and are covered with skin. It is furnished with leather braces which are strained, as in the *naḳára* or kettle-drum, and four pieces of wood, under a span in length, are inserted (between the shell and the braces) on the left side and serve to tune the instrument.

The *Áwaj* is made of a hollow piece of wood, and might be described as two kettle-drums joined at the reverse ends and their heads covered with skin and braced with thongs.

The *Duhul*[6] (drum) is well-known.

The *Ḍhaḍḍa* is like the *Duhul* but very small.

The *Ardháwaj* is half the size of the *Áwaj*.

The *Daf*, or tambourine,[7] is well-known.

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[1] Capt. Day writes the name *Svara-Mándala*, and calls it the *Kánún* or Indian Dulcimer, the strings of brass and steel, and occasionally gut, and played with two plectra worn on the finger-tips.

[2] This is a kind of Persian lute. A specimen of the *Sárangi*, or fiddle, will be found in Day.

[3] Var. *Adhauti*, or *Adhoti*.

[4] In the Dictionaries *Kingrí*.

[5] One of Capt. Day's plates represents this drum under the name of the *Mṛidang* by which it is best known in Southern India. The two heads are tuned to the tonic, and fourth or fifth. The centre of the smaller head is coated with a composition of resin, oil, and wax and an embroidered cloth is commonly stretched over the upper side of the shell as an ornament. It is beaten by the hands, finger-tips and wrists, and is well enough known throughout India.

[6] This is the Persian equivalent of the ordinary Ḍhöl of Hindustan.

[7] Capt. Day describes it as an octagon frame of wood, about 6 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter, covered on one side with skin and strained by means of a network of thin leather thongs. It is struck with the fingers of the right hand, and

The *K͟hanjarí* is a tambourine smaller than the *Daf*, but with cymbals, and its surface is about the size of a pitcher.[1]

The Third Kind of Instruments.

The *Tála* is a pair of brass cymbals like cups with broad mouths.

The *Kaṭh Tála*, or castanets, are small and fish-shaped. The set consists of four pieces, of wood or stone.

The Fourth Kind of Instruments.

The *Shahná*,[2] called in Persian *Surná*.

The *Mashk*, or bagpipe, is composed of two reeds[3] perforated according to rule and attached (to the bag). It is called in Persian *Nai-ambán*.

The *Murli* is a kind of flute.

The *Upang* is a hollow reed a yard long, the upper part of which has a hole in the centre in which a reed is inserted.

THE SEVENTH is *Nrityádhyáya*, or the art of dancing.

On the Classes of Singers.

Having cursorily reviewed the subject of vocal and instrumental music, I turn to a brief mention of their musicians.

The chanters of the ancient hymns which were everywhere the same, were called *Vaikáras*, and their teachers were styled *Sahakáras*. The *Kaláants*, or more commonly *Kalávants* or bards, are well known, and sing the *Dhurpad*.

The *Ḍháḍhís* are the Punjabi singers who play upon the *Ḍhaḍḍa* and the *Kingara*. They chiefly chant the praises of heroes on the field of battle and lend fresh spirit to the fight. The *Ḳawwáls*[4] are of this class, but

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a thin switch held perpendicularly over it by the fingers of the left is made to strike the instrument at intervals, according to the time. It has no cymbals.

[1] It is a wooden hoop 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 3 or 4 inches deep, bored out of the solid. In the hoop are three or four slits containing pieces of metal strung together which clash as the tambourine is shaken.

[2] They are both Persian words, the *Shahná*, or *Shahnái*, being literally the king-pipe, a kind of clarion or oboe. The word *Surna* سرنا is also written صورنای.

[3] The smaller of the two pipes is used to inflate the bag which is made of the skin of a kid. It is used merely as a drone; the holes in the pipe are wholly or partially stopped with wax to tune the instrument to pitch. The drone is of cane, mounted in a stock of the same material which contains the reed. The whole reed is in one piece. Black wax is used to make the instrument wind-tight. It is also called *śruti-upanga*. Day's "Music of Southern India." Plate XVI.

[4] The intensive adjectival form from *ḳaul* (قول), and signifies the professional chanters and story-tellers.

sing mostly after the Dehli and Jounpúr style, and Persian verses in the same manner.

The *Huṛkiyah* men play upon the *Huṛuk*, which is also called *Âwaj*, and the women the *Tála*, and they also sing. Formerly they chanted the *Karkha*, but nowadays only the *Dhurpad*, and the like. Many of the women add great beauty to their musical accomplishments.

The *Dafzan*, or tambourine player. The *Ḍháḍhí* women chiefly play on the *Daf* and the *Duhul*, and sing the *Dhurpad* and the *Sohlá* on occasions of nuptial and birthday festivities in a very accomplished manner. Formerly they appeared only before assemblies of women but now before audiences of men.

The *Sezdah-tálí*. The men of this class have large drums, and the women, while they sing, play upon thirteen pairs of *tálas* at once, two being on each wrist, two on the joint of each elbow, two on the junction of the shoulder blades,[1] and two on each shoulder, one on the breast and two on the fingers of each hand. They are mostly from Gujarát and Málwah.

The *Naṭwas* exhibit some graceful dancing, and introduce various styles to which they sing. They play upon the *Pakháwaj*, the *Rabáb* and the *Tála*.

The *Kírtaniya* are Bráhmans, whose instruments are such as were in use among the ancients. They dress up smooth-faced boys as women and make them perform, singing the praises of Kṛishṇa and reciting his acts.

The *Bhagatiya* have songs similar to the above, but they dress up in various disguises and exhibit extraordinary mimicry. They perform at night.

The *Bhaṅvayya*[2] resemble the last-named, but they exhibit both by night and day. Sitting and standing in the compass of a copper dish called in Hindi, *tháli*, they sing in various modes and go through wonderful performances.

The *Bhánḍ* play the *Duhul* and *Tála* and sing and mimic men and animals.

The *Kanjarí:* The men of this class play the *Pakháwaj*, the *Rabáb* and the *Tála*, while the women sing and dance. His Majesty calls them *Kanchanís*.[3]

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[1] The words used are شانه and کتف both of which signify shoulder-blade. I am unable to understand any other arrangement of the cymbals.

[2] So the text, but in the Dictionaries, *Bhavaiyá*, a dancer or storyteller.

[3] The term is synonymous with *ἑταίρα* in the lowest sense of this word, from the common profession or practice of the class.

The *Naṭs* are rope-dancers, and perform wonderful acrobatic feats. They play on the *Tála* and *Duhul.*

The *Bahu-rúpí* exhibit their mimicry by day: youths disguise themselves as old men so successfully that they impose upon the most acute observers.

The *Bázígar* performs wonderful feats of legerdemain and by his dexterous conjuring deceives the eye. For instance, one will carry an enormous stone on his back, or they will appear to cut a man into pieces and then restore him to his natural state.

Their extraordinary performances are beyond description and each of them affects a special style of vocal accompaniment.

The Akhárá

is an entertainment held at night by the nobles of this country, some of whose (female) domestic servants are taught to sing and play. Four pretty women lead off a dance, and some graceful movements are executed. Four others are employed to sing, while four more accompany them with cymbals: two others play the *pakháwaj,* two the *upang,* while the Dekhan *rabáb,* the *víṇá* and the *yantra,* are each taken by one player. Besides the usual lamps of the entertainment, two women holding lamps stand near the circle of performers. Some employ more. It is more common for a band of these *naṭwás* to be retained in service who teach the young slave-girls to perform. Occasionally they instruct their own girls and take them to the nobles and profit largely by the commerce.

His Majesty has a considerable knowledge of the principles explained in the *Sangíta* and other works, and what serves as an occasion to induce a lethargic sleep in other mortals, becomes to him a source of exceeding vigilance.

Gaja S'ástra

is the knowledge of elephants and all that concerns their various peculiarities, their care and health and the causes and symptoms of sickness and its remedies.

S'álihotra,

or veterinary surgery, is the knowledge of all that appertains to the horse and its treatment.

Vástuka

is the science of architecture and its characteristics.

Súpa

treats of the art of cookery and the properties of food.

Rájaníti
is the science of state-craft. As it behoves a monarch in the governance of the interior spirit, to avoid the evil results of desire and anger, similarly the administration of temporal affairs is guided by observance of the like conduct. The principal occasions of unruliness of desires which cause the downfall of princes, are said to be ten :—(1). The pursuit of game. (2). Dicing. (3). Sleep. (4). Censoriousness. (5). Intercourse with women. (6). Singing[1] songs. (7). Dancing. (8). The society of musicians. (9). Wine. (10). Solitude.

The chief sources of the calamities of anger are : (1). Confiscation of property. (2). Ungraciousness in acknowledgment of benefits. (3). Betraying a secret. (4). Unmindfulness of the service of dependents. (5). Abusive language. (6). Unjust suspicion. (7). Taking life without due deliberation, and the like. (8). Publishing the faults of others.

It is incumbent on monarchs to live free from the baneful consequences of desire and anger and not to sully their dignity with these eighteen sources of crime. If they are unable to avoid them altogether, they should never transgress due measure in their regard. They say that a prince should be God-fearing, circumspect and just, compassionate and bountiful, recognising virtue and the distinctions of rank and merit. He should be courteous in speech, kindly in aspect and condescending in his manner. He should be ever ambitious of extending his dominions, and should protect his subjects from the exactions of revenue-officers, from thieves, robbers and other evil-doers. He should proportion the punishment to the offence and be firm of purpose and yet clement. His intelligencers should be appointed from among men of trust and sagacity. He should never despise his enemy nor be remiss in vigilance nor be proud of his wealth and power. He should not admit to his court venal and corrupt designers. A king resembles a gardener and should carry out, in regard to his subjects, the course pursued in the care of his garden by the other, who puts away thorns and weeds and keeps his flower-beds in good order, allowing no depredations from without. In the same way a prince should transfer to the frontier of his dominions the turbulence of the seditious, and free the courts of his palace from their machinations, and allow no other evil designers to enter them. The gardener, likewise, from time to time, prunes the redundancy of leaf and branch on his trees, so the king should isolate from each other the more powerful nobles whose friends and dependents are dangerously numerous. The gardener also invigorates his weak saplings with water, and the king should similarly sustain with beneficence his impoverished soldiery.

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[1] I am not sure of this interpretation of نقش گفتن. From the context, the meaning I have given is the most appropriate, and Vüller admits this signification of نقش in his lexicon.

The king should choose a circumspect person of exemplary piety, courteous in disposition, vigilant, zealous, and masterful, reading the signs of the times and divining the intentions of his lord, and ready of speech, and in consultation with him, provide for the spiritual and temporal affairs of his kingdom. But if he finds himself physically unable to carry on these duties, he should entrust their complicated direction to him. In important affairs he should not consult with many advisers, because the qualifications necessary in such cases are fidelity, breadth of view, fortitude of spirit, and perspicacity, and the union of these four priceless virtues in any one man is uncommonly rare. Although some statesmen of former times consulted with men of a different stamp with the intention of acting directly contrary to their advice, in the majority of cases this course did not answer and many disasters were the consequence, for this special reason, that it is difficult to efface from the mind the suspicions aroused by the insinuations of cowardly, unprincipled, short-sighted and base men. Former princes adopted the practice of selecting from four to eight intelligent counsellors with the qualifications above-mentioned, under the presidency of one of their number. The opinion of each of these was separately taken on matters concerning the welfare of the State and the revenues, after which they were assembled in consultation and their several opinions carefully weighed without disclosing the author.

Further, a prince is in need of a faithful attendant, a profound astrologer, and a skilful physician. His wide experience will enable him to surround himself with friends, to maintain a well-appointed force, and to fill his treasury. He will portion out his dominions and entrust them to just and circumspect governors, and unite them in a befitting co-operation of government. He is zealous in the construction and provision of his fortresses and careful in their maintenance.

With his equals in power he is on terms of amity and concord and exacts tribute from the weak. He sows dissensions in the armies of one more powerful than himself by skilful intrigue, or failing this, he conciliates him with presents. As long as possible he avoids hostilities with all, but when war is inevitable, he enters upon it with fearlessness and vigour and upholds his honour. He should consider a prince whose territories are conterminous with his own, as his enemy though he be profuse in demonstrations of friendship. With one whose country is situated next beyond, he should form an alliance. With a third more remote, he should avoid all intercourse whether hostile or friendly.

After the above manner have statesmen laid down rules of government, suggesting approved modes of conduct and enforcing them with numerous happy illustrations, all of which are referrible to the qualities of wisdom, recognition of merit, bravery, good temper, reserve in speech, zeal, and benevolence.

Vyavahára
or
The Administration of Justice.

The learned among the Hindus say that litigation in its various kinds falls under eighteen titles,[1] for each of which there is a separate course of procedure, *viz.*—(1). Non-payment of debt. (2). Deposits. (3). Sale without ownership. (4). Disputes in partnership. (5). Reclaiming a gift. (6). Disputes between master and servant regarding wages, under which head are included labourers and such as work for hire. (7). Default of revenue by the cultivator. (8). Recision of purchase between buyer and seller. (9). Mulcts on herdsmen. (10). Boundary disputes. (11). Slander. (12). Assault. (13). Theft. (14). Violence with bloodshed. (15). Adultery. (16). Altercation between man and wife. (17). Inheritance. (18). Gambling disputes.

The king in his judicial character must erect his tribunal facing the east. He must conduct the duties of his office in person, and if he cannot always himself attend to them, he must delegate his authority to a wise, fearless and painstaking deputy.

The plaintiff is termed *Vádin* and the defendant *Prati-vádin*. A child under twelve years of age may not be summoned to court, nor one who is drunk; nor one crazy, nor one who is sick or engaged in the service of the State, nor a woman without relations, or of high family, or who has recently given birth to a child. A discreet person should be commissioned to interrogate in such cases, or they should be brought into the royal presence.

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[1] Abul Fazl's authority seems to be the "Ordinances of Manu" of which the 8th chapter deals with Civil and Criminal law. The 3rd verse runs thus—"Day by day (he should judge) separately (cases) under the 18 titles by reasons (drawn) from local usage and the treatises." Burnell, Ed. Hopkins. The latter observes that these titles are not part of the original system of law; it appears only in the *smṛitis*, and its later development is easily traced. The eighteen titles are somewhat differently worded in Manu, and I give them for comparison. Non-payment of debt; pledges; sale without ownership; partnership and non-delivery of what has been given; non-payment of wages; breach of contract; revocation of sale (and) purchase; disputes between master and servant; disputes about boundaries; assault (and) slander; theft; violence; adultery; the law between man and woman; partition; dicing; games with animals." By the latter is signified betting on them in fights, and under adultery is probably included illicit intercourse in general. I do not observe any rule regarding the position of the tribunal.

The plaintiff's statement is taken down in writing, with the date of the year, month, and day, and the names of the two parties and their ancestors for three descents, and many other particulars. The reply of the defendant is then recorded and both their statements are carefully investigated. The plaintiff is then asked for any documentary evidence and for his witnesses. These should not be fewer than four, though some allow only three, and even one is considered sufficient if he be a person of known veracity.

A child under five may not serve as a witness, nor a man broken down with age. The evidence of a S'údra is only available for a S'údra, and that of a handicraftsman for one of his own trade. The evidence of a blind man may not be taken, nor of one who is deaf, or diseased, or drunk, or crazy, nor of a gambler, nor of a notorious evil-liver, nor of one oppressed by hunger and thirst, nor of an angry man, nor of a thief, nor of one who is being taken to execution. For women, women should serve as witnesses. A friend may not witness for a friend, nor an enemy against an enemy, nor partners for each other. In all oral litigation, dryness of the lips, and biting them, and licking the sides of the mouth, alteration of voice and change of colour, should be taken into consideration as collateral proof.

In all suits these conditions of evidence are imperative except under titles eleven to fourteen.

If there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge must decide to the best of his ability, with caution and prudence; but if he cannot discover the facts of the case, he must cause the plaintiff or, as some say, either of the two parties, as he thinks best, to undergo the ordeal.[1] This is of eight kinds.

The first kind. The man is weighed and taken out of the scales, and after some prayers and incantations, he is again weighed. If his scale rises, his claim is allowed, but an even balance or his scale preponderating, are proofs of its falsehood. Some authorities say that the balance is never even. This ordeal is only for Bráhmans.

The second kind. Seven or nine circles are drawn with a distance of sixteen fingers' breadth between each periphery. The person is then bathed and religious ceremonies and incantations, as above described, are gone through. His two hands are then rubbed over with rice-bran, and seven green leaves of the pipal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) are placed upon them and bound round seven times with raw silk. A piece of iron, weighing 3¼ *sers* and heated red-hot, is then placed upon the leaves which, thus heated, he carries and advances taking one step between each circle, till, on arriving at the last, he throws the iron down. If there is no sign of a burn, his word is accepted. If the iron fall from his hands mid-way, he must begin again.

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[1] The word is *oath*, a translation of the Sanskrit *śapatha*, which means also ordeal. It is an asseveration by imprecating curses on the head of the taker of the oath. In this case, ordeal is evidently the true signification.

The third kind. The person is made to stand in water up to his navel and dips under with his face to the east. Then, from a bow measuring 106 fingers breadth, a reed arrow without an iron point, is shot off so that it shall fly with the wind and a fast runner is sent to fetch it. If he can keep under water from the time the shaft is loosed till the runner returns with it, his cause is declared just. This ordeal is especially for the Vaiśya caste.

The fourth kind. Seven barley corns of a deadly poison are administered in the spring season (*Vasanta*), or five in the heats (*Grishmá*), or four in the rains (*Varsha*), six in the autumn (*S'arad*), and seven in the winter (*Haimanta*). These are to be mixed with thirty-three times the quantity of clarified butter and given to the man after certain incantations. The face of the patient must be towards the south, and the person who administers must face the east or north. If during a period in which the hands may be clapped 500 times, the poison does not take effect, his truth is proved. Antidotes are then given to him to prevent any fatal effects. This ordeal is peculiar to the S'údra caste.

The fifth kind. An idol is first washed, and after worship is paid to it, incantations are pronounced over the water it was washed with, and three mouthfuls of it are given to the person under ordeal. If no misfortune happens to him within a fortnight the justness of his cause is acknowledged.

The sixth kind. Rice of the class called *Sáṭhi*[1] is placed in an earthen vessel and kept all night. Incantations are next morning pronounced over it, and the person is made to eat it while facing the east. He is then required to spit upon a leaf of the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), or the *bhojpatra* (*Betula bhojpatra*).[2] If there should be any marks of blood, or the corners of the mouth swell, or symptoms of ague supervene, the untruth of his case is inferred.

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[1] Produced in the rains, and so called because it ripens in 60 days from the time of sowing.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. King for this name.

The seventh kind. An earthen or stone vessel is taken, measuring sixteen fingers in length and breadth, and four fingers deep. Into this forty *dáms* weight of clarified butter or sesame-oil is poured and brought to boiling point, and one *másha* of gold, which is equal to four *surkhs*, is thrown into the boiling-oil. If the person can take out the gold with two fingers without being scalded, his cause is just.

The eighth kind. A symbol of *Dharma*, or Innocence, is fashioned of silver, and one of *Adharma*, or Guilt, of lead or iron; or the former word is written on a piece of a white cloth, or a leaf of the *bhoj* tree, and the latter on a piece of black cloth, and these are put into a jar which has never held water. The person under ordeal is then told to draw out one of these. If the symbol of innocence is drawn out, his cause is just. This ordeal is applicable in determining the righteousness of all four castes.

If a suit cannot be decided in one day, bail is taken; and a second suit may not be brought against the same person till the first is disposed of. When a claim is proved, the plaintiff is put in possession, and a fine of an amount equal to the value of the suit is exacted of the defendant. If the plaintiff loses his cause, he pays double the value of the suit.

Having cursorily explained the procedure regarding suits, evidence and ordeal, I now as briefly record the mode of adjudication under the eighteen titles of law-suits.

1. *Non-payment of debt.* If the debt be without deposit and the dispute be regarding the amount of interest, a Bráhman shall pay two per cent. (per mensem), a Kshatriya three, a Vaiśya four, and a S'údra five per cent: If there be security, only one-fourth of the above amounts are recoverable though a higher rate may have been agreed to. For risks by land-travel, up to ten per cent. is allowed, and not exceeding twenty-five per cent. for risks at sea. If interest has been agreed upon, and ten times the length of the stipulated period has elapsed, a claim shall not be allowed for more than double the principal.[1] When the interest is paid on corn, the sum of the interest and principal should not be more than five times the principal. If the debtor is unable to pay, he must renew the obligation bringing the instrument[2] and witnesses for its verification.

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[1] That is the sum of interest *plus* principal must not exceed twice the original debt. According to Manu, five times the principal is payable on corn, fruit, wool and draught animals.

[2] It is worth while noticing that the Sanskrit for this term *karaṇam* is translated by Hopkins 'proof,' while stating in a note that the meaning 'document' given by commentators is not necessary and seems improbable. Yet this is exactly the translation of Abul Fazl, the word '*Sanad*' employed by him signifying document or instrument.

2. *Deposits.* If the receiver of a deposit make use of it without the owner's permission and delay its restoration when claimed, he shall forego half the interest due (in compensation). If he deny the deposit and there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge may privately direct a third person to make a deposit with the same man and after some time to demand it back. If he acts as before, he shall be compelled to satisfy the first claim, or submit to trial by ordeal; but if the pledge be stolen by a thief, or if it be burnt, or washed away by water, or plundered by an enemy, restitution shall not be made. If he has dealt fraudulently with it, he shall make restitution and pay a similar amount as a fine.

3. *Sale without ownership.* If a man claim possession of property, it shall be restored to him free on proof of ownership, and the money taken back from the seller. And if it be sold privately or under its value, or by a person not entitled to do so, the judge shall fine the offender as he thinks proper. And if he brings forward the thief,[1] it shall not be imputed as the crime of a thief, but a fine shall be exacted from him as a thief.

4. *Partnership.* If there be a dispute between partners and any formal deed of partnership exist and be proved, it shall be carried out in accordance with its terms; otherwise the profit and loss shall be divided according to the proportions of capital invested. If one of the partners dissipate the joint property or, without the consent of the other, remove it or otherwise fraudulently deal with it, he shall make it good to the other by a fine. Or if on the other hand, he make a profit, he shall not be required to give more than one-tenth to his partner. If one of them is guilty of fraud, he shall be ejected from partnership and the interest due to him shall be exacted by the judge. If one of the partners be left in charge of the joint property and any deficiency or injury occurs through his neglect, he shall make it good.

5. *Reclaiming a gift.* If a gift is made under the influence of anger, sickness, grief, fear, or as a bribe, or in jest, it may be recalled: also what has been given by a child, or a drunken or crazy man. In other cases it may not be reclaimed. And if the gift be made for a future benefit or in exchange, it may not, under any pretence, be resumed.

6. *Wages, Hire, Rent.* If wages, hire, or rent be received in advance,

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[1] Or "if he appear a thief." The elliptical language of the text can be understood only by comparison with the text of Manu: verses 197–198 run as follows:—(197.) "If a man not being himself the owner, sells the property of another without the owner's permission, one should not allow him to be a witness, (since he is) a thief (although) he may not think he is a thief.

(198.) He should be held to a fine of 600 *paṇas* if he is a near relation: if he is not a near relation and has no excuse, he would incur the fine of a thief."

the agreement may not be violated. If it be broken, the offender shall be fined to the amount of double the sum; but if the money has not been actually paid, the fine shall extend only to the amount originally fixed. If a servant loses his master's property, he must make good the equivalent, but if it be taken from him by violence, he is not liable to restitution.

7. *Revenue.* If any one fail to pay the usual revenue, the whole of his effects shall be confiscated, and he shall be expelled the country.

8. *Purchase and sale.* A purchaser may on the day of purchase return the goods bought; on the second day he may return them on a forfeit of a twentieth of their cost: on the third day, of a tenth, after which they cannot be sent back.[1] But a maid-servant may be sent back within one month; a slave, within fifteen days; corn, within ten days; jewels, within seven days; cattle in general, within five days; a milch-cow, within three days; iron, within one day; unless there be any stipulation to the contrary. The same conditions hold good with the seller, but he must sustain the loss in the same proportion as the excess payments of the purchaser in the opposite case.

9. *Herdsmen.* If through the neglect of a herdsman a beast is lost or dies or is injured, he must make good the loss. If cattle eat a grain-crop near a village or city, the herdsman is not amenable to fine. Sówn-fields should be distant from a small village four hundred cubits; from one of moderate size, eight hundred, and from a large settlement, sixteen hundred cubits.[2] If the trespass should occur through the neglect of the keeper, he must pay the value of the crop destroyed, otherwise the owner of the cattle is responsible. For a buffalo, a camel or donkey the fine is seven *máshas* of silver: for an ox, half the above: for a sheep or goat, half the fine for an ox. If the beast lies down to eat, the fine is doubled. An elephant, a horse, as well as cattle set at liberty as an act of piety, (it being the custom, eleven days after the death of a Bráhman, thirteen days after the death of a Kshatriya, sixteen after that of a Vaiśya, and thirty after the death of a S'údra, to let loose eight or four bulls, or one bull with a number of cows after branding them in a special manner) or a cow that has lately

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[1] According to Manu, (VIII. 222-23) he may return them within ten days, after which he cannot return them without being heavily fined.

[2] "Round about every village there should be a strip of land one hundred bows or even three casts of a staff in width: around a city, it should be three times as wide." Manu. VIII, 237. This land is intended for a common and not to be tilled. The staff is picked up after the first cast, and again as it falls, and so on three times. The strength of the cast might fitly be that of Polypœtes.

Ὅσσον τίς τ' ἔῤῥιψε καλαύροπα βουκόλος ἀνὴρ,
Ἡ δέ θ' ἑλισσομένη πέτεται διὰ βοῦς ἀγελαίας.
Il. XXIII, 845.

calved, or animals that have strayed, are not amenable to fine if they damage the crops. The same rule applies to royal preserves[1] as to crops.

10. *Boundaries.* Disputes regarding boundaries may be adjudicated at any season save during the rains.[2] The owners of land define their boundaries by burying charcoal, stones, potsherds, hair, bones, and the like that do not perish even after a long time; and sometimes a tree[3] is made the boundary. The judge determines the dispute on the production of such evidence, and the witness of four, eight, or ten husbandmen, keepers,[4] or hunters.

The witnesses shall wear red garments, place earth upon their heads and wear a string of red flowers round their necks, and shall swear that their good deeds may lose all merit if they lie. If there be no witnesses nor boundary mark, the judgment of the king shall determine the line.

11. *Slander.* This is of three kinds, *viz.*—(1). Reviling another to his face. (2). By insinuation and suggestion. (3). Reviling his mother, sister, or such other improper language. For the first two, if the abuse be from one of inferior towards one of a superior caste the fine is twelve-and-a-half *dáms;* to an equal, half that sum; towards an inferior, one-fourth. For the third kind, the fine is twenty-five *dáms*, if between equals, or if a Bráhman reviles a Kshatriya; but fifty, if the abuse is from a Kshatriya to a Bráhman. If a Vaiśya reviles a Bráhman he is fined seventy-five *dáms*, but in the opposite case the fine is twelve-and-a-half. If a S'údra thus offends against a Bráhman, he is fined one hundred *dáms*,[5] a Bráhman reviling a S'údra pays six-and-a-quarter.

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[1] According to Manu, a cow with a calf not ten days old, bulls and also the cattle of the gods (*i.e.*, ordained for sacrifice) whether with or without a keeper, ought not to be punished. (The beast doing the damage is always represented as paying penalty.) The keeper is not liable to fine if his cattle injure a grain-crop not enclosed, but in ALL cases the value of the crop destroyed must be paid to the owner of the field. Manu. VIII. 241. The punctuation in the text is misleading.

[2] "If a dispute has arisen between two villages in regard to a boundary, the king should determine the boundary in the month of *Jyaiṣtha* (middle of May to middle of June) as the boundary marks are then very plain." VIII. 245.

[3] The trees recommended are the *ficus Indica*, and *religiosa; butea frondosa, bombax heptaphyllum*, and *valica robusta*, palms and milky trees, as being conspicuous, or very enduring. Thickets of bamboo, *prosopis spicigera* and *trapa bispinosa*, are also recommended. VIII. 247.

[4] So I translate سپاهان. The men named by Manu are hunters, bird-catchers, cowherds, fishermen, root-diggers, snake-catchers, gleaners, and other men who wander about the woods.

[5] Corporal punishment is the punishment of this offence in 'Manu,' and all the other fines are heavier.

A Vaiśya reviling a Kshatriya pays fifty, and the fine in the opposite case is twelve-and-a-half; and the same proportion between a Vaiśya and a S'údra. If one of the gods be reviled, or the king, or a Bráhman who has read the four Vedas, the fine is 540 *dáms*. If the abuse be directed against the people of a quarter, half of the above; and one-fourth if against the inhabitants of the city.

12. *Assault*. This is of four kinds: (1). Throwing earth, clay or filth upon any one. (2). Putting him in bodily fear by threatening him with the fist, a stick, or other weapon. (3). Striking with the hands or feet and the like. (4). Wounding with any weapon.

The first kind. In the first case, the fine is five *dáms*, but if filth is thrown, ten, provided the parties are equals; but twice as much if it be an inferior against a superior, and only half in the opposite case.

The second kind. Threatening with the hand, &c., five *dáms*, and (with stick or other weapon) between equals, eleven; between superiors and inferiors, as above.

The third kind. If the blow cause a swelling or pain in the limb, 270 *dáms*. If by an inferior against a superior, the hand or foot, or other offending member shall be cut off, or a suitable fine inflicted. In the instance of a Kshatriya against a Bráhman, the fine is 540 *dáms;* a Vaiśya against a Bráhman, 1,080; a S'údra against a Bráhman, 2,160; a Vaiśya against a Kshatriya or a S'údra against a Vaiśya 540; a S'údra against a Kshatriya, 1,080; a Bráhman against a Kshatriya, 135; or against a Vaiśya, 67½, or against a S'údra, 33¾; a Kshatriya against a Vaiśya, 135; against a S'údra 67½.

The fourth kind. Between those of like caste if the skin be abraded, fifty *dáms*, and if the flesh is cut, twenty *tolahs* of gold, and if a bone be broken, the offender is banished. If an inferior against a higher caste, the fine is doubled, and in the opposite case, it shall be a-half. If treatment is necessary, the offender shall pay the expenses of medicine and daily 'keep' till the injured man be restored to health.

In the case of a sheep, antelope[1] and the like, if there be hurt, the fine is eight *dáms;* if it be rendered useless, the value must be paid to the owner, with a fine of 125 *dáms;* and twice as much, if it be killed. For a horse, camel, or ox, the fine is also double. When damage is done to valuable plants, the value must be paid to the owner and a fine of ten *dáms*, but eight *dáms* if they be of small value.[2]

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[1] Different sorts of antelopes and deer, flamingoes and parrots, are "propitious" forest animals, and a fine imposed for killing them: also the small animals, such as crows, cats, &c.

[2] Manu gives five times the value of damage done to leather, wooden, or earthen-ware, and to flowers, roots and fruit.

13. *Theft.* If any one steal above one hundred *tolahs* of gold or silver or any valuables up to this amount, or more than 66⅔ *mans* of corn, or the child or the wife of any person of distinction, he shall be liable to the punishment of death. If the amount be less than one hundred and more than fifty *tolahs*, he shall suffer the loss of his hand. If, fifty or less, he shall pay eleven times the amount as a fine. The same applies to corn. In all cases the equivalent of the amount stolen shall be made good to the owner, and if the thief is unable to pay, he shall work out the amount in menial service. In other cases of theft, corporal punishment, imprisonment or fine, is at the discretion of the judge.

14. *Violence with bloodshed.* If a man of inferior caste kill a man of a higher caste, the penalty is death. If a Bráhman slay a Bráhman, his entire estate shall be confiscated, his head shaved, his forehead branded and he shall be banished from the kingdom. If a Bráhman slay a Kshatriya, he shall pay a fine of 1,000 cows and a bull; if he slay a Vaiśya, 100 cows and a bull, or if a S'údra, 10 cows and a bull. The same rule applies to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. If a S'údra slay a S'údra, he shall be fined 500 cows and a bull. If the murderer be not found, the people of the city, village, or quarter in which the murder was committed shall produce some of his family or pay in default any fine that the king may inflict.

15. *Adultery.* Commerce between a woman and a man other than her husband, is of three kinds: (1). When they converse and jest together in private. (2). When a present is sent to the house of the other. (3). When they meet and criminal intercourse ensues. In the second case, a fine may be inflicted at the discretion of the king. The third is of two kinds, *viz.*, with a maiden and one who is not a maiden. The former may be dishonoured *ἢ φαλλῷ ἢ δακτύλῳ ἢ ξύλῳ ἢ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ὀργάνῳ*. The latter may be women who are guarded, or such as gad abroad.[1] In each of these four cases it may occur with the woman's consent or otherwise, and of these eight, the criminality may take place between two of a like caste. In the latter instance if it be a girl and she consent in all these offences, and no force is offered on one side or resistance on the other,[2] the man shall be compelled to marry her whether he will or no. In the case of pollution and the like, he must pay a fine of 200 *dáms*. If he violate her without her consent, he shall be put to death, but the woman is not liable to punishment. If he forcibly pollute her, he must suffer the loss of his

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[1] Hopkins translates 'wandering women' (Manu, VIII. 363), and supposes them to be possibly Buddhistic nuns. Sir W. Jones interprets 'female anchorets of an heretical religion.' Abul Fazl's rendering is کوچه گرد, gadding, about the streets.'

[2] The و after نرود is superfluous.

fingers, and pay a fine of 600 *dáms.* If the offender be a Bráhman, he shall be banished, but no other penalty is exacted.[1] If the man be of higher caste, he shall be made to take her in marriage, even if he be unwilling, in which case an additional fine is imposed. If she be not a maiden, and both be of like caste, and she be guarded,[2] and give her consent, the man is fined 270 dáms, but if without her consent, the fine shall be 540 *dáms.* If she be one used to gad abroad and consents, the fine is 250 *dáms;* if forced, 500. If the man be of higher caste, the fine in all cases shall be 250 *dáms*; if of inferior caste, death is the penalty in every instance, and the ears and nose of the woman shall be cut off.

16. *Altercation between man and wife.* If after marriage a man discovers any natural defect in his wife, he may put her away without remedy on her part, but the woman's father shall be fined. If a man offer one daughter in marriage and substitute another in her place, he shall be compelled to give both. When a man has journeyed on a pilgrimage to holy shrines and is absent beyond the term agreed upon, the wife shall wait at home for eight years whatever her position in life may be.[3] If he has gone abroad for the sake of knowledge or fame or wealth, she shall wait six years: if he journeys to seek another wife, three years. At the expiration of these periods, she is at liberty to leave her husband's house to obtain a livelihood. The husband on his return from abroad, if he wishes to put her away on account of her departure, is not permitted to do so. If the wife does not observe the condition of these periods, the husband is at liberty to put her away. If the husband fall sick and the wife does not minister to him, he may not, on his recovery, for this cause divorce her, but he may refuse intercourse with her for three months and deprive her of all that she possesses,[4] after which period he shall be reconciled to her. With Bráhmans, divorce does not take place but a husband may avoid the sight and presence of his wife: her maintenance must nevertheless be continued. The wife may not take another husband. If he be guilty of great crimes or have any contagious disease, the wife is at liberty to separate from him. If a Bráhman have a wife of each of the four castes, he shall assign them their respective social functions. In religious ceremonies, and person-

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[1] 'Let him banish the offender from his realm with all his property secure and his body unhurt.' Sir W. Jones, VIII. 380.

[2] Under the protection of her husband or other relative.

[3] One commentator's opinion is, that, after the eight years she must follow him. Another states that she may marry another husband. The former opinion, says Hopkins, rests on a later view of second marriages.

[4] Her ornaments and household furniture, her jewellery, her bed, and even her servants. Hopkins, M. IX. 78 n.

al attendance such as anointing with oil and adorning[1] him and similar duties, he must employ only his own caste.

17. *Inheritance.* While a son lives, no other relation or kinsman shares the estate except the wife who is equal to the son. If there be neither son nor wife, the unmarried daughter inherits. If there be also no daughter, the mother is the heir.

If there be no mother, the father takes possession.

If there be no father alive, his brother shall be heir.

In default of a brother, the brother's son inherits.

In default of a brother's son, the estate is divided amongst the surviving kindred.

If he leave no relations, the teacher inherits, or in default of the teacher, his fellow pupils.[2]

In the absence of all those the estate lapses to the Crown.

18. *Gambling.* Whosoever plays with false dice shall be banished. If he refuse to pay his stake, it shall be taken from him, and of his winnings, the king shall receive one-tenth,[3] and one-twentieth shall be taken for dues.[4]

To each of these eighteen titles there are many illustrations, and conflicting opinions are recorded. I content myself with this short exposition.

The Four Periods of Religious Life.

Having reviewed the various branches of learning in their scientific aspects, I proceed to some account of their practical modes of life.

Among the Bráhmans, the period of individual life, after the intelligence is to some degree matured, is divided into four portions, to each of which is assigned its special important duties. These periods severally receive the name of *Áśrama.*

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[1] The duties of a Bráhman's wife are to give food to beggar guests, and attend to her part of the sacrificial preparations. She bathes and adorns her husband, cleans his teeth and anoints him; and since she holds the highest rank she gives him his food, drink, wreaths, clothes and ornaments. The text has زیرکردن as one of her duties; I would read, زیب for زیر..

[2] This order of inheritance is given by the commentary of *Kullúka*,—v. Hopkins. IX. 187 n.

[3] In Manu, gambling, whether by dice or with lifeless things (*dyuta*), or by matches between rams and cocks and other animals (*samáhvaya*), is absolutely forbidden; play must be suppressed and gamesters banished or corporally punished by amputation of hand or foot. Abul Fazl's conditions must apply to a later period when gambling was made financially profitable and royal gambling-houses were established and play without royal authority penalised by fine. v. *Ibid.* note 5. 225. IX.

[4] دربای داده. I conjecture this interpretation. From there being a variant از بای داده, I presume the reading is questionable. It probably refers to a licence for the tables, or permission to play,

THE FIRST PERIOD is the *Brahma-charya*, or religious studentship. Investiture with the sacred thread is regarded by the Bráhmans as the first principle of their creed, and the three superior castes do not acknowledge the right of due membership without it. With a Bráhman it must be made in the eighth year, or if this auspicious time is suffered to elapse, it may be performed up to sixteen years of age. A Kshatriya may be invested between eleven and twenty-two years of age, and a Vaiśya from twelve to twenty-four, but a Súdra is not considered a fitting recipient. It is imperative that the investiture should take place for each caste within the prescribed periods from which date the initiation is reckoned, otherwise there is exclusion from caste. The Bráhman receives the sacred string from his father or teacher, and the two other castes from a Bráhman. None but a Bráhman may twist the string, and that which he wears for the first time must be twisted by his father or teacher or by himself. The teacher's son has also the same privilege. Three strands, in length ninety-six times the circumference of the fist, are united and twisted, making a twist of nine strands. This is again folded into three without twisting and secured by a knot at each end. This is the sacred thread. It is placed on the left shoulder and carried across the body to the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right hand. It is worn diagonally like a belt. A Bráhman wears five together, the other two castes, but three. Some authorities say that a cotton thread is for the special use of the Bráhman, woollen for the Kshatriya and hempen thread for the Vaiśya. Similarly, a thong of deer-skin, three fingers in breadth, is worn with it but not of the same length. A Bráhman uses the skin of the black antelope; a Kshatriya the skin of any other kind of deer, and a Vaiśya of a goat. At this period they also wear round the waist a girdle of a particular kind of grass called in Sanskrit *Muñja* (*Saccharum Munja*).

He next learns the *gáyatrí*,[1] which are certain words in praise of the sun, resembling the *kalimah* or profession of faith in Islám. He also receives a staff of *palásá* wood (*Butea frondosa*), but for the other two castes it is made of some other wood.

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[1] The *Gáyatrí* verse is taken from the Rig Veda III. 62, and is repeated by every Bráhman at his morning and evening devotions. From being addressed to the sun (*Savita*) as generator, it is also called Sávitrí. The verse runs:—

तत्स॑वि॒तुर्वरे॑ण्यं॒ भर्गो॑ दे॒वस्य॑ धीमहि
धियो॒ यो नः॑ प्रचो॒दया॑त् ॥ १० ॥

"Of the god-like sun this surpassing radiance we contemplate which excites to action our intelligence." This celebrated stanza is perhaps alluded to in Tennyson's beautiful hymn to the sun in "Akbar's Dream."

"Once again thou flamest upwards, once
again we see thee rise,
Every morning is thy birth-day gladdening human hearts and eyes.

He leaves his father's house and chooses a lodging near his teacher, learns his letters and begins reading the Vedas. He first reads that Veda which it is his special duty to learn, and then the remaining three. They relate that when the sage *Vyása* divided the Vedas into four parts, he instructed one of his pupils in each, from which time the descendants and the pupils of these respectively read their own Veda first. The Vedas are never read during the first degree of the moon's course (*pariwá*), nor during the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, or thirtieth, nor on the night of the fourth, eighth, or fourteenth, nor during an eclipse of the sun, but any of the other acts may be performed at those times.

When a Bráhman goes to relieve the necessities of nature, he hangs the sacred thread upon his right ear, and on such an occasion by day, turns his face to the north and by night to the south. He washes himself five times, each time first mixing the water with earth, and then washes the left hand ten times in the same manner, and next both hands seven times, and lastly both his feet in the same way. After he urines, he washes the part as above described and the left hand three times and each hand and foot once. From the day of his investiture till sixteen years of age, this number of purifications must be observed and doubled after he exceeds that age. Next, in a chosen spot, he should sit down on his haunches facing the east or north, keeping his knees erect and with his hand between them should drink three fills of his palm. A Bráhman should swallow as much water as will reach his chest: a Kshatriya as much as will suffice to reach his throat; a Vaiśya, as far as the root of his tongue. A S'údra may drink but once. He then uses a tooth stick (*miswák*) twelve fingers breadth in length, taking a fresh one every day.

He may not wear more than four coverings for his person. These are: (1). *Langotí*, or waist-cloth, which is worn to cover only two parts of his body. (2). A small *lung*[1] worn above the other. (3). A

Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee;
Thou the god-like, thou the changeless in thy ever changing skies.
Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, arrowing light from clime to clime,
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their wood-land rhyme.
Warble bird and open flower, and men below the dome of azure
Kneel adoring thee, the Timeless, in the flame that measures Time."

Cf. R. V. I. 50, the hymn to the sun-god (Súrya) which more fully recalls those sonorous lines.

[1] This is a cloth worn round the loins and passed between the legs and tucked in behind. It differs from the *langoti* in reaching to the knees.

sheet without suture, over his shoulders. (4). A small cap for his head. He should bathe before sunrise, wearing only the sacred thread, the girdle of *múnja*, and the *langoṭi*. He first takes up a little water in his right hand, saying: "I pray that any fault I have committed may be put away from me."[1] After which he throws the water away. With this intention his ablutions are entered upon. Then he rubs himself all over with earth, and if he be in a river, he dips three times, otherwise, he pours water over himself thrice and rubs his body all over with his hands. He then pronounces the name of God, and taking water three times in the hollow of his hand sips a little and begins to repeat certain prayers, at the conclusion of which he continues sprinkling water upon his head. He next closes his nostrils with two fingers and dashing water over his face, repeats other prayers and dips or throws water over himself thrice. Then wetting both his hands, he sprinkles his forehead, chest and both shoulders seven times, and taking up water with joined hands, casts it towards the sun eight times, repeating special prayers, and sips some water thrice. He next performs the *práṇáyáma* as described in the section on the Pátañjala system.[2] The ablutions are meritorious in degree according to their performance in the following order—in a river, a tank, a well, or a house. He then clothes himself. If he be a follower of *Ráma*, he marks his forehead horizontally with ashes; if of Kṛishṇa,[3] he draws the sectarial mark in twelve places, *viz.*, on his forehead, his breast, his navel, the right and left sides thereof, his right and left shoulders, the two lobes of his ears, his loins, the crown of his head and the throat. The clay of the Ganges is considered the most efficacious for this purpose but saffron and the like are also used. A S'údra marks his forehead with only a circle. After this he takes his staff and slings across his shoulders the deer-skin and occupies himself with the *Sandhyá*, which consists of certain religious exercises, sprinkling and sipping water, and the like.[4] Next comes the lighting of the fire and certain burnt offerings are made which is called the *Homa* sacrifice.

When these ceremonies are concluded, he goes to his teacher and gains merit by waiting upon him and reading the Vedas. At midday, the ablution and the ceremonies aforesaid are repeated with some variation and some increase in their number. When these are over he sets out begging alms and solicits from three, five, or seven houses, but avoids a S'údra. After cooking a sufficient meal he carries it to his teacher and with his permission, eats it. He precedes his meal with prayers and a few ceremonies and eats in silence and then repeats other prayers. When it is near dusk, he again performs the *Sandhyá* and *Homa* rites and occupies himself with reading. After a watch of the night has elapsed, he sleeps upon the ground, making his couch of straw or a tiger's skin or deer-skin or the like. He should avoid honey, betel-leaf, and perfumes. He should shave his head, keeping a tuft only, but the hair of the other parts of the body should be suffered to grow. He should not use collyrium nor anoint himself with oil, and should abstain from singing, dancing and gaming. He should not kill any animal nor have any commerce with women nor eat of anything not tasted first by his teacher. He should abstain from falsehood, anger, avarice and envy, and not defile his tongue by speaking ill of any one though he deserve it, and make his days meritorious by practices of piety. In prayer he should turn to the east or north and he should not look towards the sun in its rising or setting. Some pass forty-eight years in the *Brahmacharya* stage, allowing twelve years for the study of each Veda. Some take only five years, and others till the Vedas are learnt. Others again spend their lives in this manner and undergo austerities in the hope of final liberation.

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[1] The words are—

ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि यन्मया दुष्कृतं कृतं ।
तद्दोष परिहारार्थं यक्ष्माणं तर्पयाम्यहम् ॥

"Whatever evil I may have consciously or unconsciously committed, I make this libation to Yakshma, that the fault may be forgiven."—*Brahmaṇa sarvasva*.

[2] p. 185.

[3] Both are incarnations of Vishṇu: Ráma being the seventh, the hero of the Rámáyaṇa; and Kṛishṇa, the eighth, the hero of the Mahábhárata.

[4] These rites are performed at morning, mid-day, and evening.

The Second Period is the *Gárhasthya*, or a state in which the duties of a householder are observed and the person so engaged is called *Grihastha.* When the *Brahmachárin* has completed his studies, if he feels called to the religious life and his heart is estranged from the world, nothing can more conduce to his welfare than the endeavour to attain eternal bliss, but if he has no such vocation, he should seek the consent of his teacher and, having obtained permission, return to his father's house. He then puts away all but his sacred thread, but continues the oblations and some other ceremonies, the number of the oblations being the same as during his period of pupilage as *Brahmachárin.* If he be a Bráhman, he wears a turban, and a sheet eight cubits in length and two in breadth is put on in the fashion of a loin-cloth, one end being passed between his legs and fastened behind to the waist-piece, and the other end brought forward and tied similarly in front. Another sheet, five cubits long and two broad, is worn over the shoulders, and this may have a suture. A householder of other castes wears different garments. He now marries in the manner that shall be presently described.

The householder repeats certain prayers and thus performs the

Homa sacrifice. He takes in his hand a stick of *pipal* or *palás* wood, a span in length and burns it in the *Homa* fire. Another stick of the same kind is taken and passed into the fire and reserved, and when the next *Homa* takes place, this stick is burnt and another like the first is scorched and reserved, and this is continued till the time of the *Agni-hotra*.[1] This is a special kind of *Homa* or oblation. A *pipal* stick is set alight by means of two other sticks and a cord forcibly worked by the hand, and the fire is placed in three round earthen vessels. The figure of a tortoise is then made of a *ser* and-a-quarter of rice-flour, and the three portions are cooked in one lump and dressed with oil, and part of this is thrown into the three fires as an oblation to the deities, and the remainder is given to Bráhmans. One of the three portions of the sacrificial fire is reserved, and throughout his whole life, the daily *Homa* oblation is made with that fire; the oblations cast into the fire in the name of the deities consist of any barley, rice, clarified butter, milk, wheat, that may be available, and once every fifteen days in the first degree of the moon's course he carries out the ceremony as before. The ceremony of the *Agni-hotra* may not take place till the period has elapsed between the fourth day after his marriage and that on which the bride leaves her father's house (to join her husband).[2] With the exception of the S'údra and the *Mlechchha*, the rest of the people come generally under this second denomination. Four *gharis* before day-break, the householder awakes and passes some little time on his bed in prayer. He divides his day into eight portions, thus profitably employing his time.

First, when the rays of the sun appear, he refreshes his sight with its lustre, and next by looking upon fire, water, gold, a just prince, a Bráhman, a cow, and clarified butter. If none of these eight be present, he must look upon the palms of his hands, and proceed to wash his mouth and perform the *Sandhyá* ceremonies. The *second* portion of his time he must employ in study and occupy himself in the interpretation of the Vedas and other branches of knowledge. The *third* he spends in attendance on his prince, and engages in state affairs. The *fourth* is occupied with his own household. The *fifth*, which is about the entry of noon, he spends in ablutions and the *Sandhyá* ceremonies, and taking up water in both hands, offers it to the deities, the great *Rishis* and (the manes of) his ancestors, and repeats certain prayers. This libation is called *tarpana*. During the

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[1] This is a Vedic oblation to *Agni*, chiefly of milk, oil and sour gruel; there are two kinds, *nitya*, or of constant obligation, and *kámyá*, or optional.

[2] This is the true interpretation of the sentence, as I learn from a Bráhman pundit. Abul Fazl's language is terse to obscurity without a knowledge of the subjects he treats of. The Agni-hotra ceremony cannot be performed till after marriage, and the presence of the wife is a necessary part of it.

sixth, he prays to Vishṇu, Mahádeva, the Sun, Durga, and Gaṇeśa. This is called *Deva-pújá*, or worship of the gods, as will be more fully described hereafter. In the *seventh*, he casts into the fire some of his food as an offering to the gods, and makes the *Homa* sacrifice. Next follows the *Atithi-pújá* (or the religious reception of a guest). He waits expectantly for any hungry person, and when he meets him, treats him with respect and satisfies his need, after which he himself eats, and this act is called the *Vaiśvadeva-pújá* (or offering to *all deities*). A Bráhman obtains his food in the following way. When the husbandman has reaped his field and the poor have gleaned their fill, the Bráhman then follows in quest, and takes what he can find, and if he does not feel content with this, he may receive from his own people; and if this is insufficient, he may accept whatever is given to him without solicitation by another Bráhman, a Kshatriya, or a Vaiśya. If this is not his choice, he may beg; and if he will not submit to this, he may cultivate land. Trade is considered more objectionable. A Bráhman should not keep more than twelve days' supply of food, but to others an abundance is permitted, as has been explained. In the *eighth*, he listens to the recital of the lives of former holy men and performs the ceremonies of the *Homa* and *Sandhyá*. If he is hungry, he takes his meal. He then occupies himself till the first watch of the night, in studying works of philosophy and reading the lives of ancient sages, after which he goes to rest. Such are the means by which he profitably employs his day and night. Other ceremonies performed during times of eclipse and festivals, are numerous. Those practised by the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas who follow their special occupations, are fewer as shall be presently described.

The third period is that of the *Vánaprastha* or anchorite, a name given also to the person so engaged. This is forbidden to a Śúdra.

When one (of the other castes) arrives at old age, or has a grandson, he may wisely give up the management of his household to his son or to a relation, abandon worldly concerns, and leaving the city, retire into the desert. He may there build himself a hermitage, and putting away the outward pleasures of sense, practise mortification of his body in preparation for his last journey. If his wife, through affection, desire to accompany him, he may suffer it and not deny her, but he must resist all carnal inclinations. Here he preserves the sacred fire of his daily sacrifice and clothes himself with the leaves of trees or with skins, and he may wear a coarse loin-cloth. He should never cut his hair or his nails and morning, noon, and evening he should perform the prescribed ablutions and the *Sandhyá*. Like the *Gṛihastha*, he should perform the *Homa* sacrifice morning and evening, but his ablutions are three times more numerous, in as much as he performs them ten times to the other's three. He must always keep his head bowed down and follow the instructions given in the Pátañjala system and carefully control the emotions of the spirit. He should employ his time in reading the Vedas, sleep only at night, and lie on the bare ground. During the four months of the hot season he sits between five fires, lighting four about him, and having the sun burning over head. During the four months of the rains he should live upon a stage sustained by four poles, so that he may not be in danger from a flood nor injure minute animals by his movements, nor must he protect himself from the weather. During the four months of the cold season, he should pass the night sitting in cold water. He should always observe the *Chándráyaṇa* fast and eat only at night. He is permitted to keep a store of food sufficient for a year and should accept nothing from others, living on grain and gathering wild fruits that have fallen. He eats nothing that is cooked, but he may moisten his food. If he can obtain naught else, he may beg of other anchorites, and failing them, he may go into the town to seek the necessaries of life but he must not remain there.

If he is unable to live in this manner, he abandons all sustenance and journeys onwards to the east or north till his bodily powers are exhausted, or he throws himself into fire or water in self destruction, or casts himself down from a precipice and thus ends his life. They consider that heaven is the reward of this course and final liberation is dependent on the profession of asceticism. What is understood by some as *mukti*, or final liberation, is, that in a former birth, this stage of abandonment of the world had been attained.

The fourth period is *Sannyása*, which is an extraordinary state of austerity that nothing can surpass, and which when duly carried out is rewarded by final liberation. Such a person His Majesty calls *Sannyásí*.[1]

After the completion of the third stage, and the habit of self-denial in all sensual pleasures is acquired, the disciple first obtains the permission of his teacher and then quits his wife, shaves his head, beard, and the hair of his face and abandons all worldly concerns. His teacher presents him with a loin-cloth and some covering and accepts a trifle in return. He does not occupy himself with reading, but applies himself entirely to spiritual contemplation. He passes his life alone in the wilds, performs his ablutions morning, noon, and evening, and is scrupulous in self-purification and practises the duties described in the Pátañjala system, carrying them out after his own method. He performs the *Sandhyá* and then repeats from one to twelve thousand times the word *Om*, which is the beginning of the Vedas. At the fourth *gharí* before the close of day, he goes into the city, and repeats the name of God, begging at three, five, or seven houses of Bráhmans, but does not take more than a handful of food from each. If they put it into his hand he straightway eats it, or if they throw it on the ground, he takes it up with his mouth or gathers it in a cloth and eats it after cleansing it in a stream. He then retires to a place where there is no sign of the cooking of food or lighting of a fire. He avoids a S'údra or a Mlechchha and if he is not quickly supplied with food, he does not wait. After eating he directs his eyes to the tip of his nose or to his brow and passes a brief space in meditation. He walks with his head and feet bare and does not remain in any one place. If he is compelled to pass through a city or village, he does not remain in the former more than three days nor in the latter more than one. In the rains he abides in one spot and thus is his life passed. Some adopt the course of religious abandonment both during the first and second periods.

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[1] The term *Sannyásin* was applied many centuries before his Majesty was born.

Some say that the first period extends to twenty-five years, and the same is allowed for the three other periods. The second is lawful to all the four castes; the first and third to all but S'údras, but the fourth is exclusively for Bráhmans.[1]

WORSHIP OF THE DEITY.

The Hindu sages declare that whoever seeks to do the will of God, must devote certain works exclusively to purposes of worship and the first six of the nine schools already alluded to, comprise this under four heads.

The *First* is—

I'S'VARA-PÚJÁ,

or

Divine Worship.

Since according to their belief, the Supreme Deity can assume an elemental form without defiling the skirt of the robe of omnipotence, they first make various idols of gold and other substances to represent this ideal and gradually withdrawing the mind from this material worship, they become meditatively absorbed in the ocean of His mysterious Being. Sixteen ceremonies conduce to this end. After the performance of the *Homa* and *Sandhyá* obligations, the devotee sits down facing the east or north, and taking up a little rice and water sprinkles (the idol) with the intention of beginning the worship of God. Then follows the *Kalasa-pújá* or pitcher-worship. The water of the pitcher which is required for the ceremony is venerated after a special manner.[1] He next performs the *Sankha-pújá*, wherein the white shell is venerated which is filled with water to be poured over the idol. Next follows the *Ghaṅṭá-pújá*, in which the gong is plastered with sandalwood unguent and worshipped. When these are concluded, he sprinkles a little rice with the intention of soliciting the manifestation of the deity. Such is the first of the sixteen ceremonies. (2). The intention is made that the prayer of the supplicant may be accepted. A throne of metal or other substance is placed as a seat for the deity. (3). He pours water into a vessel that he may wash his feet when he comes, it being the custom of the country to wash the feet of superiors when they enter a house. (4). He throws down water thrice on the ground to represent the rinsing of the mouth by that mystical being, as it is also a custom of this country among the more refined classes to offer this service to a superior before meal-time. (5). Sandal, flowers, betel, and rice are thrown into water and thus offered. (6). The idol is lifted up with its seat and carried to another place. With the right hand a white conch-shell is held while with the left a gong is struck and the water is poured over the idol which is then washed. (7). The idol is then dried with a cloth and placed upon its throne and it is dressed in such costly robes as circumstances can furnish. (8). It is then invested with the sacred string (9). The sectarial mark is next made in twelve places with sandal. (10.) Flowers or leaves are then strewn over it. (11). It is fumigated with perfumes. (12). A lamp. is lit with clarified butter. (13). Food according to ability is then placed on a table before the idol, which is then distributed to people as the idol's leavings. (14). Is the *Namas-kára* which is a posture of supplication. He repeats the praises of God with heart and tongue and falls prostrate with his whole body like a staff. This prostration is called *daṇḍa-vat* (staff-like); he so prostrates himself that eight of his limbs touch the earth,—the two knees, the two hands, the forehead, the nose, and the right and left cheeks. This is called *Sáshṭángá*, (eight members). Many perform one of these two obeisances in supplication before the great. (15). Circumambulating the idol several times. (16). Standing like a slave before it, and taking leave.

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[1] The duties of these periods may be read in Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa. Chapters IX to XII, and in Manu.

In each of these ceremonies, prayers are repeated and particular acts are performed. Some consider only five of these ceremonies from the

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[1] A twig of each of the following sacred trees: *Ficus religiosa*, *Ficus indica*, *Ficus glomerata*, *Mimosa albida* and the *Mangifera Indica* are placed in the pitcher of water as an oblation.

7th to the 13th, as imperative, others practise more; except a S'údra and a *Sannyásin*, all others perform this worship thrice daily.

Worship is of six kinds: (1). In the heart. (2). Making the sun a means of divine adoration. (3). Causing fire to serve the purpose of spiritual recollection. (4). Worshipping in presence of water. (5). Cleaning a spot of ground as a place for worship. (6). Making an idol a representative object of prayer. They also make images of those who have attained to God and account their veneration as a means of salvation.

The *Second kind* is—

YAJṆÁ,[1]
or
Sacrifice.

By this the favour of the deities is obtained and it becomes the means of securing the blessing of God. The term *Jág* is also used. *Páka-yajña* (simple or domestic sacrifice) is making the *Homa* in the name of the deities and bestowing charity before taking food. This is variously performed. *Japa-yajña* is the *muttering* of incantations and the names of God. These two, like the first, are of daily practice. *Vidhi-yajña* or *ceremonial* act of worship is of numerous kinds, in each of which important conditions are prescribed, large sums of money expended and many animals sacrificed. One of these is the *Aśvamedha*, or *horse-sacrifice*, which is performed by sovereign princes. When its necessary preparations are completed, a white horse having the right ear black, is brought out and consecrated by certain incantations, and (being turned loose) it is followed in its march by an army for conquest which in a short time subdues the world and the king of every territory (which it enters) tenders submission and joins the victorious forces. They pretend that whoever performs this sacrifice a hundred times, becomes lord of heaven. Many are said to have attained this rank and marvellous legends are told of them. If he cannot perform that number he obtains an eminent place in that region.[2] Another is the *Rája-súya-yajña*, one of the conditions attached to which is the presence of all the princes of the world at the great festival, each of whom is appointed to a particular duty, and the service at the banquet can be performed only by them. Whoever has twice inaugurated this ceremony becomes lord of heaven, and many (are said) to have obtained this happiness. There are manifold kinds of these sacrifices, but the two herein mentioned must suffice.

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[1] In Hindi. *Jagna*, and Jág. Cf. Müller, Hist. Sansk. Lit. p. 203, and ff. In *Páka-yajna* the former word is not to be taken in the sense of cooking but signifies *small* or *good*.

[2] After the return of the king, if successful, with the vanquished princes in his train, the horse was sometimes immolated, after the festival of rejoicing. Failure in conquest was followed by contempt and ridicule of overweening pretension. The antiquity of this sacrifice goes back to Vedic times. Albírúni briefly describes it in Chap LXV.

The *Third kind* is—

DÁNA, *or* *Alms giving.*

There are numerous forms of this meritorious precept and various are the modes by which the provision for man's last journey is secured. The following sixteen are accounted the most important:—

(1). *Tulá-dána* or the *weighing* of the person against gold, silver and other valuables. (2). *Hiraṇyagarbha-dána:* an idol of Brahmá is fashioned of gold, having four faces in each of which are two eyes, two ears, a mouth and nose. It must have four hands, and the rest of the members are after the form of men. It must be 72 fingers high and 48 in breadth. Its weight may vary between a minimum of 33 *tolahs* and 4 *máshas* and a maximum of 3,410 *tolahs.* It is decked with jewels, and incantations are pronounced over it. (3). *Brahmáṇḍa-dána,* or alms of the *egg of Brahmá.*[1] An egg is made of gold in two parts which when joined together have an oval shape. Its weight varies between a minimum of 66 *tolahs* and 7 *máshas* and a maximum of 3,633 *tolahs* and 4 *máshas.* Its length and breadth may not be less than twelve fingers nor greater than one hundred. (4). *Kalpa-taru-dána.* This is the name of a tree[2] (*taru*) which is one of the fourteen treasures brought out of the sea, as will be related. A similar tree is made of gold, and birds are represented sitting on its branches. It should weigh not less than 12 *tolahs,* and the maximum weight as above. (5). *Go-sahasra-dána,* is the alms of a *thousand cows* with one bull, having the tips of their horns, according to ability, plated with gold or silver and their humps covered with copper, with bells and tassels of yâk's hair round their necks, and pearls in their tails. (6). *Hiraṇya-kámadhenu-dána.*[3] A *golden cow and calf* are made; they may be of three kinds; the first weighs 3,410 *tolas;* the second, the half of this weight, and the third weighs one-fourth. (7). *Hiraṇyáśva-dána.* A *golden horse* is fashioned weighing from ten *tolahs* to 3,633 *tolahs* and four *máshas.* (8). *Hiraṇyáśva-ratha.* A *chariot of gold* of the first of the above-mentioned weights is made with four wheels and from four to eight *horses* weighing from ten to 6,606 *tolahs* and eight *máshas*. (9). *Hemahasti-ratha-dána* is an alms of a *chariot of gold* drawn by four *elephants*. Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs* and eight *máshas* to the maximum aforesaid. (10). *Pañcha-lángala-dána* is a gift of *five ploughs* of gold of the above weight. (11.) *Dhara-dána*, is a figure of the surface of the *earth* made of gold, upon which are represented mountains, woods and seas, weighing not less than sixteen *tolahs*, eight *máshas*, and not more than 3,633 *tolahs*. (12) *Viśva-chakra-dána*. A *complete radiate* of eight petals is made of gold representing the entire dome of the heavens, and is of four weights, *viz.* 3,333 *tolahs*, four *máshas* : half of the above : one-fourth: 66 *tolahs*, 8 *máshas*. (13). *Kalpa-latadána* is in the shape of a *creeper*. Ten tendrils are made of gold, weighing from sixteen to 3,330 *tolahs*, four *máshas*. (14). *Sapta-ságara-dána*. The *seven seas* are represented in gold weighing not less than twenty-three *tolahs*, four *máshas*, and not more than the weight above given. The length and breadth of each of these are twenty-one fingers, or the half thereof. The first sea is filled with salt; the second, with milk; the third, with clarified butter ; the fourth, with molasses ; the fifth, with butter-milk ; the sixth, with sugar ; the seventh with Ganges-water. (15). *Ratna-dhenu-dána*, the representation of a *cow* with a *calf* made up of *jewels*. (16). *Mahábhuta-ghaṭa-dána*,[1] is a representation in gold of the figure of a man surmounted by the head of an elephant, which is called *Gaṇeśa*. Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs*, eight *máshas* to 3,330 *tolahs*, four *máshas*.

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[1] See p. 11 of this Vol.

[2] Of Indra's paradise, granting all desires.

[3] *Dhenu* is a milch-cow, or a cow that has calved. *Káma-dhenu* is the cow of plenty, belonging to the sage Vaisishṭha, yielding all that is desired. For *Hiraṇya-garbha.* See p. 163.

In some works the first or *Tulá-dána*, the weight whereof should be not less than 106 *tolahs*, eight *máshas*, nor more than 833 *tolahs*, four *máshas*, is alone given, and the remaining forms are omitted. There is also some difference of opinion regarding the distribution. Some give only to the *A'chárya* or teacher who shares the alms with others, while some bestow it also upon other Bráhmans.

For each of these forms of charity, there are various injunctions. Although no distinct season is fixed, they are regarded as of more efficacy in times of eclipse and when the sun enters Capricorn and on some other occasions. Strange legends are told of them and of their results, as for instance regarding the first kind, if the giver weighs himself against gold, he will remain in paradise for a thousand million *kalpas* and advance from degree to degree of beatitude, and when he re-assumes human form will become a mighty monarch.

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[1] *Mahá-bhuta* signifies a 'huge creature' and '*ghaṭa*' is the frontal sinus of an elephant. Gaṇeśa was the son of Śiva and Párvatí and is invoked at the beginning of undertakings as removing obstacles. He is represented as a short pot-bellied man frequently mounted on a rat or attended by one, and to denote his sagacity, has the head of an elephant, with, however, but one tusk.—*Monier Williams.*

The *Fourth kind* is—

ŚRÁDDHA,

or

Ceremonies in honour of deceased ancestors.

The charity is given in the name of deceased ancestors and is of various kinds, but four are specially observed: (1). On the day of decease and its anniversary. (2). On the first day of the first quarter of the new moon. (3). On the sixteenth lunar day of the month of *Kudr*, (Sept. Oct.). (4). Bestowing charity in a place of worship in the name of the deceased.

The manner of performing it is to bestow money and gifts in kind, dressed and undressed, on Bráhmans in the name of father, grandfather and great grandfather including their wives, and in the same way on the three directly ascending male ancestors of the mother and their wives. All four castes may perform this ceremony.

When these four duties of worship, sacrifice, alms-giving and commemoration of the deceased, as now described, are performed, the worship of God is accounted to be perfectly carried out, and without them it is not effected.

AVATÁRAS,

or

Incarnations of the Deity.

They believe that the Supreme Being in the wisdom of His counsel, assumes an elementary form of a special character for the good of the creation, and many of the wisest of the Hindus accept this doctrine. Such a *complete* incarnation is called *Púrṇávatára*, and that principle which in some created forms is scintillant with the rays of the divinity and bestows extraordinary powers is called *Anśávatára* or *partial* incarnation. These latter will not be here considered.

Of the first kind they say that in the whole four *Yugas*, ten manifestations will take place, and that nine have up to the present time appeared.

MATSYÁVATÁRA,

or

Fish-Incarnation.

The Deity was herein manifested under the form of a fish. They say that in the Dráviḍá[1] country at the extremity of the Dekhan in the city of Bhadrávatí, during the *Satya Yuga* on the eleventh lunar day of the month of *Phálguna* (Feb.-March), Rájá Manu, having withdrawn himself from all worldly concerns, and being then ten hundred thousand years of age, lived in the practice of great austerities. He was performing his ablutions on the banks of the river Kṛitamála when a fish came into his hand and said "preserve me." It remained in his hand a day and night and as it increased in size, he put it into a cup, and when it grew larger, he placed it in a pitcher. When the latter could not contain it, he put it into a well and thence transferred it to a lake and afterwards to the Ganges. As the Ganges could not hold it, he gave it place in the ocean, and when it filled the ocean, the Rájá recognised the origin of the miracle and worshipped it and prayed for a revelation. He heard the following answer: "I am the Supreme Being. I have assumed the form of this creature for thy salvation and that of a few of the elect. After seven days the world will be destroyed and a flood shall cover the earth. Get thou into a certain ark with a few of the righteous together with the divine books and choice medicinal herbs and fasten the ark to this horn which cometh out of me." The deluge continued one million, seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years after which it subsided.[1]

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[1] The Coromandel Coast from Madras southward where the Tamil language

KÚRMÁVATÁRA,

or

Tortoise-Incarnation.

In the *Satya Yuga* in the light half of the month of *Kárttika* (Oct.-Nov.), on the twelfth lunar day, the Creator manifested himself in the shape of a tortoise. They relate that the deities wished to obtain the water of immortality after the manner of butter by churning the ocean of milk. Instead of a churning-stick, they used the largest of the

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is spoken. The Kṛitamála occurs in the Vishṇu Puráṇa; but the Kúrma reads Ritumála: according to Wilson neither name is verified.

[1] The story is told in the Mahábhárata with reference to the Matsya Puráṇa as its authority which would imply that the poem is later than the Puráṇa, but according to Wilson, the great epic is much older than any extant Puráṇa, and the simplicity of the story in the Mahábhárata is of much more antique complexion than the extravagance of the actual Matsya Puráṇa. In the former, Manu collects the seeds of existing things in the ark, explained in the latter as effected by the power of Yoga. In the latter, the great serpents come to serve as cords to fasten the ark to the horn of the fish; in the former, a cable of ropes is used. As the ark is borne on the waters, Manu enters into converse with the fish, and its replies which concern the creation, regal dynasties and the duties of the different orders, form the subject of the Puráṇa.—*Wilson, V. P.*

mountains, *Mandara*. From its excessive weight the mountain sunk into the ocean, and great were their difficulties. The Deity assumed this shape and bore up the mountain on his back and the gods obtained their desire.

By this miraculous act, fourteen priceless objects were brought up from the sea:—(1). *Lakshmí*, the goddess of fortune, appeared as a bride and thus a source of happiness to all creatures was obtained. (2). *Kaustubha-maṇi* or the wonderful jewel *Kaustubha*, of extraordinary lustre and in value beyond price. (3). *Parijátaka-vṛiksha*, the miraculous tree *Parijátaka*[1] whose flowers never fade and whose fragrance fills the universe. Some say that it grants all desires. It is called also *Kalpa-vṛiksha*.[2] (4). *Sura*, (the goddess of) wine. (5). *Dhanvantari*, the physician (of the gods) who could heal the sick and raise the dead to life. In his right hand, he held a leech and in his left (a branch of) the myrobalan tree.[3] His Majesty considers that these two should be regarded separately and the number of treasures be accounted sixteen. (6). *Chandra-maṇi*, the (moon-gem or) world-illumining moon. (7). *Káma-dhenu*, the miraculous cow which gave forth from her udders the gratification of every wish. (8). *Airávata*, the white elephant (of Indra) with four tusks. (9). *Śankha*, the white conch-shell of wondrous sound that bestowed victory on whomsoever possessed it. (10). *Visha*, deadly poison. (11). *Amṛita*, the water of life. (12). *Rambhá*, the nymph, beautiful and sweet-dispositioned.[4] (13). *Aśva*, the horse with eight heads. (14). *Sárangadhanus*, or the bow *Sáranga* of which the unerring arrow carried to any distance.

After producing these inestimable treasures, the tortoise descended into the earth and is believed still to exist.

VÁRÁHÁVATÁRA,

or

Boar-Incarnation.

In the *Satya Yuga*, on the day of the full moon in the month of *Kárttika* (Oct.-Nov.) in the city of *Brahmávarta*[5] near *Nimishára*[6] and

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[1] The coral tree, *Erythrina Indica*, one of the five trees of Paradise.

[2] Commonly *Kalpa-taru*, the latter being synonymous with *vṛiksha*, a tree.

[3] According to Monier Williams, he held a cup of Amṛita in his hands. Dhanvantari is also the name of the author of the Ayur-Veda.

[4] A nymph of Indra's paradise, sometimes regarded as a form of Lakshmí, and popularly accepted as a type of female beauty. The order and number of these ocean treasures varies in different accounts. See the Vishṇu Puráṇa on the churning of the ocean. I. IX.

[5] See p. 33. According to Manu (II. 17) it is a district between the Sarasvatí and Dṛiśadvatí rivers.

[6] Or *Naimisha* from *S. nimisha*, a twinkling; the name of a forest and

Ayodhya, this manifestation took place. One of the *Daityas* named *Hiraṇyáksha*[1] had passed a long period in the practice of austerities and the worship of God. One day the Deity appeared to him in visible form and asked him what he desired. Rejoiced at these gracious words, he enumerated many noxious animals and prayed for exemption from their injury and that he might be monarch of the whole universe. Shortly after he obtained his wishes, and dispossessing Indra of the sovereignty of heaven, committed its charge to one of his own kindred. The deities and Brahmá hastened to Vishṇu and besought his aid. As in the request for exemption the name of the boar had been omitted, they received this answer, "I will manifest myself under that form and deprive him of life."

Soon afterwards, Vishṇu took this shape and entering his capital, destroyed him. This is pointed out as having taken place at Soron.[2] The earth was again peopled with the virtuous and Indra recovered his sovereignty of the world above.

The period of this manifestation was a thousand years.

NARA-SINHA,

or

Man-Lion-Incarnation.

This was a form from the head to the waist like a lion and the lower parts resembling a man, and was manifested in the *Satya Yuga* on the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaiśákha* (April-May), in the city of *Hiraṇyapúra* now commonly called Hindaun[3] near the metro-

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shrine, celebrated as the residence of certain Rishis to whom Sauti related the Mahábhárata The district was so-called because the sage Gaura-mukha destroyed an army of Asuras in a *twinkling*. Monier Williams, who refers to the Mahábh. Adi., p. 7275, Vana., p. 6079. It is called Nímkhár in the *I. G.*, a town in the Sítapúr Dist., Oudh, on the left bank of the Gúmtí, 20 miles from Sítapúr town. Lat. 27° 20′ 55″ N. and long. 80° 31′ 40″. It is described as a place of great sanctity with numerous tanks and temples. In one of the tanks, Ráma is said to have washed away his sin of slaying a Bráhman in the person of Rávana, the ravisher of Sítá.

[1] Fawn-eyed, an epithet also of Śiva; in the Vishṇu Puráṇa the two sons of Diti, are *Hiraṇyakaśipu* (clothed in gold) and *Hiraṇyáksha* (golden-eyed).

[2] In the Etah district, N. W. P. It is a town of great antiquity according to the *I. G.* and was originally known as Ukala-Kshetra, but after the destruction of Hiraṇyáksha, the name was changed to Sukara-Kshetra (beneficent-region). Devout Hindus after visiting Mathurá, go on to Soron to bathe in the Burhgangá which is here lined with handsome temples and *gháts*. The *I. G.* incorrectly gives the Daitya's name as Hiraṇyakasyapa, and Ukala is perhaps for Utkala or Utkara.

[3] In the Jaipur State, situated in 26° 44′ N., and long. 77° 5′ E, on the old

polis of Agra. They say that *Hiraṇyakaśipu* of the Daitya race spent many long years in a life of austerity until the Deity appeared to him and asked his desire. His first prayer was that his death might not take place by night nor by day; and next, he begged protection against all noxious animals which he severally named, and, lastly, that he might obtain sovereignty over the realms above and below. His request was granted. The deities yielded submission to him and the world was filled with the unrighteous. The chief spirits implored aid of Vishṇu through Brahmá and their prayer was heard. It is said that *Hiraṇyakaśipu* had a son called *Prahláda* who, like the deities, worshipped the Supreme God and followed the path of truth in spite of his father, who though he subjected his son to much persecution, was unable to turn him from that course. One evening his father asked him where the Supreme Being dwelt. He replied that he was omnipresent and to explain his meaning, pointed to a pillar in which also he declared the Deity to be. The king in folly smote it with his sword, and by a miracle from heaven, the above form came forth from it and tore him to pieces at the interval of time between night and day, and his death was caused by an animal of a specially-created type. It is said that this divine form asked *Prahláda* to choose some boon. The great-souled youth prayed only for final liberation (*jívanmukti*), which is eternal life freed from the defilement of corporal existence and from the bonds of joy and sorrow. This manifestation continued one hundred years.[1]

VÁMANA,

or

Dwarf-Incarnation.

In the *Tretá Yuga*, on the twelfth day of the light half of the month of *Bhádrapada* (H. *Bhádoṇ*, Aug.–Sept.) in the city of *Sonbhadrá* on the banks of the Narbadá, this new manifestation was born of Aditi in the house of Kaśyapa, the son of Maríchi,[2] the son of the legendary Brahmá.

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route from Agra to Mhow, 71 miles S. W. of the former, once an extensive city and now much decayed. The Mahabhir fair held annually, is attended by as many as 100,000 pilgrims. *I. G.*

[1] Four chapters of the Vishṇu Puráṇa, from the 17th to the 21st, are taken up with the history of the legend, but the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu is mentioned without the immediate circumstances which gave occasion to it. Wilson regards this as another instance of a brief reference to popular legends frequent in that Puráṇa. It is referred to, he observes, in several other Puráṇas, but he had himself met with the story in detail only in the Bhágavata.

[2] The variant in the note more approximates to the true name than that chosen in the text. Maríchi was one of

This incarnation continued a thousand years. *Bali* of the Daitya race underwent an austere penance to obtain the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Bountiful Giver of all desires revealed himself and granted his wish and Bali thus obtained a mighty dominion. Having subdued the throned princes of the gods, he left them in possession of their principalities. He performed many sacrifices, but neglected to present to the deities their customary offerings. The latter, through the intercession of Brahmá, implored Vishṇu to dethrone him who comforted them by revealing the issue of events. In the same year this moon-orb displayed its radiance, and when the child grew in wisdom, in conformity with rule and custom he was placed under the tuition of the sage *Bharadwája.* With his preceptor he attended the sacrifice which the king had inaugurated at Kurukshetra, and after the royal custom, Bali asked him what boon he desired. He replied, "I ask of thee as much ground as I can cover with three steps." The king in amazement rejoined, "Is so slight a gift craved of a monarch so illustrious and powerful?" When at last, after some debate he consented, the first step was so great that it covered the earth and the lower regions. The second measured the extent of the celestial world. The Rájá delivered himself up in bonds in commutation of the third step. On account of the natural goodness of the Rájá's disposition, after depriving him of his universal sovereignty, he conceded to him the rule of the nether world.[1]

PARAŚURÁMÁVATÁRA,

or

Incarnation of Ráma with the axe.

In the house of Jamadagni a Bráhman, and of his wife Reṇuká, during the *Tretá Yuga,* on the third day of the light half of the month of *Vaiśákha,* in the village of Raukaṭṭa[2] near Agra, this human form was born.

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the Prajápatis and the father of Kaśyapa. One of the most sacred spots on the Narbadá to this day is a site near Broach city where Bali performed the horse-sacrifice. According to the I. G., on the doubtful authority of the Rewá Puráṇa (Rewá being another name for the Narbadá), the sanctity of the Ganges will cease in the Samvat year 1951 (1895), while that of the Narbadá will perpetually endure.

[1] This is briefly alluded to in the 1st Chap of the V. P., but fuller details are found, according to Wilson, in the Bhágavata and in the Kúrma, Matsya and Vámana Puráṇas. Bharadwája was one of the seven Ṛishis.

[2] This is probably a corruption of *araṅyaka,* a forest, wherein his hermitage was built to which he took his bride, the daughter of Rájá Prasenájit.

Kárttavírya of the Daitya[1] race, who had neither hands nor feet, was at that time on the throne. In great affliction on account of his misfortune, he abandoned the world and retired to the Kailása mountain to undergo penance. Mahádeva vouchsafing his favour, gave him a thousand arms and at his prayer bestowed on him the sovereignty of the three worlds. But he oppressed the deities for which reason they implored his destruction, and their supplication was heard. They say that Jamadagni was descended from Mahádeva and Reṇuká from Aditi mother of the deities (*Adityas*). She had five sons, the fifth being Paraśuráma. He was instructed by Mahádeva in the Kailása mountain, and Jamadagni his father worshipped in the desert. Kárttavírya was one day engaged in the pastime of hunting and he happened to pass by the hermitage of Jamadagni and sought there to satisfy his hunger and thirst. The hermit brought forth food and drink, besides jewels and valuable presents befitting a monarch. The king was amazed and refused to touch them till he was informed concerning their possession. He replied that Indra, the ruler of the celestial regions, had bestowed upon him the cow *Kámadhenu* which supplied him with all that he required. The king seized with avarice, demanded the cow. He answered that he could not comply with his request without the sanction of Indra, and that no earthly power could take possession of it. The king enraged determined to use force, but notwithstanding all the troops he could collect and his hostile attempts, he could not prevail. At length one night he came secretly and slew Jamadagni, but found no trace of the cow. Reṇuká sent for her son Paraśuráma, and performing the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, burnt herself according to the custom of her people and laid upon her son the injunction to avenge her. Paraśuráma, endued with miraculous power, set out to engage the king, and twenty pitched battles took place. In the last, the king was slain and the deities recovered their sovereignty. He then collected the wealth of the universe and bestowed it in alms at a sacrificial ceremony, and then abandoning the world, retired to the obscurity of a solitude.[1]

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[1] This is an error, probably of a copyist. He was sovereign of the Haihaya tribe descendants of Yadu from the twelfth prince of the lunar line. Of this tribe there were five great divisions, the Tálojanghas, Vitihotras, A'vantyas, Tundikeras and Játas. They dwelt in Central India. The capital of the first named was Máhíshmatí or Chulí Maheswar, still called, according to Col. Todd *Sahasra-báhu ki basti*, 'village of the thousand armed,' *i. e.*, of Kárttavírya. (Rajásthán, I. 39, n.). These tribes must have preceded the Rájpút tribes by whom their country, Málwa, Ujjain and the valley of the Narbadá, is now occupied. A remnant of the Haihaya still exists at the top of the valley of Sohágpúr in Bhagel-khaṇḍ, aware of their ancient lineage and celebrated for their valour. Their predatory connection with the Sakas, suggests their Scythian origin, which the word Haya, meaning in Sansk. a horse, is supposed to confirm, perhaps from their nomadic habits implied in the Homeric name, Hippemolgi. Wilson hints their connection with the Huns. See his notes to Book IV, Chapters III and XI, V. P. The Kailáṣa mountain, the fabled Paradise of S'iva is placed by the Hindus, north of the Máṇasa lake and regarded as one of the loftiest peaks of the Himalayas. *Vide* Vol. II, 313, n. 2.

He is still believed to be living and his habitation is pointed out in the mountain Mahendra of the Konkan.

RÁMÁVATÁRA,
or
Ráma-Incarnation.

They relate that Rávaṇa one of the *Rákshasas* two generations in descent from Brahmá,[2] had ten heads and twenty hands. He underwent austerities for a period of ten thousand years in the Kailása mountain and devoted his heads, one after another in this penance in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Deity appeared to him and granted his prayer. The gods were afflicted by his rule and as in the former instances, solicited his dethronement which was vouchsafed, and Ráma was appointed to accomplish this end. He was accordingly born during the *Tretá Yuga* on the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* (March–April) in the city of Ayodhya, of Kausalya wife of Rájá Daśaratha. At the first dawn of intelligence, he acquired much learning and withdrawing from all worldly pursuits, set out journeying through wilds and gave a fresh beauty to his life by visiting holy shrines. He became lord of the earth and slew Rávaṇa. He ruled for eleven thousand years and introduced just laws of administration.[3]

KṚISHṆÁVATÁRA,
or
Incarnation as Kṛishṇa.

More than four thousand years ago, Ugrasena of the Yadu race bore sway in his capital of Mathurá. His son Kansa rebelled and dethroning his father ruled with a persecuting hand, while at the same time Jarásandha, Sísupála and other princes of the Daityas exercised unbounded tyranny. The afflicted earth assuming the form of a cow, hastened with Brahmá to Vishṇu and implored their destruction. The prayer was granted and the divine commission was entrusted to Kṛishṇa. They say that the astrologers foretold to Kansa that a child would shortly be born and that his reign would be at an end. He thereupon ordered the slaughter of all infants and thus each year the blood of many innocent children was shed until his sister Devakí married Vasudeva of the Yadu race. Now Kansa heard a report that Devakí's eighth son would be the cause of his death. He therefore confined them both in prison and put to death every son that was born to them. In the beginning of the *Kali Yuga*, on the eighth lunar day of the dark half of the month of *Bhádrapada* (Aug.–Sep.), in the city of Mathurá near the metropolis of Agra, the child was born while the guards were negligent. The fetters fell off and the doors were opened and the child spoke thus. "On the other side of the Jamuna, a girl has even now been born in the house of the cowherd Nanda, and the family are asleep. Take and leave me there and bring the girl hither." As Vasudeva set out to fulfil this injunction, the river became fordable and the command was obeyed. Kṛishṇa in his ninth year killed Kansa, released Ugrasena from prison and seated him on the throne. He also engaged the other tyrants and overthrew them.

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[1] This fable is taken from the Mahábhárata and inserted in the 7th Chapter, Book IV, of the Vishṇu Puráṇa. In this, Ráma uses his axe to cut off his mother's head at the command of his father, who restored her again to life at his son's request. The sons of Kárttavírya are there said to revenge the death of their father by slaying Jamadagni in Ráma's absence.

[2] He was the son of Viśravas, son of Pulastyá, son of Brahmá.

[3] The literature of the Rámáyaṇa in various languages is sufficiently well-known to dispense with a reference to the details of this *Avatára*.

He lived one hundred and twenty-five years and had 16,108 wives, each of whom gave birth to ten sons and one daughter, and each wife thought that she alone shared her husband's bed.

BUDDHÁVATÁRA,

or

Buddha-Incarnation.

He was born of Máya in the house of Rájá Sudhodana of the race of Rámachandra during the *Kali Yuga*, on the eighth of the light half of the month of *Vaisákha* in the city of Makata.[1]

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[1] For 'city' read 'country.' Magadha is here intended, of which the capital was Rájagṛiha. According to Spencer Hardy it is called Makata by the Burmans and Siamese, Mo-ki-to by the Chinese, and Makala Kokf by the Japanese. See 'Manual of Buddhism,' p. 140, on the Buddha's five perceptions regarding the character of the period, the continent, country, family and day of Buddha-manifestations. The city of Kapilavastu is supposed to have witnessed the birth of the last. According to Hardy, Buddha was said to have been born "on Tuesday, the day of the full moon in the month of Wesak, the ne-

They say that as many sacrifices were performed at this period and the number of animals sacrificed was very large, Vishṇu willed to appear in human form to condemn the Vedic institutions and their sacrificial rites. For this reason he became incarnate in that year and lived to the age of a hundred. Some account of him has already preceded.

KALKYAVATÁRA,

or

Kalkí-Incarnation.

At the close of the *Kali Yuga*, in the tenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisákha*, this birth will take place in the family of the Bráhman Vishṇuyasas from the womb of his wife Yaśovatí in the town of Sambhala.[1]

They say that a time will come when a just prince will not be left upon the earth, iniquity will abound, grain become excessively dear, and the age of men will become shortened so that they will not live beyond thirty years, and deaths will be rife. For the remedy of these disorders, the Deity will become incarnate and renew the world in righteousness.

Some add fourteen other *Avatáras*, making them twenty-four, and have written works on the histories of each, relating many extraordinary legends.

Many men fashion images of these *Avatáras* in silver and gold and worship them, but the Jainas and Buddhas do not believe in the complete incarnations (*Púrṇávatáras*).

UNCLEAN THINGS.

These are,—wine, blood, semen, excrement, urine, excretions from the mouth, nose, ears and eyes, sweat, hair, detached nails, bones of animals whose flesh is forbidden, a woman in her courses, and one newly delivered during the period hereinafter stated, any dead animal, forbidden food, a sweeper, an ass, a dog, (tame) swine, the dust that rises from off an ass, goat, sheep or broom, and the mud shaken out of a garment, a

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kata [*Nakshatra* (?)] being Wisa [Vísakhá (?)]" But as he justly observes, it is easy to be minute when the annalist consults only his imagination.

[1] See Vol. II, p. 16, n. 1. He is to appear on a white horse with a flashing sword for the final destruction of Mlechchhas and those that love iniquity, and to re-establish righteousness. The similarity of the idea and expression to the Apocalyptic vision of the white horse and its rider will readily occur to mind and the analogy between some of these manifestations and certain scenes in the New Testament has often been observed, and is not the result of accident.

sinner guilty of the five great sins, or whoever touches such, a crow, a (tame domestic) cock, a mouse, a eunuch, the smoke from a burnt corpse, a washerman, a hunter, a fisherman, a gamester, a spirit-seller, an executioner, a tanner, a dyer, a currier, and an oilman.[1]

PURIFIERS.

Knowledge, austerity, suspension of breath (*pránáyáma*), religious exercises of the *Sandhyá*, sun-light, moon-light, fire, water, air, earth, ashes, mustard-seed, wild produce of the earth, shade of a tree, the back and legs of a cow, a plough, a broom, sour things,[2] salt-water, mouth of a horse or goat, eating certain food, the lapse of time, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter, and the dung and urine of a cow.

STATE OF PURIFICATION.

Knowledge and austerity purify the soul. When the inward person is unclean by improper food, it is purified by suppression of breath and the wild produce of the earth: a drunkard by molten glass.[3] When the body is defiled by ordure, wine, blood and the like, it becomes pure by cleansing below the navel with earth and water, and above it with earth and water, rinsing the teeth, washing the eyes, bathing, abstaining for a day and a night from food and drink, and afterwards eating five things from a cow.[4] A pathway or water that has been polluted by the shadow of a *Chandál* (pariah) is again purified by sunlight, moonlight, and air. If the ordure of any animal falls into a well, sixty pitchers full of water must be taken out; if into a tank, a hundred pitchers; any part of a river, is purified by its own flow.[1] From oil that is defiled, the contaminating matter is taken out and the oil is boiled. Milk cannot be purified except only when the shadow of a *Chanḍál* may have fallen upon it, in which case it becomes pure by boiling. Cotton, leaves, molasses, grain, become pure by the sprinkling of a little water after removing the defilement. Gold, silver, stone, vegetable produce, rope and whatever grows beneath the earth and utensils of cane are purified by water, and if they have been defiled by unclean oil and the like, by hot water. Clothes are purified by water. Wooden vessels if defiled by the touch of a *Chanḍál* cannot be made pure, but if touched by a *Sudra* or any unclean thing, may be purified by scraping; and wood and bone and horn must be treated in the same manner. Anything made of stone after being washed must be buried for seven days. A sieve, a winnowing basket, a deer-skin, and the like, and a pestle-and-mortar, are purified by being sprinkled with water. A cart may be scraped in the part defiled and the rest dashed with water. An earthen vessel is purified by being heated in the fire; and the ground by one of the following: sweeping, lighting a fire thereon, ploughing, lapse of a considerable time, being touched by the feet or back of a cow, sprinkling with water, digging or plastering with cowdung. Food smelt by a cow or into which hair, flies or lice[2] have fallen, is purified with ashes and water. If any thing is defiled by excretions from the mouth, nose, eyes, ears, or sweat, or touched by hair or nails detached from one's own body, it should be first washed, and then scoured with clean earth, and again washed until the smear and smell have gone. Excretions from the mouth, nose, ears, or eyes of another, if they come from above the navel, must if possible, be purified as above described, after which he must bathe: all below the navel, and the two hands are purified by cleansing in the same way. If he be defiled with spirituous liquor, semen, blood, catamenia, (the touch of) a lying-in woman, ordure and urine, he must wash with water and scour with earth, and again wash with water if the defilement be above the navel; if it extend below, after the second washing, he must rub himself with butter from a cow and then with its milk, and afterward with its buttermilk, and next smear himself with cowdung and wash in its urine, and finally drink three handfuls of water from the river. If he touch a washerman, or a dyer, or a currier, or an executioner, or a hunter, or a fisherman, or an oilman, or tame swine, he is purified by water only. But if he touch a woman in her courses or a lying-in woman, or a sweeper, or a great sinner,[1] or a corpse, or a dog, or an ass, cat, crow, domestic cock, mouse or a eunuch, or the smoke of a burning corpse, or the dust from an ass, dog, goat or sheep reach him, he must enter the water in his clothes and bathe and look at the sun and pronounce incantations to it. After touching a greasy human bone, he must bathe with his clothes on or else wash himself and drink three handfuls of water and look at the sun and put his hand upon a cow. Where the sun is not visible, he must look upon fire. If silk or wool come in contact with any thing the touch of which (in a man) would require his bathing, it is purified by air and sunshine if it be not actually defiled, otherwise it must also be washed. A woman in her courses becomes pure after the fourth day.

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[1] Prohibitions and permissions in regard to food and ceremonial purification are treated in the V. Lecture of Manu's Ordinances. Albírúní says that he was informed by Hindus that before the time of Bhárata, the meat of cows was permitted, and cows were killed at certain sacrifices, and that the reason of the prohibition was their unwholesomeness as food. In a hot climate the inner parts of the body are cold, the natural warmth is feeble and the digestion is so weak, that it has to be strengthened by chewing the betel-nut. The betel inflames the bodily heat, the chalk in the betel leaves dries up everything wet, and the betel-nut acts as an astringent on the teeth, gums and stomach. Hence cow's meat was forbidden as it is essentially thick and cold. II. Chapter 58.

[2] Sour liquids, according to Manu, curdled milk and all produced from it and all liquids pressed from pure flowers, roots and fruits may be drunk. V. 10. By the purifying effects of certain food, sacrificial food is meant. Manu. V. 105, n. 5.

[3] In Manu, boiling cow's urine, milk, *ghee*, liquid cow dung, or spirituous liquor. The punishment is for a Bráhman and is equivalent to death. XI. 91-92, and n. 3.

[4] Milk, buttermilk, ghee, dung of a cow and its urine.

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[1] Manu. V. 108. Burnell uses the word 'velocity.'

[2] The word is 'kirm' a worm in the text, but rendered lice in Manu.

If it is not known whether a thing be clean or unclean, they accept the decision of some virtuous person regarding it or sprinkle it with water. The details on this subject are numerous.

IMPROPER DRESS.

A blue garment, unless it be of silk or wool, is improper for any caste except a S'údra, but a Bráhman's wife at night, and a Kshatriya woman as a bride or at a feast, may wear it, and a Vaiśya woman must avoid it when performing the *S'ráddha* or funeral rites. The women of all three castes may not wear it when cooking or eating.

PROHIBITED FOOD.

Human flesh, beef, horse-flesh, domestic cocks and hens, the parrot, the *S'árika*,[2] the *Mynah*, the pigeon, the owl, the vulture, the chameleon, the bustard, the *Sáras* (Ardea antigone), the *Papíha* and waterfowl, frogs, snakes, weasels and animals whose toes are joined (web-footed birds): animals that abide in towns, except the goat; the ruddy goose (Anas casarca), the pond-heron (Ardea torra),[3] dried fish or flesh, five kinds of fish, *viz.*:—(1). The *Rohu*, (Cyprinus Rohita). (2). The *Patthar Chatá* (Stone licker). (3). The *Sankara* (probably a skate the *Raia Sankar*). (4). The *Rájíva*. (5.) The *Bárahi*:[4] carnivorous animals, the camel, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the monkey, the various reptiles; all that produces intoxication, camel's milk, mare's milk, and the milk of all animals that divide not the hoof;[1] goat's and ewe's milk, the milk of forest animals, woman's milk, milk from a cow in the first ten days after calving, milk of a cow whose calf has died, till she calves again; garlic, leeks, carrots, the Sebesten plum (Cordia Sebestena) the produce from unclean land, or food which a man's foot has touched or the hand of a woman in her courses; anything from the house of a courtesan, or a thief, or a carpenter, or a usurer, or a blacksmith, or a polisher, or a goldsmith, or a washerman, or a weaver, or a tanner, or a currier, or a singer or dancer, or an armourer, or a dog keeper, or a seller of spirits, or a physician, or a surgeon, or a hunter, or a eunuch; food set apart or the food of one who has committed the five great sins;[2] food dressed for offerings to the deities, leavings of food of one in mourning during the period of mourning, food of an unchaste woman, cheese and the like that is made of milk,[3] all food dressed with oil or water and left all night; whatever becomes sour from being left long; food in which hair or insects may have fallen; food eaten without the five ceremonies which are obligatory before meals, as will be now described.

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[1] *Mahápátakin.* See *post* p. 297. n. 2.

[2] See p. 121, n. 2.

[3] These last two in the text seem included in the exception, but the pond-heron or paddy-bird at least is expressly forbidden by Manu. v. 13.

[4] The last named, of which there are several variants, and the second and third, are not in Manu who mentions the *paṭhína* and *simhatuṇda* which together with the *rájíva* and *rohu* or *rohita* are declared to be *lawful*, but the commentator Medha-tithi limits the two latter to use at sacrificial ceremonies. I do not find the Patthar-chaṭa mentioned in Day's Fishes of India.' Stone-licking is common to a good many if not to all. The Sankára is perhaps, a skate, the

These details are already numerous and what has been said must suffice.

CEREMONIES IN COOKING AND EATING.

Each time before cooking, if it be in the house, the floor and part of the wall should be plastered with cowdung and earth, and if it be in the woods, as much ground as will hold the materials and the cooking utensils. No one but the person[4] who cooks may occupy the spot, and he must first bathe and put on a loin-cloth and cover his head and thus complete his meal. If a piece of paper or dirty rag or other such thing fall on the plastered space, the food is spoilt. He must bathe again and newly plaster the ground and provide fresh materials. The cook must be either the mistress of the family or a Bráhman whose special duty this may be, or a relation, or the master of the house himself.

Raia *Sankur*; Rájíva signifies streaked or striped, and is mentioned by Monier Williams as a fish whose spawn is said to be poisonous. I cannot identify it nor the following name Bárahi. The rhinoceros is a disputed animal, M. V. 18, n. 6.

[1] A variant omits the negative, but Manu is distinct on the point and forbids the milk of animals with a solid hoof.

[2] Slaying a Bráhman, drinking spirituous liquor, theft, adultery with the wife of a Guru are the four great crimes; associating with those who commit them is the fifth. Manu IX, 235, and XI, 55.

[3] Curdled milk and all produced from it are expressly allowed. V. 10.

[4] The text has by mistake پرنده for پزنده.

Before eating, the place where they sit must be plastered in the same way, and they occupy it without spreading any covering on the ground, but a stool or a wooden board, bare as aforesaid, may be used.

Next, the following five ceremonies are regarded as indispensable:—(1). Reading some portion of the *Vedas.* (2). Sprinkling water as a libation to departed ancestors. (3). Placing some food in front of the idol. (4). Throwing a little food on the ground in the name of the *deities.* (5). Giving some to the poor. First the children eat, then the relations satisfy themselves, after which the man himself partakes, but not out of the same dish with another even though it be a child. None but the cook may bring any provisions to the gathering. If by accident his hand touches any one, or he is touched by others, whatever food he holds in his hand at the time he must throw away, and bathing anew, bring fresh materials; unless the cook be a woman, for whom it will suffice to wash her hands and feet. The cook eats last of all. In drinking also, each person must have a separate vessel.

Formerly it was the custom for a Bráhman to eat at the house of a Bráhman or of a Kshátriya or of a Vaiśya, and a Kshátriya might eat at any house but that of a S'údra; and a Vaiśya in the same way; but in this cycle of the *Kali Yuga*, each must take his meal in the house of his own caste. The utensils from which they eat are generally the leaves of trees, and fashioned of gold, silver, brass, and also of bell-metal, and they avoid the use of copper, earthenware, and stone vessels. They also consider it improper to eat from a broken dish or from the leaves of the *bar* or banyan tree (*ficus Indica*), the *pipal*, (*ficus religiosa*) and the swallow-wort (*Asclepeas gigantea*).[1] To eat twice either in the night or day is not approved.

RULES OF FASTING.

These are of numerous kinds, but a few will be mentioned.

The first kind is when they neither eat nor drink during the day and night, and twenty-nine of these days are obligatory during the year, *viz.*, on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight of every month; the *S'ivarátri*;[2]

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[1] These being sacred; the flowers of the *Asclepeas* are placed upon the idol Mahádeva. It secretes an acrid milky juice which flows from wounds in the shrub, and is applied to various medicinal purposes, and preparations of the plant are employed to cure all kinds of fits, epilepsy, hysterics, convulsions, poisonous bites. The flowers are large and beautiful, a mixture of rose and purple: there is also a white-flowered variety. Roxburgh, "Flora Indica."

[2] S'iva's night, a popular festival in honour of S'iva kept on the 14th of the dark half of the month of *Mágha* (Jan.–Feb.) When S'iva is worshipped under the type of the *Linga*, a rigorous fast is observed. Monier Williams.

the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisákha* (April–May) in which the birth of the *Nara-Sinha*, or Man-lion took place; the third of the light half of the same month being the anniversary of the birth of *Paraśuráma;* the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* (March–April), the nativity of *Ráma;* and the eighth of the dark half of the month of *Bhádra-pada* (*Bhádon*, Aug.–Sep.), the nativity of Krishṇa. On these occasions, some abstain from grain only, and other authorities lay down particular details.

The second kind. They eat only at night.

The third kind. They take only water, fruit and milk.

The fourth kind. They eat but once during the day and night, but may drink water at any time.

The fifth kind. They do not of their own desire eat during twenty-four hours, but if pressed to do so, they may partake of food not more than once.

The sixth kind is the Chandráyaṇa, which is in five ways:—(1). On the first day of the month, one mouthful is taken and an increase of one mouthful made daily till the fifteenth, from which date it diminishes daily by the like quantity. (2). Or on the first of the month, fifteen mouthfuls are taken and the consumption daily diminishes till the fifteenth, when it is reduced to one mouthful; after which it again increases by one mouthful daily. (3). Some say that instead of this, three mouthfuls, should be taken each half-day, and nothing else should be touched. (4). Or, again, eight mouthfuls each half-day, four in the morning and four in the evening. (5). Or two hundred and forty mouthfuls may be eaten (during the month) in any manner at will: The size of the mouthful should be that of a pea-hen's egg, and the faster should bathe regularly morning, noon, and evening.

The seventh kind. They neither eat nor drink for twelve days.

The eighth kind. Out of twelve days, they eat a little once daily for three days consecutively, and once at night only for three other days; during three other days and nights they do not eat unless some one brings them food, and for the remaining three, they fast altogether.

The ninth kind. For three days and nights they eat no more than one handful, and for three other days the same allowance only at night: for three more days and nights if any food is brought to them, they may take one handful, and for three days and nights they eat nothing.

The tenth kind. For three days and nights, they swallow only warm water: for three other such periods only hot milk, and again for three days and nights hot clarified butter, and for three days and nights they light a fire and put the mouth against an opening by which the hot air enters, which they inhale.

The eleventh kind. Out of fifteen days, for three days and nights they eat only leaves, and for three days and nights only the Indian fig; for three days and nights they are content with the seeds of the lotus; for three days and nights, leaves of the *pípal;* for three days and nights, the kind of grass called *dábha.*[1]

The twelfth kind. For six days out of the week they must content themselves with one of the following six consecutively, the produce of the cow:—(1). Urine. (2). Dung. (3). Milk. (4). Buttermilk. (5). Butter. (6). Water. On the seventh he must abstain from food altogether.

During every kind of fast they must abstain from meat, the pulse *Adas, (Cicer lens)*, the bean *Lobiyá, (Dolichos Sinensis)*, honey and molasses; they must sleep on the ground; they may not play at such games as *chaupar* and *solah*[2]; nor approach their wives at night, nor anoint themselves with oil, nor shave, and the like, and they must give alms daily and perform other good works.

ENUMERATION OF SINS.

Although these exceed expression, and a volume could not contain them, they may be classed in seven degrees.

The first degree comprises five kinds which cannot be expiated.

(1). Killing a Bráhman. (2). Incest with the mother. (3). Drinking spirituous liquors by a Bráhman, Kshátriya or Vaiśya; accounted no sin, however, in a S'údra. Some authorities name three kinds of spirits, *viz.*, distilled from rice or other grain: from *mahwá (Bassia Latifolia)*, and the like: from molasses and similar things. All three are forbidden to the Bráhman; the first-named only to the Kshátriya and the Vaiśya. (4). Stealing ten *máshas* of gold. (5). Associating for one year with anyone guilty of these four.

The second degree. Untruth in regard to genealogy, carrying a slander to the king, and false accusation of a Guru, are equivalent to slaying a Bráhman.

Carnal connection with sisters by the same mother,[3] with immature girls, with women of the lowest class, and the wives of curriers, painters, rope-dancers, fishermen and fowlers, and the wife of one's friend or son, is equivalent to the second great sin (of the first degree).

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[1] Or *darbha*, the name specially of the *kuśa-grass* (*Poa Cynosuroides*) used at sacrificial ceremonies, but also applied to the *Saccharum spontaneum* and *S. cylindricum.*

[2] Both are games of hazard: the latter is also called *solah-bagghu.* The names are derivatives from the numerals four and sixteen respectively, *chaupar* having two transverse bars in the form of a cross drawn on the playing cloth, and the other played with a number of lines drawn on the ground.

[3] Taken in this sense by Sir W Jones, and confirmed by the commentator Medhátithi, but Hopkins translates "with women born of one's own mother." Manu, XI. 59.

Forgetting the Vedas, or showing them contempt, false testimony (without a bad motive), killing a relation (without malice), and eating prohibited things, are equivalent to the third sin of the first degree.

Betrayal of trust in regard to a deposit, and stealing a human creature, a horse, jewels, silver and land, are equivalent to stealing gold.

Third degree. Killing a cow, adultery with other than the above-named women, theft of other things besides (gold), killing a woman,[1] a Kshatriya, a Vaiśyá or a S'údra (without malice), bewitching, oppression of others, exacting illegal imposts, procuring for immoral purposes, prostitution and making a livelihood thereby, deserting a teacher or father or mother, usury as has been noticed, trading in a Bráhman or Kshatriya unless through necessity, in which case they may not deal in oil, salt, sweetmeats, cooked food, sesame-seed, stone, living animals, red cloths, hempen, linen or woollen cloths, fruits, medicines, arms, poison, flesh perfumes, milk, honey, buttermilk, spirituous liquors, indigo, lac, grass water and leather goods: non-payment of the three debts,[2] that is to the gods, which is sacrifice; to spiritual teachers, which is reading the *Vedas;* and to ancestors for the procreation of their kind: omitting investiture of the sacred thread at the proper time, deserting one's kindred, selling a son, a wife, a garden, a well, or a holy pool, digging up green produce from the ground having no need of it,[3] performing the *páka* sacrifice with a selfish view merely, application to the books of a false religion, doing service for hire as a Bráhman,[4] marrying before an elder brother: all these are considered equivalent to killing a cow.

Fourth degree. Dissimulation, sodomy, molesting a Bráhman,[5] smelling any spirituous liquor, and anything extremely fœtid or unfit to be smelt.[6]

Fifth degree. Killing an elephant, a horse, a camel, a deer, a goat, a sheep, a buffalo, a *nílgao*, a fish, an ass, a dog, a cat,[7] a pig and the like;

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[1] The variant in the notes is correct and I have adopted it instead of the reading of the text which makes the woman the wife of the castes that follow. See Manu, XI. 67.

[2] To the gods, manes and men, are the three debts with which man is born. XI. 66, n. 7. Hopkins.

[3] In Manu, cutting down green trees for firewood.

[4] That is teaching the Vedas for hire working in mines and dykes and bridges and other mechanical works, serving a S'údra, all of which are forbidden.

[5] With hand or staff. Medhátithi. XI. 68. n. 11. Hopkins.

[6] The variant بوُیدن in the note is correct.

[7] A variant has *kotahpáe* which in Vol. II. p. 338. n. 1., I have rendered as the

receiving property from forbidden persons as a Chanḍála or pariah, and the like; trading in the things aforesaid without necessity, falsehood, and serving a S'údra.

Sixth degree. Killing small insects like ants; eating from the hand or vessel of a wine-seller.

Seventh degree. Stealing fruit, flowers, and firewood; want of mental firmness on important occasions.[1]

For each of these degrees of sin certain penances have been appointed, the performance of which releases from further penalty: for instance, they say that whoever kills a Bráhman will transmigrate into the form of a deer, a dog, a camel, or boar. When he takes human form he will be subject to diseases and end his life in great afflictions. The expiation is to cut off pieces of his own flesh and skin and throw them into the fire, or for twelve years forsake his family and taking a human skull in his hand, go a begging and from street to street and door to door proclaim his wickedness; this is, provided it was accidental,[2] otherwise this penance lasts twenty-four years.

INTERIOR SINS.

Although they hold these to be very numerous twelve are accounted heinous:—(1). *Krodha*, being under the influence of anger. (2). *Lobha*, inordinate desire of rank and wealth. (3). *Dvesha*, hatred towards men. (4). *Rága*, love of worldly pleasures. (5). *Mána*, esteeming one's self above others. (6). *Moha*, ignorance. (7). *Mada*, intoxication from spirituous liquors or wealth or youth or station or knowledge. (8). *S'oka*, absorption in grief through loss of goods, reputation or honour, or separation from friends. (9). *Mámatva*,[3] considering the things of the world as one's own. (10). *Ahankára*, egoism. (11). *Bhaya*, fearing other than God. (12). *Harsha*, joy in one's own virtue and the evil of others.

The endeavour of such as desire to know God should be first to restrain themselves from these twelve sins until they acquire virtuous dispositions and become worthy to attain to the divine union. Some say that all evil actions are reducible to ten heads,[4] of which three corrupt

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hog-deer (*cervus porcinus*) for reasons therein given. All forest animals are forbidden to be killed by Manu.

[1] 'On trifling occasions,' according to Sir. W. Jones. Hopkins omits the condition altogether.

[2] The penance is doubled for a Kshatriya, and trebled and quadrupled for the next two castes.

[3] The text has erroneously *Matva*. *Mama-tva* signifies literally, mine-ness, as *Ahankára* signifies as literally ego-ism.

[4] This is taken from Manu, XII. 5, 6, 7 Resolving on forbidden things is defined by a commentator as desiring to kill a Bráhman and the like, and the third in conceiving notions of materialism and atheism.

the heart, *viz.*, coveting the goods of another; resolving on any forbidden deed; scepticism in regard to the chosen servants of God. The same number defile the members of the body, *viz.*, taking the goods of another by force; injury to the innocent;[1] adultery.

The sins of the tongue are four, *viz.*, scurrilous language, falsehood, slander, and useless tattle.

May the omnipotent Lord keep us from these ten sins and bring us to the goal of our desire.

SACRED PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

Although profound and enlightened moralists are convinced that true happiness consists in the acquisition of virtue and recognise no other temple of God but a pure heart, nevertheless the physicians of the spiritual order, from their knowledge of the pulsation of human feeling, have bestowed on certain places a reputation for sanctity and thus rousing the slumberers in forgetfulness and instilling in them the enthusiastic desire of seeking God, have made these shrines instruments for their reverencing of the just, and the toils of the pilgrimage a means of facilitating the attainment of their aim.

These holy places are of four degrees.

The first is termed *deva* or divine and dedicated to Brahmá, Vishṇu and Mahádeva. The greatest among these are twenty-eight rivers in the following order:—

(1). Ganges. (2). Sarasvatí. (3). Jamuna. (4). Narbadá.[2] (5). Vipáśá, known as the Biáh (Hyphasis). (6). Vitastá (Hydaspes or Bidaspes) known as the Bihat. (7). Kauśikí, a river near Rhoṭás[3] in the Panjáb, but some place it in the neighbourhood of Gaṛhí in the eastern districts. (8). Nandávatí.[4] (9). Chandrabhága, known as the Chenáb. (10). S'arayu (Sarju) known as the Saráu. (11). Satyavatí.[5] (12). Tápí known as Taptí, upon the (north) bank of which is Burhánpúr.[1] (13). Párávatí.[2] (14). Pásávatí. (15). Gomatí (Gumti) near Dváraká.[3] (16). Gandakí, upon the banks of which is Sulṭánpúr of the Súbah of Oudh. (17). Báhudá.[4] (18). Deviká (Deva or Gogra). (19). Godávarí, called also Bánganga.[5] Paṭṭan of the Dekhan is situated on its bank. (20). Támraparṇí[6] at the extremity of the Dekhan. Here pearls are found. (21). Charmanvatí. (22). Varaṇa, near Benares. (23). Irávatí, known as the Rávi (Hydraotes). Lahor is on its bank. (24). S'atadru (the hundred-channelled), known as the Sutlej. Ludíana is upon its bank. (25). Bhímarathí, called also the Bhímá, in the Dekhan. (26). Parnasoṇá.[7] (27). Van-

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[1] Properly injury without sanction of law, that is, to animals except at authorised sacrifices, to men when not inflicted as legal penalties: Manu, XII. 7, n. 2.

[2] Properly Narma-dá, giving pleasure; commonly, Nerbudda.

[3] Rohtás or Rotas near Jhelum, overlooks the Kuhán Nadí according to the I. G. I find no river of this name in the Punjab, but the Kosi another name for the Kauśiki in Behar, is well known and its location there is properly assigned. Gaṛhí is a *pargand* of Purneah through which district the river flows. Keith Johnston gives it also the name of the Saukhussi which the I. G. treats as another river joining the Brahmaputra, but not traceable in his map.

[4] Monier Williams gives a Nandátirtha apparently connected with a river which he cannot identify.

[5] The same as the Kauśiki. Satyavatí, the mother of Jamadagni, father of

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Paruśaráma became the Kauśikí river. The recurrence of the same name is noticed by Wilson in his enumeration of the rivers who attributes it either to the error of a copyist, or to one name being applied to different rivers: in this case different names to the same river.

[1] See Vol. II. pp. 223, 226, 238.

[2] The Parvatí in Málwa, Wilson V. P.

[3] This cannot, of course, be the Ḍváraka known as Kṛishna's capital in Káthíawár. In some MSS. the name Dváraka is omitted as well as the Gandakí, and the words in the text "upon the banks of which," &c., follow immediately after "Gomatí." There must be some error in the transcription. Sultánpúr is on the Gumti, 150 miles from the Gandak.

[4] Wilford considers it the Mahánada which falls into the Ganges below Malda, but Trelawney Saunders places it below the mouths of the Orissa Mahánadí.

[5] According to the I. G. there are two of this name. One rising in the hills N. of Jeypore and falling into the Jumna after a course of 200 miles. Another rising S. of Nepal bounding the Oudh *terai* and joining the Burhi Rapti at Karmanighát. This is called the 'arrow' (*váṇa*) river, perhaps from the legend of Rávaṇa cleaving a hill with a shaft, from which a river is said to have arisen. Wilford gives this name to the Sarávatí (full of reeds), now called the Rámgangá. The name applies to the thickets of reeds on its banks where Kárrtikeya was born. (As. Res. XIV 409). I do not observe this name applied to the Godavari.

[6] In Tinnevelli. The name occurs in the Rámáyana.

> Pass Tamraparní's flood whose isles
> Are loved by basking crocodiles,
> The Sandal woods that fringe her side
> Those islets and her waters hide;
> While like an amorous matron, she
> Speeds to her own dear lord, the Sea.
> Griffiths. IV. X. LI.

[7] I conceive this to be the Son, which is supposed to derive its name from the Sansk. *S'ona*, crimson. It is the Erannoboas of Arrian and Pliny, though the point is disputed as both this and the Sonus are apparently applied to two. rivers. Its Sanskrit epithets are *Hiraṇyá váhu* (or golden armed) and *Hiraṇya váhas* (auriferous). *Parṇa*, signifies both feather and leaf and may be a fanciful adjunct to 'crimson,' but *varṇa* signifying 'colour' has a higher degree of probability in its favour than may be found for most verbal analogies The last name (18) I cannot identify.

jara, in the Dekhan. (28). Áchamíyyá. Some include the Indus, but it is not of the same sanctity.

Each of these rivers as dedicated to one of these deities, has peculiar characteristics ascribed to it: Some of the places situated on their banks are esteemed holy, as, for example, the village of Soron on the Ganges, to which multitudes flock on the twelfth of the month of *Aghan.* (Nov.–Dec.). Some regard certain cities as dedicated to the divinities. Among these are *Káśi*, commonly called Benares. The adjacent country for five *kos* around the city is held sacred. Although pilgrimages take place throughout the year, on the *Śiva-rátri*[1] multitudes resort thither from distant parts and it is considered one of the most chosen places in which to die. Final liberation is said to be fourfold:—(1). *Sálokya*,[2] passing from the degrees of paradise to Kailása. They say that when a man goes to heaven through good works, he must return to earth, but when after various transmigrations, he attains that region, he returns no more. (2). *Sárúpya* (assimilation to the deity); when a man partakes of the divine elementary form, he does not revisit the earth. (3). *Sámípya* (nearness to the deity) is when a man after breaking the elemental bonds, by the power of good works is admitted into the presence of God's elect, and does not return to earth. (4). *Sáyujya* (absorption into the deity); after passing through all intermediate stages, he obtains the bliss of true liberation. They have likewise divided the territory of Benares into four kinds. The characteristic of two parts is that when a being dies therein, he attains the fourth degree of *Mukti;* if he dies in one of the others, he reaches the third degree, and if in the remaining one, the second degree.

Ayodhyá, commonly called Awadh. The distance of forty *kos* to the east, and twenty to the north is regarded as sacred ground. On the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* a great religious festival is held.[3]

Avantiká, Ujjain. All around it for thirty-two *kos* is accounted holy and a large concourse takes place on the *Śiva-rátri.*

Kánchi[4] (Conjevaram) in the Dekhan. For twenty *kos* around it is considered sacred. On the eighth of every Hindu month that falls on a Tuesday, there is a great concourse of pilgrims.

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[1] See p. 238, n. 2.

[2] I read بهشت for هشت *Sálokya* signifies being in the same heaven with any particular deity. *Kailása* is the paradise of Śiva, placed according to their belief in the Himálaya range.

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Ráma. V. p. 291.

[4] The text has erroneously *Kánti:* *Kánchivaram* is the source of the vulgar name. In Hiouen Thsang's time it was a great Buddhist centre, but subsequently fell under the Jain influence, which was succeeded in turn by Hindu predominance. The I. G. mentions its pyramids and the thousand-pillared temple with its splendid porch and fine jewels as still attracting visitors. As many as 50,000 pilgrims attend the annual fair in May. It is called the Benares of the South. I. G.

Mathurá is sacred for forty-eight *kos* around, and even before it became the birthplace of Kṛishṇa, was held in veneration. Religious festivals are held on the 23rd of the month of *Bhádra* (*Bhádoṅ*, Aug.–Sept.) and the 15th of *Kárttika* (Oct.–Nov.).[1]

Dvárakâ. The country for forty *kos* in length and twenty in breadth is esteemed holy. On the *Diwálí*[2] festival, crowds resort hither.

Máyá, known as Haridvára (Hardwár) on the Ganges. It is held sacred for eighteen *kos* in length. Large numbers of pilgrims assemble on the 10th of *Chaitra.*

These seven are called the seven (sacred) cities.

Prayága now called Illahábás. The distance for twenty *kos* around is venerated. They say that the desires of a man that dies here are gratified in his next birth. They also hold that whoever commits suicide is guilty of a great crime except in this spot where it meets with exceeding reward. Throughout the year it is considered holy, but especially so during the month of *Mágha.*[3] (Jan.–Feb.).

Nagarkoṭ.[4] For eight *kos* round it is venerated. On the eighth of the months of *Chaitra* and *Kuár*, many pilgrims assemble.

Káshmír is also accounted of this class and is dedicated to Mahádeva. Many places in it are held in great veneration.

The second are the shrines of the Ásuras, which are temples dedicated to the Daitya race. In many things they share the privileges of the *devatás;* but the latter are more pure, while the others are filled with the principle of *tamas* (darkness).[5] Their temples are said to be in the lower regions (Pátála).

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[1] The former is the anniversary of the birth of Kṛishṇa, *i. e.*, adding 15 days of the light half to 8 of the dark half, making it the 23rd day. The second festival is connected with the legend of the Serpent Kálíyá. See. Vish. Pur. V. 7.

[2] Dipálí in Sansk., a row of lamps. The day of the new moon in the month of *Kárttika*, on which there are nocturnal illuminations in honour of Kárttikeya, the god of war. The night is often spent in gambling.

[3] There are variants of three other months, *Vaísákha*, (April–May), *Phálguṇa* (Feb.–March) and *Kúar* (Sept.–Oct. Sansk. *Áśvina*), but the reading of the text is correct. The sun enters Capricorn in that month, and is regarded as a most propitious period for ceremonies of marriage and the like.

[4] Kángra. See. Vol. II, p. 312.

[5] "Brahmá, then, being desirous of creating the four orders of being termed gods, demons, progenitors, and men, collected his mind into itself; whilst thus concentrated the quality of darkness pervaded his body and thence the demons (the Asuras) were first born, issuing from his thigh. This form aban

The third are called *Ársha*, or shrines of the great *Ṛishis*, men who by virtue of austerities and good works are in near proximity to the deity. Their shrines are counted by thousands. Amongst them are Nimkhár (Nimishára),[1] Pukhra (Pushkara),[2] Khusháb, and Baddirí.[3]

The fourth are called *Mánusha*, or appertaining to *men* who by the power of good works are superior to mankind in general, though they do not obtain the rank of the third degree. Their shrines also are numerous. Among them is *Kurukshetra*, which for forty *kos* around is considered holy, and numerous pilgrims resort thither during eclipses of the sun and moon.

Ceremonies are laid down for each pilgrimage and their various meritorious results are declared.

O THOU! that seekest after divine knowledge, learn wisdom of these Hindu legends! Each particle among created atoms is a sublime temple of worship. May the Almighty deliver mankind from the wanderings of a vain imagination troubled over many things.

CUSTOMS OF MARRIAGE.

This is of eight kinds:—

1. *Bráhmya.*[4] The girl's father with other elders of the family visit the bridegroom and bring him to his house where the relations assemble. Then the grandfather, or brother, or any other male relation, or the mother, says before the company:—"I have bestowed such and such a maiden upon such and such a man." The bridegroom in the presence of the same com-

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doned by him which embodied darkness became night; the quality of goodness then becoming embodied, from his mouth issued the gods; this form abandoned became day. Thus the gods are powerful by day, the demons at night. Vish. Pur. I. 5.

[1] See p. 286. n. 6.

[2] Town, lake and shrine in Ajmere-Merwár, Rájputana. It is the only town in India having a temple dedicated to Brahmá who here performed a sacrifice whereby the lake became so holy that the greatest sinner is absolved by bathing therein. The five principle temples are to Brahmá, Sávitri, Badri Náráyaṇa, Váraha and S'iva A'tmataśvara. No living thing can be put to death within the limits of the town. This place is evidently meant by the name *Púkara* in Albírúni (Cap. LXVI) among the sacred places of the Hindus. He adds its story as follows: "Brahman once was occupied in offering these to the fire when a pig came out of the fire. Therefore they represent his image there as a pig. Outside the town in three places, they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration." Sachan's Trans.—Monier Williams says it is now called Pokur.

[3] This is the exact transliteration, but I apprehend Badri Náth in Garhwál is meant. In Badri-Náráyana, the latter word which is a patronymic form of Nara, the chief or original *man*, would admit of inclusion under *manusha*. Khusháb I cannot identify.

[4] In Manu *Bráhma*. III. 21, 27. Abul Fazl uses the adjectival form.

pany gives his consent. Certain incantations are then pronounced and the *Homa* sacrifice is performed. It is then declared that the girl's mother has borne male children and was of smaller stature than her husband,[1] and that the bridegroom is not impotent, and both parties declare that they have not been subject to leprosy, phthisis, dyspepsia, hemorrhoids, piles, chronic issue of blood, deformity of limb, or epilepsy. At the nuptials an attendant of the bride washes the feet of the bride and bridegroom and draws the sectarial marks upon them. Three vessels filled severally with rice and curds, after certain incantations have been pronounced, are then given to them to eat. When this is concluded they are dressed out and taken to a retired chamber and a curtain is hung between the bride and bridegroom. The father takes each of the young people and turns them facing the east and a Bráhman repeats certain prayers and places in the hand of each some rice and five betel-nuts. The curtain is then removed and they present to each other what they hold in their hands. The Bráhman next places the two hands of the bride in those of the bridegroom and repeats certain prayers and then reverses the ceremony; after which he binds them both with loose-spun cotton thread, and the girl's father taking her hand gives her to the bridegroom and says, 'May there be ever participation between you and this nursling of happiness in three things—in good works, in worldly goods, and tranquillity of life. " Finally, a fire is lit and the pair are led round it seven times,[2] and the marriage is completed. Until this is done, the engagement may be lawfully cancelled.

2. *Daiva* (of the Devas). At the time of a sacrifice, all is given away in alms and a maiden is bestowed on the Bráhman performing

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[1] I do not find this condition. It might possibly mean inferior in caste but in that sense Abul Fazl uses سافل. Manu requires a bridegroom to avoid the ten following families whatever their wealth in gold or kine, *viz.*, the family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion; that which has produced no male children; that in which the Veda has not been read; that which has thick hair on the body; and those subject to hemorrhoids, pthisis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, leprosy and albinoism, also a girl with reddish hair, a deformed limb, troubled with habitual sickness: and one with no hair or too much, and immoderately talkative and with inflamed eyes. She must not bear the name of a constellation, of a tree, of a river, of a barbarous nation, of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, or a slave. She must have no defect, walk like a goose or an elephant, have hair and teeth of moderate quantity and length, and have exquisite softness of person. M. III. 7, 8, 9, 10. The text has عني for عنين. The words كوله شكم are a translation of the Sanskrit *Mandágni*, slowness of digestion or *A̒maya* which is the word used by Manu.

[2] Properly in seven steps. The marriage is not completed till the seventh step is taken. Manu, VIII. 227, and note. Hopkins.

the sacrifice. The betrothal is then made and the other ceremonies are conducted as aforesaid.[1]

3. *Ársha* (of the Rishis). This rite takes place when a pair of kine have been received from the bridegroom.

4 *Prájápatya*[2] (of the Prájápatis). The man and woman are brought together and united by this bond.

5. *A'sura* (of the A'suras). The maiden is received in marriage after as much wealth has been presented to her kinsmen (as the suitor can afford).[3]

6. *Gándharva* (of the Gándharvas). The pair entertain a mutual affection and are voluntarily united in wedlock without the knowledge of others.

7. *Rákshasa* (of the Rákshasas), is the forcible seizure and abduction of a girl from her people by the ravisher to his own house and there marrying her.

8. *Paisácha* (of the Pisáchas). This rite receives this name when the lover secretly approaches a girl when asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind.

Everywhere there is some difference in the preliminary betrothals, but the concluding ceremonies are after the manner above described. The four rites are lawful for a Bráhman; and besides the second, all are within his privilege. The fifth is lawful to a Vaiśya or a S'údra; the sixth and seventh for a Kshatriya. The eighth is held disgraceful by all.[4]

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[1] "But they term the Daiva rite, the gift of a daughter, after having adorned her, to a sacrificial priest rightly doing his work in a sacrifice begun." Manu, III. 28, Burnell. That is, the maiden is part of his fee.

[2] In the text incorrectly Rájápatya. "The gift of the maiden is called the Prájápatya rite (when made) after reverencing and addressing (the pair) with the words, 'together do ye both your duty.'" *Ibid.* 30. The A'rsha rite is the commonest form now. Burnell.

[3] A recognised sale is here meant. This form is practised at the present day by people claiming to be Bráhmans, *e g.*, the S'aiva Bráhmans called Gurukkal in Southern India, who seldom can get wives for less than a thousand rupees. It often happens that low caste girls are palmed off upon them. Manu, III. 31, n. 2.

[4] Manu orders them differently. The six first, he says, are legally for a Bráhman, the four last for a Kshatriya, and the same for a Vaiśya and S'údra, except the Rákshasa form. Others, he observes, consider the four first approved for a priest; one, the Rákshasa, for a soldier; and that of the A'suras for a merchant or one of the servile class; "but in this code, three of the five last are held legal and two illegal. The ceremonies of the Pisáchas and A'suras must never be performed."—Sir W. Jones. According to the commentator, this last prohibition is for the Kshatriya not for the Bráhman.

A dower is not mentioned in the case of Bráhmans, and divorce is not customary: In the former ages of the world, it was the rule for Bráhmans to take wives from among all the castes, while the other three castes considered it unlawful to wed a Bráhman woman. The same practice obtained between all superior and inferior castes reciprocally. In the present *Kali Yuga* no one chooses a wife out of his own caste, nay, each of these four being subdivided into various branches, each subdivision asks in marriage only the daughters of their own equals.

Although there are numerous classes of Bráhmans, the noblest by descent are from the (seven) Ṛishis, Kaśyapa, Atri, Bharadvája, Viśva-mitra, Gotáma, Angiras, and Pulastya.[1] Each of these has numerous ramifications. When any member of one of these families attains to any worldly and spiritual eminence and becomes the founder of any class of institutes, his posterity are called by his name. The family caste of each is called *Kula* (Hindi *kul*) or *gotra*,[2] (Hindi *gotar*), and the rule is that if a youth and maid be of the same *gotra*, however distant be the relationship, their marriage is unlawful; but if one be of a separate *kula*, they may lawfully marry. Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and S'údras are dependent for their marriage ceremony on a family priest (*purohita*), and each class has a special Bráhman from one of the seven lines of descent. If the maid and the youth have their several family priests belonging to the same *kula*, their marriage is held unlawful. When united in marriage, the wife leaves her own *gotra* and enters that of her husband.

When the betrothal is first proposed the lines of paternal and maternal ancestry of both the woman and the man are scrutinised. In computing either of the two genealogies, if within each fifth degree of ascent the lines unite, the marriage is not lawful. Also if in the two paternal genealogies, they unite in any generation, the marriage cannot take place. Scrutiny of the maternal descent on both sides is not necessary. If in the paternal genealogies of both parties, consanguinity through a female occurs in the eighth generation, it is held lawful, but if in the paternal lines of both, consanguinity through a female occurs in the sixth generation it constitutes a fresh (impediment of) kinship. The same result occurs if the consanguinity occurs in the sixth generation by the mother's side.

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[1] The S'atapatha Bráhmana, and the Mahábhárata differ a little from the text and from each other; in Manu they are reckoned as ten. The seven Ṛishis form in Astronomy, the Great Bear. Monier Williams, S. D.

[2] Among the Bráhmans, twenty-four *gotras* are reckoned, supposed to be sprung from and named after celebrated teachers, as S'aṇdilya, Kaśyapa, Gautama, Bharad-vája, &c. *Ibid.*

Until the older brother is married, the younger may not lawfully be so.

It is held expedient that the bride should not be under eight,[1] and any age over ten is thought improper. The man should be twenty-five, and marriage after fifty years of age, they regard as unbecoming. Excepting in the king, it is not considered right for a man to have more than one wife, unless his first wife is sickly or proves barren, or her children die. In these cases, he may marry ten wives, but if the tenth proves defective, he may not marry again. If his first wife is suitable, and he desires to take another, he must give the first a third part of his estate.

It was the custom in ancient times for the daughters of kings when they sought a husband, to hold a great festival. Her suitors were assembled together and the damsel attended the banquet in person. Of whomever she made choice, she placed upon his neck a string of pearls and flowers. This custom was called *Svayamvara*, or self-choice.[2]

Quando mulier mensium suorum expers sit quod post quatriduum contingit, si maritus ejus intra duodecim dies proximos in quibus satis probabile est conceptus, ineat eam, necesse est illi perlutum esse. In reliquis temporibus dissimilis est ratio et manus pedesque lavare satis esse censeant. Per totum tempus mensium coitum in crimine ponunt. In diebus his, vivit mulier in secessu, neque cibum mariti nec vestimenta tangit neque ad culinam accedit ne contaminet eam.

S'ṚINGÁRA,[3]

or

Ornaments of Dress.

A man is adorned by twelve things :—(1). Trimming his beard. (2). Ablution of his body. (3). Drawing the sectarial marks of caste. (4). Anointing with perfumes and oil. (5). Wearing gold earrings. (6). Wearing the *jáma*[4] fastened on the left side. (7). Bearing the *mukuṭa* which is a golden tiara worn on the turban. (8). Wearing a sword. (9). Carrying a dagger and the like, at the waist. (10). Wearing a ring on the finger. (11). Eating betel. (12). Wearing sandals or shoes.

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[1] "A man aged thirty years, may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart, or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight; but if he should finish his studentship earlier and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately." M. IX, 94. Sir W. Jones.

[2] An instance occurs, among many, in the well-known epic of Nala and Damyantí. The practice is conceded in Manu (IX. 92), but as Hopkins observes, only out of respect for the old custom and was not practised at that date. Yájnavalkya and others permit it when there are no relatives to give away the girl in marriage. Some early writers conceded it without distinction of caste: in the epic it is confined to royal maidens: among later commentators it is restricted to the lower castes.

[3] Hindi. *Singár*, dress or ornament.

[4] The *jáma* is described in the dictionaries as being a long gown from

A woman is adorned by sixteen things:—(1). Bathing. (2). Anointing with oil. (3). Braiding the hair. (4). Decking the crown of her head with jewels (5). Anointing with sandal-wood unguent. (6). The wearing of dresses and these are of various kinds. The sleeves of some reach to the fingers, of others to the elbows. A jacket without a skirt called *angiyá* (Sansk. *angiká*) was chiefly worn, and instead of drawers, a *lahangá* which is a waist-cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening. It is also made in other forms. Others wear the *ḍanḍiyá* which is a large sheet worn over the *lahangá*, part of which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist. These three garments are of necessity. The wealthy wear other garments over this. Some wear the veil[1] and *páe-jámas*. (7). Sectarial marks of caste, and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments. (8). Tinting with lampblack like collyrium. (9). Wearing earrings. (10). Adorning with nose-rings of pearls and gold. (11). Wearing ornaments round the neck. (12). Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls. (13). Staining the hands. (14). Wearing a belt hung with small bells. (15). Decorating the feet with gold ornaments. (16). Eating *pán*. Finally blandishments and artfulness.

JEWELS.

These are of many kinds:[2]—(1). The *Sís-phúl*, an ornament for the head resembling the marigold. (2). *Máng*, worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty. (3). *Koṭbiládar*, worn on the forehead consisting of five bands and a long centre-drop. (4). *Sekrá*, seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face. It is chiefly worn at marriages and births. (5). *Bindulí*, smaller than a (gold) *muhur* and worn on the forehead. (6). *Khunṭilá*, a earring tapering in shape. (7). *Karnphúl* (ear-flower), shaped like the flower of the *Magrela*,[3] a decoration for the ear. (8). *Ḍurbachh*, a earring.

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eleven to thirty breadths in the skirt, folded into many plaits in the upper part and double-breasted on the body and tied in two places on each side.

[1] In the text, معجر which I conceive corresponds to the Hindi, ओढ़नी—the sheet or mantle covering the head and upper part of the body.

[2] I refer the reader for an explanation of these ornaments to the Persian text of the 1st Vol. of the Aín-i-Akbarí which contains in the pages succeeding the preface, plates of the jewels here mentioned and a descriptive catalogue of the whole series.

[3] Dr. King, Superintendent, Royal Bo-

(9). *Pípal-pattí*, (*Pipal*-leaf) crescent-shaped, eight or nine being worn in each ear. (10). *Bálí*, a circlet with a pearl worn in the ear. (11). *Champakalí*, smaller than the red rose,[1] and worn on the shell of the ear. (12). *Mor-Bhañwar*, shaped like a peacock, a ear-pendant. (13). *Bésar* is a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by gold wire.[2] (14). *Phúlí* is like a bud, the stalk of which is attached to the nose. (15). *Laung*, an ornament for the nose in the shape of a clove. (16). *Nath*[3] is a golden circlet with a ruby between two pearls, or other jewels. It is worn in the nostril. (17). *Guluband* consists of five or seven rose-shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck. (18). *Hár* is a necklace of, strings of pearls inter-connected by golden roses. (19). *Háñs* is a necklace. (20). *Kangan* is a bracelet. (21). *Gajrah*, a bracelet made of gold and pearls. (22). *Jawe*, consisting of five golden barley-corns (*jau*) strung on silk and fastened on each wrist. (23). *Chúṛ*,[4] (a bracelet) worn above the wrist. (24). *Báhú* is like the *chúr* but a little smaller. (25). *Chúṛíñ*, a little thinner than the (ordinary) bracelet. Some seven are worn together. (26). *Bázúband*, (armlet); of these there are various kinds. (27). *Ṭáḍ*, a hollow circle worn on the arm. (28). *Angúṭhí*, finger ring. Various forms are made. (29). *Chhudr-Khanṭiká*, golden bells strung on gold wire and twisted round the waist. (30). *Kaṭi-mekhlá*, a golden belt, highly decorative. (31). *Jehar*, three gold rings, as ankle-ornaments. The first is called *Chúrá*, consisting of two hollow half-circlets which when joined together form a complete ring. The second is called *ḍúñḍhaní*, and resembles the former only engraved somewhat. The third is called *masúchí* and is like the second but differently engraved. (32). *Páil*, the anklet, called *Khalkhál* (in Arabic). (34). *Ghúñghrú*, small golden bells, six on each ankle strung upon silk and worn between the *Jehar* and *Khalkhál*. (35). *Bháñk*, an ornament for the instep, triangular and square. (36). *Bichhwah*, an ornament for the

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tanical Gardens, whose invaluable aid is never withheld and never at fault, on my reference to him informs me that, this is the *Nigella sativa* sometimes called the *N. Indica*, and is not a native of Hindustan, but domesticated. The seeds are largely used in cookery, and in Bengal are named *Kala jíra* or black Cumin-seed. The flower has a calyx of delicate fibres dishevelled in appearance and is commonly known as "Love-in-mist." From the specimen Dr. King has been good enough to send me, the ornament imitates the appearance admirably.

[1] See n. 1, p. 409, Vol. II.

[2] This and the following are omitted by Blochmann.

[3] The text duplicates the *t* incorrectly.

[4] This is usually written with a hard *r*, and for *Chúríñ* below, the dictionaries give *chúṛí*.

instep shaped like half a bell. (37). *Anwat*, an ornament for the great toe.

All these ornaments are made either plain or studded with jewels, and are of many styles. What words can express the exquisite workmanship of the trade? Their delicacy and skill is such that the cost of the work is ten *tolahs* for each *tolah* of gold. Her Majesty has suggested new patterns in each kind. A few of these have been represented in plates for illustration.

WORKMEN IN DECORATIVE ART.

In other countries the jewels are secured in the sockets made for them, with lac, but in Hindustan, it is effected with *kundan* which is gold made so pure and ductile that the fable of the gold of Parvíz which he could mould with his hand becomes credible.[1]

The mode of preparation is as follows:—Of a *másha* of gold they draw out a wire eight fingers long and one finger in breadth. Then the wire is coated with a mixture of two parts of the ashes of dried field-cowdung[2] and one part of Sámbhar[3] salt, after which it is wrapped in a coarse cloth and covered with clay. This is generally of not more than ten *tolahs* weight, and it is placed in a fire of four *sers* of cowdung which is then suffered to cool down. If there is but little alloy in it, it will become of standard fineness after three fires, otherwise it must be coated with the same mixture and passed through three more fires. It is generally found that three coatings and three fires are sufficient for the purpose. It must then be washed and placed in an earthen vessel filled with limejuice or some other (acid) which is heated to boiling. It is then cleaned and wound round a cane and taken off (when required), and re-heated from time to time, and used for setting by means of an iron style and so adheres that it will not become detached for a long period of time. At first the ornament is fashioned quite plain and here and there they leave sockets for the setting of the jewels. These sockets are filled with lac and a little of the gold is inserted above it, and on this the jewel is pressed down. The overflow of the lac is scraped off and it is then weighed. They next cover the lac with the *kundan* by means of a needle, and finally scrape and polish it with a steel-pointed tool.

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[1] This was one of the seven unequalled treasures possessed by Khusrau Parvíz. It was said to be a piece of gold that might be held in the hand and as ductile as wax. The others were his throne *Tághdís*; his treasure called the *Bádávard*, or wind-borne, because being conveyed by sea to the Roman emperor, the vessel was cast upon his shores; his horse *shabdíz*; his minstrel *Bárbud*; his minister *Sháhpúr*, and above all his incomparable wife *Shirín*.

[2] سرگین گاو صحرای This is translated by Blochmann (I. 21) incorrectly the dry dung of the *wild cow*. It merely means the cowdung picked up in the fields and jungles; in Hindi *páchak* and *kanḍa*.

[3] From the well-known great salt-lake in the States of Jaipúr, and Jodhpúr of which the Govt. of India are lessees by treaty The out-turn in 1883-84 was 71,111,353 *maunds*, giving a net revenue of £746,716. Under Akbar it was worked by the Imperial administration. *I. G.*

The fee of a skilled artificer for this work is sixty-four *dáms* on each *tolah.*

The *Zarnishán* or gold inlayer, is a workman who cuts silver, agate, crystal and other gems in various ways and sets them on gold. He inlays silver and steel with lines of gold and embellishes agates and other stones by engraving and cutting them. On steel and gems, if he uses one *tolah* of gold, he receives one and a half as his charge; if he inlays on ivory, fish-bone, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros-horn or silver, his charge for every *tolah* of gold is one *tolah* of the same.

The *Koftgar* or gold-beater, inlays on steel and other metals markings more delicate than the teeth of a file, and damascenes with gold and silver wire. He receives one hundred *dáms* for each *tolah* of gold and sixty for a *tolah* of silver. His work is principally on weapons.

The *Mínákár* or enameller, works on cups, flagons, rings and other articles with gold and silver. He polishes his delicate enamels separately on various colours, sets them in their suitable places and puts them to the fire. This is done several times. His charge is sixteen *dáms* for each *tolah* of gold, and seven for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Sádah-kár*, a plain goldsmith, fashions gold-work and other articles of gold and silver. His charge is five and a half *dáms* on every *tolah* of gold and two for every *tolah* of silver.

The *Shabakah-kár*[1] executes pierced-work in ornaments and vessels. His charge is double that of the *Sádah-kár.*

The *Munabbat-kár* works plain figures or impressions on a gold ground, so that they appear in relief. His charge is ten *dáms* for a *tolah* of gold and four for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Charm-kár*[2] incrusts granulations of gold and silver like poppyseeds on ornaments and vessels. For every *tolah* weight of golden grains his charge is one rupee, and half of this for silver.

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[1] From the Arabic *Shabakat*, a fishing net, a lattice; *i. e.*, any reticulated work. *Munabbat* comes from the Arabic root '*nabt*' and is pass. part. of II. conj., 'to cause to grow out'; hence repoussé-work.

[2] This word has three variants by alteration of the diacritical points. The editor cannot determine the correct reading nor the pronunciation. I have therefore chosen conjecturally what appears to me the most probable term. *Charm* signifies leather and the granulated kind of it called *kímukht* or shagreen (from the Pers. *Ságharí*) would represent the style of work which the text

The *Sím-báf* or plaiter of silver, draws out gold and silver wire and plaits them into belts for swords, daggers and the like. He receives twenty-four *dáms* on a *tolah* of gold and sixteen for a *tolah* of silver.

The *Sawád-kár* grinds a black composition (*sawád*) and lays it smoothly over traceries of gold and then polishes the ground evenly with a file. The *sawád* consists of gold, silver, copper, lead and sulphur mixed together in certain proportions. The work is of several kinds. The finest is on gold and the charge is two rupees per *tolah* of *sawád*. For the middling kind, the charge is one rupee, and for the lowest, eight annas.

The *Zar-kob* or gold beater, makes gold and silver leaf.

Lapidaries, metal casters, and other artificers produce designs which excite astonishment, but this exposition is already sufficiently protracted. Artists of all kinds are constantly employed at the Imperial Court where their work is subjected to the test of criticism.

CEREMONIES AT CHILDBIRTH.

As soon as a child is born, the father bathes himself in cold water, worships the deities and performs the *S'ráddha* ceremonies, and stirring some honey and ghee together with a gold ring, puts it into the infant's mouth. The midwife then cuts the umbilical cord, and immediately upon its severance the whole family become unclean. In this state they refrain from the *Homa* sacrifice and the worship of the deities and from repeating the *gáyatrí* and many other ceremonies, contenting themselves with interior remembrance of the Deity. If this takes place in a Bráhman's family, his children and relations to the fourth degree of consanguinity are ceremonially unclean for ten days; the relations of the fifth degree, for six days; those of the sixth degree, for four days; of the seventh, for three; of the eighth for one day and night, and those of the ninth continue so for four *pahrs*.

At the close of these periods they are freed after ablution of the body. But the usual rule is that a Bráhman together with his kindred to the seventh degree, are unclean for ten days; a Kshatriya, for twelve days; a Vaiśya and the superior[1] class of S'údra for fifteen days, and the

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refers to. The granulation of the shagreen is produced by embedding in the leather when it is soft, the seeds of a kind of chenopodium and afterwards shaving down the surface. The green colour is produced by the action of sal-ammoniac on copper filings.

[1] By these are meant the *Ahír* and *Kurmí* castes or shepherds and agriculturists, from whose hands Bráhmans and Kshatriyas will drink, the inferior Súdras being *Chamárs* and the like who are held unclean.

inferior S'údras for thirty days. During this time strangers avoid associating or eating with them. This state is called *Sútaka* (impurity from childbirth). A prince and his attendants, his physician, cook, overseer, and other servants of the crown are not subjected to this condition, but on the sixth day certain prayers are offered to the Deity and rejoicings are made, and the mother and child are bathed.

The day after the expiration of the *Sútaka*, they name the child and look in the astronomical table for the sign and station of the rising of the moon. The initial of his name is taken from the letter which is therewith connected[1] and a name of more than four letters is considered blameworthy. In the fourth month they bring it into the sun before which time it is never carried out of the house. In the fifth month they bore the lobe of the right ear. In the sixth month, if the child be a boy, they place various kinds of food around him, and feed him with that for which he shows a preference. If it be a girl, this is not done till the sixth or seventh month. When it is a year old, or in the third year, they shave his head, but by some this is delayed till the fifth year, by others till the seventh, and by others again till the eighth year, when a festival is held. In the fifth year they send him to school and meet together in rejoicing.

They observe the birthday and annually celebrate it with a feast, and at the close of each year make a knot on a thread of silk. He is invested with the sacred string at the appointed time. At each of these occasions they perform certain works and go through some extraordinary ceremonies.

THE NUMBER OF FESTIVALS.

Certain auspicious days are religiously observed and celebrated as festivals. These are called *te'ohár* and a few of them are here indicated.

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[1] This requires explanation. The day is divided into 60 *daṇḍas* = 24 hours, the four divisions of which allow 15 *daṇḍas* to every six hours. Now each of the 28 asterisms (v. p. 21) is symbolised by a fanciful name of four letters: *e. g.*, the first asterism *Aśviní* is called *chú*, *chó*, *chó*, *lá*, the second *Bharaṇí ló*, *lú*, *lé*, *lá*. To each of the periods of six hours a letter is allotted, as *chú* from 6 a. m. to noon, *ché* from noon to 6. p. m., *chó* from 6 p. m. to midnight, and *lá* from midnight to 6 a. m. A child born in the first period has a name beginning with *chú*, as Churámini: in the second with *ché*, as *Chét-Rám*, and so on. This is termed the *ráśi* name from राशि the passage of any planet through a sign of the Zodiac. A second name is subsequently given when the child is two or three, at the fancy of the parents without any ceremonial observance. Thus a man's *ráśi* name will be Panna Lál, and the name by which he is generally called, Dámodar. This practice is mostly confined to the more cultivated classes.

During the month of *Chaitra* (March–April, Hind. *Chait*) eight occur:— (1). *Srishṭyádi*,[1] the first lunar day of the light half of the month. (2). *Nava-rátra* (Hind. *Nau-rátr*) ; the nine first nights of the year are chiefly employed in ceremonial worship and prayer and pilgrims from afar assemble at Nagarkoṭ (Kángra) and other places dedicated to the worship of Durga. (3). *Sri-pañchamí*, the fifth lunar day (of the light half of the month).[2] (4). *Aśokáshtamí*,[3] the eighth of the light half of the month. (5). *Ráma-navamí*, ninth day of the light half of the month, the birthday of Ráma. (6). *Chaturdaśa* (Hind. *Chaudas*) the fourteenth. (7). *Púrṇa-mása* (Hind. *Púrṇmásí*), the fifteenth. (8). *Parivá* (Sansk. *Pratipada*) the sixteenth calculating from the *Sukla-paksha* or light fortnight, or counting from *Kṛishṇa-paksha* (dark fortnight), the 1st, and according to the computation by which the beginning of the month is taken from *Kṛishṇa-pakshá*, this day will fall in the beginning of the second month which is *Vaiśákha*. Therefore with those who hold this view, the festival will occur on the 1st of *Kṛishṇa-paksha* which preceded the aforesaid *Sukla-paksha*,[4] and so with all the festivals that fall in *Kṛishṇa-paksha*, the difference of a month one way or the other arises between the two methods of calculation.

During *Vaiśákha* (April–May) there are four :—(1). *Tíj* (Sansk. *Tṛitíya*), the third lunar day of the light fortnight, the birthday of Paraśuráma.[5] (2). *Saptamí*, the seventh. (3). *Chaturdaśí*, the fourteenth, the birthday of Nara-Sinha. (4). *Amávasa*, the thirtieth.

During the month of *Jyeshṭha* (Hind. *Jeṭh*, May–June), there are three :—(1). *Chaturthí*, the fourth lunar day. (2). *Navamí*, the ninth. (3). *Daśamí*, the tenth which is called *Daśa-hara*.[6]

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[1] The transliteration is incorrect. The luni-solar year of Vikramáditya begins from this festival.

[2] Dedicated to the worship of Lakshmí, the goddess of prosperity, wife of Vishṇu.

[3] *Aśoka* is the tree Jonesia Aśoka which is held sacred. In a grove of these trees Sita, the wife of Ráma, was imprisoned in Lanka by Rávana. Rámáyana ; Sundar Khánḍa.

[4] *Cf.* p. 17. Vol. II. The two modes of reckoning, *viz.*, by the *mukhya chándra* or principal lunar month which ends with the conjunction, and the *gauṇa-chándra* or secondary lunar month which ends with the opposition, are both authorized by the Puráṇás. The latter mode begins the month with the *Kṛishṇa paksha* or dark half of the month, in which the differences of reckoning occur ; the *Sukla-paksha* or light half from which the *mukhya-chándra* reckoning begins, is the same, of course, for both modes, and therefore no difference can arise. *Cf.* Sir W. Jones. "Lunar months of the Hindus." Works I. 374.

[5] It is also sacred to Gaurí, wife of Mahádeva ; the image of Gaurí is washed and dressed, lamps are lit and perfumes offered and abstinence from eating is enjoined, and they play with swings. This festival is for women only. *Cf.* Albírúni, Chap. LXXXI, on these festivals.

[6] Vulg. Dusserah. There are two fes-

In the month of *A'shádha* (Hind. *Asárh*, June–July), the seventh, eighth and eleventh, and according to some the fifteenth.[1]

In the month of *S'rávaṇa* (Hind. *Sáwan*, July–Aug.) three:—(1). *Púrṇamása*, the fifteenth of the light half of the month. This is the greatest festival with the Bráhmans throughout the year upon which they fasten the amulet called *raksha-bandhana* on the right wrists of the principal people. It is a cord of silk and the like, decorated by some with jewels and pearls. (2), (*Nága-pañchamí*)[2] the fifth of the light fortnight.

In the month of *Bhádra-pada* (Hind. *Bhádoṅ*, Aug.–Sept.) there are five; the fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, and twenty-third. The latter is the birthday of Kṛishṇa. Some hold this to be on the eighth of (the dark half of) Srávaṇa.[3]

In the month of *A'śvin* there are two. As aforesaid (in the month of *Chaitra*) nine nights are accounted holy and the tenth (of the light fortnight) is called *Daśa-hara*. According to their writings the festival previously mentioned is called *Daśa-hara* and this is known as the *Vijay-daśamí*. On this day they pay particular attention to their horses and decorate them and place green sprouts of barley on their heads, and all workmen venerate their tools, and it is held as a great festival and particularly for the Ksha-

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tivals, *viz.*, that in the text, which is the birthday of Ganga, in which whoever bathes in the Ganges is said to be purified from ten sorts of sins, and the second on the 10th of *A'śvin Sukla-paksha* (Hind. *Kúár*, Sept.–Oct.) in honour of Durga. This worship continues for nine nights, and images of Deví are thrown into the river. Ráma is said to have marched against Rávaṇa on this day and hence it is called *Vijay-dásamí* or the Victorious Tenth. It is held as a most auspicious day for all undertakings and especially for operations of war. A fourth festival, the *Bhímaikádaśí* is held on the 11th *Sukla-paksha* in honour of Bhíma, the son of Páṇḍu. It is commonly called *Nirjalaikádaśí*, and is a fast on which, as the name betokens, even water is not drunk. Another *Bhímaikádaśí* is in the *Sukla-paksha* of *Mágha* (Jan.–Feb).

[1] This is called the Vyása-pújá, in honour of *Vyása* the *divider* of the Vedas. He is supposed to be represented on this festival by the teachers or *gurus*

[2] Abul Fazl has omitted the name. A snake is worshipped on this day to preserve children from their bites. The text also omits altogether the third festival, the *S'rávaṇí*, held by Bráhmans only, spent in reading the Vedas and bathing and changing the sacred thread.

[3] That is with those who take the beginning of the month from *Kṛishṇa-paksha* of S'ravaṇa or Bhádra-pada, it will fall on the 8th; with those who begin with the following *Sukla-paksha* of Bhádra-pada, it will fall on the 23rd of Bhádra-A'svin, making the difference of the month as before stated. The festival of the fourth is called *Gaṇesha-chaturthí*, the birthday of Gaṇesha. The fifth is *Ṛishí-pañchamí*, a fast in honour of the Ṛishis. The sixth is called *Lalitá Shashṭhí*, and in Hindi *Lalhi chhaṭ* and also *Gayhat* as Albírúni observes (XVI). In Kanauj it is known by the latter name.

triyas. (Another) they call *Śráddhà-Kanya-gata*[1] on the fifteenth of *Kṛishṇa-paksha* of the month of *Áśvin* by common consent, but those who compute the beginning of the month from its *Kṛishṇa-paksha* place it in the month preceding. During these fifteen days (of the dark fortnight) they give alms in the name of their deceased ancestors, either in money or kind, as has been related.

In the month of *Kárrtika* (Oct.–Nov.) there are six. The 1st or *parivá.* This is called *Balirájya* or the principality of Bali.[2] On this day they deck themselves and their cattle and buffaloes.

The second,[3] ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals. The thirtieth is the *Dípáli* or row of lamps (Hind. *Diwálí*). A difference occurs in the calculation of its date. According to the *Śukla-paksha* computation, it is as above stated, but by the *Kṛishṇa-paksha* this is called the 15th of *Márgaśírsha* (Hind. *Aghan*, Nov.–Dec.) and they therefore hold this festival on the 15th of the *Kṛishṇa-paksha* of Kárttika. Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammedan) festival of *Shab-i-barát.* It begins on the 29th, and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it. It is the greatest of the festivals for the Vaiśya caste.[4]

In the month of *Márgaśírsha*, there are three, *viz.*, the seventh of *Śukla-paksha* and the eighth and ninth of *Kṛishṇa-paksha.* In both these last a difference of computation as above occurs.

In the month of *Pausha* (Hind. *Pús.*, Dec.–Jan.) the eighth of *Śukla-paksha* is held sacred.

In the month of *Mágha* (Jan.–Feb.) there are four, *viz.*, the third, fourth, fifth and seventh. On the fifth a great festival is held called *Vasanta* in which they throw different coloured powders upon each other, and sing songs.

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[1] *Kanya-gata* is the dark lunar fortnight of this month and the name and period mark the position of a planet, especially Jupiter in the sign Virgo (*Kanya*).

[2] This is the name of the Daitya prince whom Vishṇu subdued in the dwarf incarnation. (v. p. 288). A great deal of gambling goes on for three nights. They give alms and bathe and make presents of areca nuts to each other. It is said that Lakshmi, wife of Vasudeva, once a year on this day liberates Bali from the nether world and allows him to go about the earth. *Cf.* Albírúni.

[3] The second is called the *Yama-dvitiyá* (Hind. *Jam-dutyá*) when brothers and sisters dress up and exchange gifts and compliments in allusion to the attachment between Yama and his twin sister Yamuna. He is regarded in *post-*Vedic mythology as the Judge of the dead and is regent of the S. quarter. The ninth is called *kúshmáṇḍa-navamí*, presents being made to Bráhmans of the *kúshmáṇḍa* (Hind. *kohṅrá*), a kind of gourd (*Cucurbita pepo*). The 11th is the *Utthánaikádasí* when Vishṇu is said to rise from sleep. The *Diwálí* is well-known, the nocturnal illuminations being in honour of Kárttikeya.

[4] It is auspicious for all undertakings connected with commerce.

This is the beginning of the spring among the Hindus. Although this is much regarded among the people, yet in old works the seventh was considered the greater festival.[1]

In the month of *Phálguṇa* (Feb.–March) there are two. The fifteenth of *Sukla-paksha* is called the *Hvlí*[2] and extends from the 13th to the 17th. They light fires and throw various articles into them and fling coloured powder upon each other and indulge in much merriment. It is a great festival among the S'údras. The night and day of the 29th are held sacred: the night is called *Siva-rátri.* Some make this occur on the 14th of *Kṛishṇa-paksha* and by this computation the *Siva-rátri* falls on the 14th of the dark fortnight of *Phálguṇa*,[3] a month earlier. They keep the night in vigil, narrating wonderful legends. The Bráhmans also consider five days in each month sacred, the 8th, 14th, 15th and 30th, and *Sankránti* which is the day on which the sun passes from one Zodiacal sign into another.

Regarding the celebration of the various festivals marvellous legends are told, and they are the subject of entertaining narratives.

CEREMONIES AT DEATH.

When a person is near unto death, they take him off his bed and lay him on the ground and shave his head, except in the case of a married woman, and wash the body. The Bráhmans read some prayers over him and alms are given. They then plaster the ground with cowdung and strew it over with green grass and lay him down at full length face upwards, with his head to the north and his feet to the south. If a river or tank be hard by, they place him up to his middle in water. When his dissolution is at hand they put into his mouth Ganges water, gold, ruby, diamond and pearl, and give away a cow in charity, and place upon his breast a leaf of the *Tulaśí* (Ocymum sanctum)[1] which they hold sacred, and draw the sectarial mark on his forehead with a particular kind of earth.[2]

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[1] This festival is held in honour of Mahádeva. The powders are made of rice-meal, Indian arrowroot, *Singhára* (water chestnut, *trapa bispinosa*), or barley-meal, and dyed with baḳam-wood (*Cæsalpina sappan*): only two colours are allowed, yellow or red.

[2] 'Holiká' is said to be the name of a female *Rákshasí,* killed and burnt by Siva on this day, but her penitence for the fault of a too turbulent disposition secured for her the promise of this annual celebration in her remembrance, and that all who performed this worship, in this month, would be prosperous for the year. See *Mahátmya* of *Phálguna*, which quotes the *Bhavishya Puráṇa* Songs are sung in honour of Krishṇa of the broadest and coarsest kind.

[3] V. p. 298, n. 2. It is mentioned in some Dictionaries as occurring on the 14th of the dark half of *Mágha*, but this is also counted as *Phálguna* by those who begin the month with the *Kṛishṇa-paksha*, the same fortnight being either one or the other, according to the order of the primary or secondary lunar months.

When he expires, his youngest son,[3] his brother, and his pupil and particular friends shave their heads and beards. Some defer this till the tenth day. The body dressed in its loin-cloth is wrapped in a sheet. The corpse of a married woman is dressed in the clothes she wore in life. The body is borne to the river side and a funeral pile of *Palása*-wood (Butea frondosa) is formed, upon which the body is laid. Prayers are read over ghee, which is put into the mouth and a few grains of gold are put into the eyes, nostrils, ears and other apertures. It is advisable that the son should set fire to the pile, otherwise the youngest brother of the deceased or, failing him, the eldest. All his wives deck themselves out and with cheerful countenances are burnt together with him in their embrace.[4] A pile of lignum aloes and sandal-wood is fired for those who are wealthy. The wives are first advised not to give their bodies to the flames.

This mode of expressing grief among Hindu women applies to five classes :—(1). Those who expire on learning the death of their husbands and are burnt by their relations. (2). Those who out of affection for their husbands voluntarily consign themselves to the flames. (3). Who from fear of reproach surrender themselves to be burnt. (4). Who undergo this death regarding it as sanctioned by custom. (5). Who against their will are forced into the fire by their relatives.

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[1] According to some accounts this was one of the treasures produced from the ocean at its churning. Tulaśí was a nymph beloved of Krishṇa and was turned into the shrub that bears her name. In Sir W. Jones's "Select Indian Plants." (Vol. II, Works), it is described under its Sanskrit synonym, *Parṇása*.

[2] This is either from the banks of the Ganges if possible, or ashes from the *Homa* fire.

[3] The ceremonies of burial are under the authority of the youngest son, and in his absence, of the eldest. The intervening sons have generally no ceremonial powers.

[4] This fact is vouched for by Ibn Batoutah, خبروا انها عانقت الميت حتى احترقت معه Vol. VI, p. 137. A horrible scene of this kind is described by him in his journey from Mooltan to Delhi. The sight of the victim upon whom logs and planks were thrown to prevent her moving and her screams, caused him nearly to fall from his horse in a faint, *Ibid*, p. 141. Cicero believed that the wives disputed the privilege of being burnt alive, and that the honour was conferred on the favourite, 'Mulieres verò in India, cùm est cujusvis earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit. Quæ est victrix, ea læta, prosequentibus, suis, unà cum viro in rogum imponitur: illa victa, mæsta discedit.' Tusc. Quæs. L. V. 27.

If an ascetic (*Sannyásin*) dies or a child that has not yet teethed, the body is consigned to earth or launched into the river, and they do not burn those who disbelieve the *Vedas* or who are not bound by the rules of any of the four castes, nor a thief, nor a woman who has murdered her husband, nor an evil liver, nor a drunkard.

If the corpse cannot be found, an effigy of it is made with flour and leaves of the *Butea frondosa* and reeds covered with deer-skin, a cocoanut serving for the head. Over this prayers are said and it is then burnt.

A pregnant woman is not suffered to be burnt till after her delivery. If the man dies on a journey, his wives burn themselves with his garments or whatever else may belong to him. Some women whom their relations have dissuaded from burning themselves, or whom their good sense has convinced that burning is a fictitious grief, live afterwards in such unhappiness that death becomes preferable.

On the day on which the corpse is burnt, the relations and friends repair to the riverside and undo their hair, put on the sacred string across the other shoulder, and bathe themselves and place two handfuls of sesame-seed on the bank. They then collect in any open space and the friends of the deceased after a consolatory address to the mourners, accompany them home, the younger members of the family walking in front and the elders following. When they reach the door of the house, they chew a bit of Nímba leaf[1] (Hind. *Ním*, *Melia Azadirachta*) and then enter.

On the fourth day after the death of a Bráhman, the fifth after the death of a Kshatriya, the ninth and tenth after that of a Vaiśya and S'údra respectively, the person who had set fire to the funeral pile, proceeds to the place, performs some ceremonies, and collecting the ashes and remnants of bones together, throws them into the Ganges. If the river be at any distance, he places them in a vessel and buries them in the jungle, and, at a convenient time, exhumes them, puts them into a bag of deer-skin and conveys them to the stream, and concludes with certain ceremonies.

If the deceased is a Bráhman, all his relations for ten days sleep on the ground on a bed of grass and eat only what is sent to them, or what may be procured from the market (cooking nothing for themselves).

During ten days, the person who had fired the pile cooks some rice and milk and makes an offering of it as nourishment to the new body of the deceased. When the natural body dies, the soul takes a subtle frame which they call *Preta*.[2] Their belief is that while it is invested with this body, it cannot enter Paradise, and during the space of ten days this body continues in being. Subsequently, on the conclusion of certain ceremonies, it abandons this form and.assumes another fitted for Paradise, and by the performance of manifold works, it finally receives its heavenly body. For other castes the time of detention (in the *Preta*) continues throughout their respective *Sútaka*[1] periods.

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[1] The taste is extremely bitter and the leaves are also used medicinally as poultices for wounds and to reduce inflammation.

[2] This is properly the spirit of the deceased before the obsequial rites are performed and is supposed still to haunt its abode. *Cf.*, p. 162. n. 3.

Some further ceremonies for Bráhmans and others take place on the eleventh and twelfth days also.

If a Bráhman dies out of his own house and information of his death is received within ten days of it, his family during the remaining period of those days, continue unclean. If the news arrives after the ten days, they are unclean for three days, but his son, at whatever time he hears of it, is unclean for ten days. If the death·take place before investiture with the sacred string, or (if a child) before it has teethed, or of seven months, the impurity lasts one day, and is removed by bathing. If the deceased child be above this age up to two years old, the impurity lasts one day and night : from the time of cutting the hair[2] to that of investiture with the sacred thread, three days and nights. For the death of a daughter up to ten years of age, ablution suffices to purify. After that age till the time of proposal when she is betrothed before marriage, there is one day's impurity. After betrothal, the father's family and that of the suitor are unclean for three days.

MERITORIOUS MANNER OF DEATH.

The most efficacious kinds of death are five :—(1). Abstaining from food and drink till dissolution. (2). Covering the person with broken dried cowdung like a quilt or pall, and at the feet setting it on fire which creeps gradually from the toe-nails to the hair of the head, while the mind is fixed on divine contemplation till death. (3). Voluntarily plunging into snow. (4). At the extremity of Bengal where the Ganges divided into a thousand channels falls into the sea, the foe of his carnal desires wades into the sea, and confessing his sins and supplicating the Supreme Being, waits till the alligators come and devour him. (5). Cutting the throat at Illahabás at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna.

Each of these modes is described with its appropriate details.

COMERS INTO INDIA.

Forasmuch as the fenced city of tradition is unfrequented and the wastes of legend are stony places, knowledge that seeks after truth kept me from connection therewith, but the decree of fate unexpectedly drew me from silence into speech, and intent on freshening the interest of my narrative, I have been led into entering upon a multiplicity of details. A review of the general history of Hindustan has induced me to mention the comers into this vast country, and thus by recalling the memory of the great give a promise of currency to this important exposition.

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[1] See p. 317.

[2] *Cf.* Müller's Hist. Sansk. Lit. p. 204.

ADAM.

They say that Adam after his fall from Paradise was thrown on the island of Ceylon, his consort on Juddah,[1] Azráíl in Sístán, the Serpent in Ispáhán, and the Peacock in Hindustan. Imaginative writers have embellished this fable with abundant details, but in Sanscrit works which treat of the events of myriads of past ages not a trace of this story is to be found.

HUSHANG

Was the son of Siyámak and grandson of Kayúmars, and succeeded his great ancestor, ruling with justice and liberality. He is accounted the first to whom the name of sovereign virtually applies.[2] He came to India where he displayed the lustre of virtue. The work called 'Eternal Wisdom' is said to be the fruit of his mature experience.

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[1] This is the true orthography, but commonly written Jiddah, on the Red Sea. Azráíl is the angel of death who though connected with the creation of Adam, having been sent by God to bring various kinds of clay from the earth for the formation of his body, and having fulfilled the mission in which Gabriel and Michael had previously failed, is not mentioned as sharing his sin or punishment. Iblís or Satan must be here meant whom the chroniclers unanimously declare to have been cast out of Paradise, though they differ as to the place of his fall, Masạúdí naming Baisán; and Tabarí, Simnán near Jurján. He penetrated into Paradise notwithstanding the vigilance of its porter, by entering the mouth of the serpent that had on one occasion strayed outside. The latter was at that time a quadruped, but being cursed at the fall, was deprived of its feet and condemned to the form of a reptile. The peacock is said to have conducted Eve to the forbidden tree. At its expulsion it was deprived of its voice. The relation of these puerilities may be pursued in Tabarí, Masạúdí, D'Herbelot, and in Sale's Korán, and in most general histories of Muhammadan chroniclers who are never more at home or more precise than when referring to events of which they can know nothing.

[2] Firdausi says that he reigned 40 years and devotes to him as many verses of his poem. He imputes to him the discovery of fire from the concussion of two stones, but not a syllable of his visit to India. The work *Javidán Khirad* or 'Eternal Wisdom' is mentioned by Malcolm. Sir W. Jones thinks he was probably contemporary with Minos which scarcely fixes his date, but what is of more importance, he obtained by merit

Ḥáfiẓ,[1] in his *Istiṭálah* (*Perillustris*) says that when Mámún conquered Khurásán, the various chiefs sent presents to his court. The governor of Kábul sent a sage named Dúbán[2] on an embassy to Mamún and mentioned in his letter of homage that he was despatching to his court an offering of great price, than which nothing more valuable was known. The Caliph on receiving this information appointed his minister Faḍhl (Ibn-i-Sahl)[3] to inquire what it referred to. The envoy replied that the allusion was to himself. They said to him, "How doth a distinction so great concern such as thee?" He answered, "In enlightened knowledge, judicious counsel, and right guidance," and he spoke such parables of wisdom that all were amazed. It happened that at this time the Caliph designed to enter upon hostilities against his brother Muḥammad u'l Amín and all parties were endeavouring to dissuade him from it. He therefore consulted Dúbán, whose clear-sighted reasoning confirmed his resolution of marching into I'rák̤ and pressing on the war. The sage's advice was the means of resolving all political difficulties. Mámún treated him with great favour and commanded that a large sum of gold should be bestowed upon him. Dúbán excused himself saying, "It is not the practice of my sovereign to allow his envoy to receive anything, but there is a work called 'Eternal Wisdom'[4] composed by the farsighted intellect of Hushang and is said to to be in Madáin.[5] On the conquest of that country, when the Caliph obtains the work let him graciously bestow it upon me." His proposal was assented to. When Madáin was taken, he pointed out that in a certain quarter of the city, by a certain tree there was a large stone. This they

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or adulation the epithet of *Peshdád* or the Lawgiver, whence the *Peshdadian* kings took the name of their dynasty.

[1] See Vol. II. p 36, n. 4. Of the Táríkh of Ḥáfiẓ Ábrú, no copy was known by Sir H. Elliot, to exist in India. The Istiṭálah is not mentioned by Ḥájí Khalífah under that title.

[2] The reader will recall the story of the Grecian king and his physician Dúbán in the thirteenth of the "Arabian Nights"

[3] He was Mamún's favourite minister and dominated him to such an extent that as Ibn-Khallikán says, he once outbid him for a female slave he wished to purchase. He was highly accomplished and noted for his skill in astrology. He predicted the success of Ṭáhir Ibn u'l Ḥusayn whom al Mamún despatched against his brother al Amín. See his life in Ibn-Khall. II. 472.

[4] This is known to Europe as the Fables of Pilpay, or Bedpái, vizier to the as fabulous Dábilishím, king of the Indies, and is celebrated in the East by as many names as the translations it has undergone.

[5] The ancient Ctesiphon. It passed into the possession of the Arabs in the Caliphate of Omar in A. D. 637. During the insurrection against al Mamún by the Alide party under the leading of Abú Saráya, Madáin was taken by the latter, but recaptured during the same year, A. D. 815.

were to lift and to dig down till they came to a subterranean chamber in which were a number of chests and a large quantity of valuables, none of which were to be touched as the time for removing them had not arrived. In a certain corner of the chamber a box of a certain shape would be found which they were to bring out, wherein would be discovered the work they sought. Sharp-eyed and experienced men were sent in search, and all happened exactly as he had described. Some portion of this work was translated into Arabic at the pressing insistance of Faḍhl, but as it was treasured by Dúbán, he did not suffer its translation to be completed.

ḤAM

Was the son of Noah. After the subsidence of the deluge he came to Hindustan. Annalists of other countries than this believe the Hindus to be descended from him.

JAMSHÍD

Was the son of Ṭahmúraṣ *Devband* or the binder of the demons.[1] When by the Almighty decrees, he became a wanderer in the desert of misfortune, he happened to pass through Zábulistán. For sixteen years he dwelt in Kábul and secretly married the daughter of the prince Kaurnak. When the news was bruited abroad the prince bade him, one night, take his departure for Hindustan. The poet Asadí[1] says of this night:

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[1] He receives this surname in the Sháh Námah. His justice and vigour cleansed the country of crime, and produced the rebellion of the Devs or demons, probably the barbarous neighbouring peoples who resented his iron control. They were defeated by him and bound, and were saved from extermination by promising to instruct him in knowledge. They taught him the art of writing in nearly thirty languages of which Firdausi enumerates six, which were possibly all he had heard of. Tabarí states that Jamshíd was said to be the brother of Ṭahamúraṣ. He introduced the solar year among the Persians, the first day of which, when according to Tabarí he administered justice in open darbar, was called Nauroz when the sun enters Aries. His prosperity turned his head and he proclaimed himself a deity, which disgusted his subjects and led to the invasion of the Syrian prince Zohák, the descendant of Shedád, and according to some the nephew of Jamshíd. Malcolm says that the wanderings of the exiled prince are wrought into a tale which is amongst the most popular in Persian romance. He was pursued through Seistán, India and China by the agents of Zohák and carried before his enemy who, after every contumely he could inflict, placed him between two boards and had him sawn asunder. When the news of his death reached his widow in Seistán she put an end to her life by poison. The son of this marriage was Atrut, whose son was Garshásp, whose son was Narímán, father of Sám, whose son Zál was the father of Rustam. See Malcolm. Hist. Persia, I. 3, and Atkinson's Abridgment of the Sháh Námah.

> Black as an Ethiop grew the night whose veil
> O'er the moon's face its sable shadow flung,
> Sad as the stifled sob whose scarce-heard wail
> Dies on the ear from some despairing tongue.

For some time he employed himself in the profession of arms and when his secret was on the point of being discovered, he set out for China by way of Bengal, and on the road fell in with the emissaries of Zohák.

ZOHÁK

Was the son of Mardás, the Arabian. He passed into India several times as Asadí says:

> Zohák the conqueror ere the year had gone,
> To Kábul[2] swiftly passed from Babylon,
> Resolved to launch o'er India's plains once more
> The invading legions he had led before.

GARSHÁSP

Was the son of Utrut.[3] The *Garshásp Námah* narrates his invasion of India and the astonishing actions in which he engaged.

ISFANDYÁR OF THE BRÁZEN BODY

Was the son of Gushtásp,[4] the son of Luhrásp. In obedience to the commands of his father he propagated the doctrines of Zoroaster, and his zeal caused the universal acceptation of that creed. He honoured the institutions which were the bequest of Farídún, applying them after his own direction. Firdausi thus alludes to him:

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[1] The quotation must be from the Garshásp Námah of Hakím Asadí of Tús, one of the seven poets at the court of Mahmúd of Ghazní, who had often requested him to undertake the Sháh Námah. The poet declined it on account of his age. He was the master of Firdausi. His "Controversies" are well known, especially that between 'Night and Day.' Some of these are published in the Majma-u'l-Fuṣaḥá. I have not met with a complete copy of this poet.

[2] The Majma-u'l Fuṣaḥá, rightly I think, reads Zábul for Kábul. Malcolm considers him to have been the Assyrian monarch who conquered Persia, and that his long reign includes that part of ancient history in which the latter kingdom was subject to Assyria. I. VII.

[3] Malcolm gives Atrut, but the Dictionaries write the name as I have rendered it. Firdausi makes him the son of Zav. He was the last of the Peshdadian monarchs. If Sir W. Jones quotes the chronologers correctly, Rome was built in this reign, Athens was first governed by Archons, Dido built Carthage, Homer wrote his poems, the Pyramids were raised, the Assyrians founded a powerful dynasty, and according to Newton, Sabaco the Ethiopian, invaded Egypt.

[4] The conjecture that Gushtásp was the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks ac-

> This mighty warrior of a line of kings
> From clime to clime his rapid conquest wings;
> O'er Greece and India his proud standards fly
> To unknown seas where realms of darkness lie.

NARÍMÁN, SON OF GARSHÁSP, THE SON OF UTRUT.

SÁM, SON OF NARÍMÁN.

ZÁL, SON OF SÁM.

FARAMARZ, SON OF RUSTAM.

BAHMAN,[1] SON OF ISFANDYÁR.

When the astrologers announced to Garshásp the future sovereignty of Bahman and the overthrow of his own family, the devastation of Zábulistán, the slaughter of the descendants of Rustam, the disentombment of himself and his sons, and the burning of their bodies, he enjoined his sons to erect

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cords with the chronology of Herodotus; and starting from this first secure footing amid the quicksands of fable, the identification of Isfandyar with Xerxes is historically probable. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are marshalled by Malcolm who reconciles the exaggerations of the Greeks and Persians in its support, with brevity and address. The Greeks speak of Xerxes as king, but Persian authors make Bahman succeed his grandfather Gashtásp. Isfandyár commanded his father's armies and was perhaps associated with him in the monarchy, but though Viceroy of Balkh, and possessing *quasi*-regal power he never possessed the name of king, and he was killed by Rustam, according to Firdausi, during his father's lifetime. For the introduction of Zoroastrianism, see Malcolm, Chap. VII. It was unknown to Herodotus.

[1] Whatever doubt may exist regarding the identification of Xerxes with Isfandyár, there is little or none regarding that of Bahman with Artaxerxes Longimanus. Bahman was known to the Persian historians as Ardishír *Darázdast*, the similarity of the epithet adding conclusive evidence to the similarity of the name. Rustam, though he had unwillingly and in his own defence slain Isfandyár, the father of Bahman, nevertheless protected his son. Bahman on his accession avenged his father's death by that of his slayor, wasted his hereditary province and put to death all his family. A couplet in

his tomb and that of his children at Kanauj in Hindustan. When Garshásp died, Narímán conveyed his remains thither, and on the death of Narímán his body was also taken to that country by Sám. On Sám's death, Zál transported his body to the same city whither, likewise, Faramarz carried Rustam when he died. When Bahman defeated Zál and Faramarz and the latter was killed in the engagement, Bahman overran Zábulistán and advanced to Kanauj desiring to view the royal mausoleum. A superstitious awe restrained him from entering it. Each of these four great men in anticipation of this event had left a great treasure within it. Among them was the world-displaying mirror of Kaikhusrau (Cyrus), which at his death he bequeathed to Rustam, and ninety maunds weight of diamonds belonging to Garshásp. Each of them also inscribed on a tablet a brief record of memorable deeds, praying that the conqueror would not desecrate the tomb. Bahman, struck by the sight of these splendid offerings and the prescient sagacity of the gift, fell into a profound melancholy and withdrew from his previous resolve.

Faramarz, indeed, had twice entered this country, for Rustam after his combat with Barzú by whose mace his arm had been disabled, said to Kaikhusrau, "if my son Faramarz returns this night from India, he will deal with Barzú," upon which followed his sudden arrival and the overthrow of the latter.

ALEXANDER OF GREECE.

When Alexander had completed the conquest of Írán and Turán and laid the foundations of Marv, Herát and Samarkand, he entered India by Ghaznín and in the neighbourhood of the Panjáb gave battle to the Hindu prince, Porus, who had advanced from Kanauj to engage him, and by stratagem put him to rout. From thence he turned to the country of the Bráhmans. The chiefs of that region represented to him that if the conqueror sought riches and worldly goods they were destitute of these.

Wisdom and knowledge dwell with us, nor cease
To fill our bosoms with untroubled peace:
The earth a couch, the skies their covering lend,
So turn our thoughts to our appointed end.[1]

Firdausi, incorrectly printed in Murray's Edition of Malcolm, says that 'when he stood upon his feet; his closed hand reached below his knee.' The lines run—

چو بر پای بودی سر انگشت اوي
ز زانو فزونتر بدي مشت اوي

and will be found at p. 1228, Vol. III. of Macan's Edit. The substance of Firdausi's narrative may be gathered by readers unacquainted with Persian, from the abridgment of Atkinson, the pages of Malcolm, and the XIXth Chap. of Zotenberg's translation of Tabarí.

[1] These lines are taken from Firdausi and vary somewhat from the ordinary

"If thy design be the gathering of knowledge and the search for truth, let those who seek it come not in this guise." Alexander, therefore, leaving his army, set out at the head of a few followers. A court was held to secure a just hearing and their peculiar views were discussed in audience. The king approved their speech and conduct and announced to them that whatever they desired should be granted. They replied that they had no other wish than that the king should live for ever. He answered that this wish was inconsistent with mortality. They rejoined: "If the instability of worldly things is so evident to your Majesty, why these fatigues in the tyrannous oppression of mankind?" Alexander for a space bowed his head in humiliation and imputed his actions to the decrees of fate.

According to some Christian[1] writers, when the standards of Alexander were raised on the shores of the Indian Ocean, accounts of the island of the Bráhmans reached him and he determined to take possession of it. They sent an envoy to him and made the following representation:—"Sovereign ruler of the world! The fame of thy conquests and thy successes has been constantly in our ears, but what can content a man to whom the possession of the world is insufficient? We enjoy no outward splendour, nor bodily vigour that thou shouldst deem us worthy to measure thy prowess in war. The worldly goods that we own are shared in common amongst us, and we are passing rich on what may satisfy our hunger. Our costliest robes are garments worn with age. Our women are not in bondage to adornment for the seduction of hearts, and account no beauty or charm of price, save that inherited from their mothers. Of our lowly habitations we ask but two things, a shelter in life and in death a grave. We have a king for considerations of dignity, not for the administration of justice or law. What

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text, where they are not consecutive. The substance of a great deal of what follows in the reply of the Brahmans, is from the same source.

[1] The term ترسا which I have rendered in its usual acceptation may be also applied to the Zoroastrians. Abul Fazl had probably seen or heard of translations from the classics through the Jesuit Fathers at the Court of Akbar and confounded them with the originals. Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian and Porphyrius have mentioned these Gymnosophists whom Quintus Curtius passes by with the uncomplimentary remark "Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quos Sapientes vocant." For the general idea of the letters, Abul Fazl is indebted to Firdausi, who in turn in one passage regarding the unprofitable questions put by Alexander to confound the Bráhmans, is in agreement with Plutarch. The *jazíra* or isle of the Bráhmans is perhaps Bráhmanábád, identified by Genl. Cunningham as the town where Ptolemy was wounded by a poisoned sword (Quintus Curtius IX. 8.), the Harmatelia of Diodorus, described by him as the last town of the Bráhmans on the river.

use would punishment serve in a land where none is wicked and there is no thought of crime?" The sagacious monarch was struck by this affecting address and leaving them their freedom, abandoned his project.

The following letter was addressed by Alexander to Dídím, the head of the Bráhmans; for he had often heard that they did not live as other men. The novelty excited his wonder and made his life seem insupportable to him:[1]—"O Dídím, after learning thy message, I desire again to be informed of thy precepts and doctrines. If what thou hast represented bears the light of truth and is the result of experience; answer speedily, so that, putting this system to the proof, I also for justice sake and in search of truth, may follow they footsteps." Dídím thus replied: "What I have stated results from profound knowledge. You have not chosen to believe in its truth and you reject what you do not incline to. Many blameable actions were favourably represented by you in our interview. Now, therefore, with full knowledge believe my words. Hirábud, the Bráhman, does not yield to the promptings of desire. Content with the measure of his needs, he opens not the door of greed.[2] Our food is not such as the four elements cannot easily supply. The earth gives us of its produce. In our meals intemperance has no place, for this reason we have no need of medicine or physician, and thus we enjoy perpetual well-being. We are not indebted to each other for assistance. We Bráhmans have equality in all things; what room then is there for indigence? In a land where the seeds of arrogance and vain glory grow not, universal poverty is consummate fortune. We have no governor, for our actions are not subjects for penal inquiry. We disapprove of a variety of creeds for they are produced through exceeding unrighteousness and manifold iniquities. Our only religion is the worship of conscience. From what it restrains us we withhold our hearts. We do not submit to the tyranny of the pursuit of wealth for it fosters greed and brings disappointment in its train. We disdain idleness and hold it in reproach. We are not rendered averse from the delights of wedlock by incapacity, for all things are in our power as we can also forego them. From the sun we receive warmth, from the dews moisture. Our thirst is quenched from the stream and we have no couch but the earth. Desire does not rob us of sleep, nor leave us a prey to care. We lord it not over our equals through pride; we seek service from none save of our own bodies, for we consider the body subservient to the spirit. We bake not stone in the fire for the raising of palaces, for we dwell in the hollows of the earth according to the measure of our needs, nor do we go in fear of the violence of the wind nor of storms of dust, for there we are safer than in houses of reed. We wear no costly robes; we cover our nakedness with leaves, or to speak truly, with modesty; our women are at no pains for their adornment, for who can add beauty to the creations of God? and after they are arrayed it profiteth them nothing. Our sexual commerce cometh not sinfully from carnal desire, but continuance of the race is kept in view. We are not prone to violence and we lay the dust of discord by the agency of right conduct, and though dependent on the guidance of destiny we do not resign ourselves to inactivity. Over our dead we erect no edifices in the guise of temples of worship. Give your commands to those who have flung wide for themselves the door of avarice and make their treasure of the things of this world. The ravages of pestilence do not reach us for we defile not the skirts of heaven with evil deeds. We are prepared to meet the vicissitudes of the seasons, and thus summer's heat and winter's cold distress us not, and therefore we live careless of the exigencies of those times. We do not deaden our minds with games and shows of elephants and horses and with dancing, and when a desire for worldly pageants seizes us, the sight of the record of your actions withholds us therefrom, and recalling your deeds which indeed more deserve a smile, we are moved to many tears. Worldly splendours make us rejoice in another spectacle, for amidst the varied beauties of the universe, the heavens glowing with the radiance of their myriad stars, the sea, coloured by its skies, that clasps in a fond embrace its sister earth, the revel of its fish that leap in play from its foam-tossing waves, fill our eyes with delight. Wandering through the woods with the fragrance of flowers and by running springs in the shade of abundant trees gladdens us in a hundred ways, while the sweet songs of birds render us unenvious of all the festal banquets of the rich. Such is the theatre we possess, to share in the enjoyment of which is difficult, to erase it from our minds, a crime. We plough not the seas in barks and vessels. Our hearts are not aflame with passion for the beauty of others, and we affect not the language of flattery or eloquence. The redundance of professed eulogists obtains no credit in this land, for the practice of this base crew which gives to the creature the praise due to God and overlays the purity of faith with error, darkens celestial light with reprehensible deeds. Of a truth you are the most unfortunate of mankind for your worship is sinful and your life its chastisement."

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[1] This crabbed and obscurely-worded sentence is capable of a different, but in my opinion, not so satisfactory an interpretation. The name *Dídím* in the text is not in Firdausi. It occurs in Plutarch (Alex. LXXXVI.) and in Arrian (Anab. VII. 2.) as *Dandamis*; in Strabo (LXIV.) as *Mandanis*.

[2] This probably refers to the embassy of Onesicritus to the Gymnosophists, who endeavoured to persuade some of them to return with him to Alexander's camp. Plutarch says that Calanus insolently told him to divest himself of his robe in order to hear his precepts in nakedness, symbolical doubtless of humility and ignorance. He was however induced by Taxila to visit Alexander who retained him in his suite with distinguished favour. He displayed to that monarch an emblem of his empire by stretching a bull's hide before him that had shrunk from dryness. Placing his feet on one end of it, he caused the other extremities to rise up, and making thus the circuit of the hide, he showed the king that by standing in the middle, the sides would lie evenly, and that in like manner, he should not absent himself for any period from the centre of his dominions. His self-chosen death by burning at Pasargadœ in Persia, when suffering from a fit of cholic, is told by Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

The monarch thus replied: "If your language reflects the light of truth, I should infer that the Bráhmans alone are robed in the true characteristics of humanity and that this sect are to be regarded as incorporeal spirits. To hold as altogether unlawful the acts of the natural man is either to be God or to be envious of the Supreme Being. In short these principles in my opinion, proceed from madness not from the fulness of wisdom. O, Dídím, I have not fixed my abode in this hired dwelling, nor made of a passing rest-house a settled habitation, but prudently looking on myself as a sojourner, hasten, unencumbered with guilt, to my true country. This language is not the making of self a god, but like dark-minded bigots that are enemies to their own happiness, I do not affect to make the attributes of the Creator the instruments of my salvation. And whosoever under the guidance of a wakeful fortune, abandoning sinful actions, walks in the way of virtue is not a god, but by means of the grace of that Supreme Lord, rises above his fellow men." The writer continued: "My royal master observes that you call yourselves fortunate in that you have chosen a retired spot of earth where the comings and goings of those without and the busy movement of the world are not heard, and that you consider this praiseworthy as proceeding from your attachment to your hearths and love of your native land. The lowliness and poverty that you cannot avoid is not worthy of commendation: on the contrary, the Almighty has inflicted this as a punishment for your evil deeds. True merit consists in living abstemiously amid abundant fortune, for ignorance and want cannot exhibit the lustre of virtue. The first cannot see what to avoid, the second has not the means by which it may possess. I, who with all the resources of pleasure and enjoyment at my command, have refrained from them altogether and have sternly chosen a life of toil, am more deserving of a glorious reward."

Some say that after his victory over Porus, Alexander heard that at the extremity of India, reigned a king called Kayd,[1] possessed of many virtues, and who for three hundred years had passed a blameless life. To him he despatched a letter that appealed to his hopes and fears. The king read the letter and thus replied: "I have heard of the successes of your Majesty and would deem the honour of a personal visit the source of fortune, but stricken in years, strength fails me. If my excuse is accepted, I will send as an offering four matchless treasures which are the pride of my life; an accomplished and virtuous maiden of uncomparable beauty; a sage unequalled in penetrating the secrets of the heart; a physician, in healing as the Messiah; a cup which though drunk from is inexhaustible. Alexander accepted the gifts and despatched Balínás with some experienced associates to bring them. The envoy returned to the court with those treasures of price together with forty elephants of which three were white, and numerous other presents. Alexander first essayed to test the Hindu sage. He sent him a bowl full of clarified butter. The sage thrust a few needles therein and sent it back. Alexander fused the needles and forming the metal into a ball returned it to him. The sage fashioning of this a mirror, again sent it back. Alexander placed it in a basin full of water and despatched it once more. The sage made of the mirror a drinking cup and set it upon the water of the basin. The monarch filled it with earth and returned it. At the sight of this, the sage fell into a profound melancholy and bitterly reproached himself and directed it to be carried back. Alexander was perplexed at this action. The next day he held an assembly of the learned to discuss these mysteries. The seer[1] was introduced and honourably received. He was of prepossessing exterior, with a noble brow, tall and powerfully made. Alexander on seeing him, thus reflected: "If to such a presence, he also unites a lofty wisdom, quickness of penetration and strength of will, he is unparalleled in his generation." The sage read his hidden thoughts and making a circuit of his face with his forefinger rested it on the point of his nose. When asked for an explanation, he replied: "I understood your Majesty's reflections and by this gesture I meant to express that as the nose in the face is one, I also am unique in my time." He was then required to expound the enigmas of the preceding day. He answered: "Your Majesty wished to signify the profundity of your wisdom, for as the bowl was full so the royal mind was filled with various knowledge and could contain no more. I, on the other hand, showed that as needles could find a place therein, so could other lore find room in your mind. By fashioning the ball

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[1] This story is told at considerable length by Masaúdi in the 26th Chapter

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of the 'Meadows of Gold.' The king's name is there Kend. Firdausi's version is somewhat different, but the name is Kayd, as in the text.

[1] The *izáfah* after بینش in the text is an error.

your Majesty's intention was to discover that the clearness of your intellect was not like the bowl of butter in which other things could be contained, but resembled a ball of steel. The construction into a mirror signified that though steel be hard, it is capable of such polish as to reflect the face. By your sinking the mirror in water, I understood the shortness of life and the vast extent of knowledge. By fashioning it into a cup, I answered that what sank in water might with skill be made to float; thus also immense erudition may be acquired by severe application and the shortness of life be prolonged. The filling it with earth implied that the end of all things is death, and the return to earth. This was capable of no answer, and I was silent." Alexander praised his sagacity and penetration and said: "The profit that I have reaped from India has been my meeting with thee." He took him into his companionship and intimacy and parted from him only when he left India. The other three treasures also were subjected to a similar ordeal and their worth approved.

Some writers narrate the history of Porus after the particulars regarding Kayd, and state that he fled without fighting to distant parts and that his dominions were conferred upon another.

Máni the Painter.[1]

His presumption led him to claim the authority of a prophet and he composed a work which he pretended had come down from heaven, affirming also that he was the Paraclete announced by the Messiah; Shápúr, the son of Ardshír Bábagán favoured him. It was not long before his imposture was discovered and he was condemned to death, but he contrived to escape by flight. For a time he remained in Kashmír and from thence entered India where his doctrines received some acceptance. From thence he went to Turkistán and China and resided chiefly in the eastern parts till his wanderings brought him to a mountain where he discovered a cave which was untrodden by human foot, and to this he brought provisions sufficient for a year. One day, in the course of conversation, he said to his followers: "I have been summoned to heaven where I shall remain for a twelve-month: be not troubled at my absence nor withdraw from the worship of God and the practice of virtue. At the end of the year, go, some of you, to a certain mountain and wait in expectation." Previous to his concealment he had learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. After he had ascended the mountain, he painted some wonderful figures which are celebrated by the name of Artang, or Arzhang,[1] and at the time that he had said, he came forth with the book in his hand. Those who saw it were filled with amazement. He exclaimed: "This is not the work of mortals that ye should wonder; I brought it from heaven and it is painted by the angels." This he brought forward as a witness of his prophetic mission and deceived the ignorant and credulous. He attempted to impose upon Bahrám Gor, the son of Hormuzd the son of Ardshír, but he failed in his purpose, and in this criminal venture staked and lost his life.

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[1] This account appears to be taken from Khondemir and agrees in the main with D'Herbelot's sketch from the same historian. Firdausi makes him a native of China and places his death in the reign of Sháhpúr by whom, he says, Mani was flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw as a warning to his followers. The Manichean sect takes its rise from this impostor who, according to D'Herbelot, was a *Christian priest* in the province of Ahwáz and had many controversies with the Jews and Magians and maintained the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis. He named twelve apostles to preach his doctrines in India and China, and gave them his book called the "Anghelion." "Anghelion, c'est à dire l'Evangile." One of his principles was abstinence from all flesh, and he forbade the taking of animal life, but his followers became divided into *Ṣádiḳún* or the true, who abstained from the killing of animals, and the *Sammákún* or fishmongers, who affected a distinction in their mode of killing, fish not being sacrificial animals. He admitted two principles of good and evil and the dual soul, one bad and created with the body by the evil principle, and the other the good created by the good principle. He denied free-will and the necessity of baptism. The Manicheans were persecuted by several emperors especially by Justin and Justinian. Baronius relates that a few were found lurking in France in 1052, and were hanged by order of the Emperor Henry II. These doctrines had the sole merit of claiming St. Augustine as a convert. According to Shahrastáni, Máni was the son of Fáten or Fáter, and according

Bahrám Gor

Was the son of Yezdejird, the Wicked, of the Sassanian dynasty. Since the lust of the world fills the brain with extraordinary fancies in the first flush of his success he was seized with the frenzy of adventurous travel, and leaving one of the Magi of the line of Bahman, son of Isfandyár, as governor in his stead, he set out for India in a disguise which defied recognition. In those parts there was a raging elephant which put the

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to M. b-Ishák, Fettak b-Abí Berdsám. He was born about A. D. 240, and his birth place differently given in Persia, Babylonia, Níshápúr and Khorásán. See Dabistán. Shea and Troyer, I. 205.

[1] Hammer Purgstal supposes that the *Artang* might have been an ensign upon which cabalistic figures were represented, and which the Mongols and Buddhists used to call Máni. (Jahrb. der Lit. for April, May, June, 1840, p. 28 quoted by Troyer. (Dabistan, I. 205), who refers for a further account of this personage to Hyde, pp. 281 and Beausobre. Hist. Crit. de Manichée). Máni is also said to have been the inventor of the *'úd* (عود), or Arabian lyre, the χέλυς of the Greeks. *Ibid.*

whole country in terror. Although the bravest warriors had attempted to kill it, they lost but their own lives. Bahrám hearing of this event arrived at the place and by sheer strength of arm destroyed it. The prince of that region received him at his Court with much favour.[1] In his vicinity a powerful enemy had arrived to dispute his sovereignty, and he saw no resource but in the payment of tribute. Bahrám dissuaded him from this course, and opposed the invader in person and defeated him. The prince gave him his daughter in marriage, but when he discovered his illustrious descent, he became apprehensive and dismissed him loaded with presents back to his own country. It is said that Bahrám took with him 12,000 musicians; and many other wonderful adventures are related of him.

Burzúyah.[2]

Núshírwán spent his days in the assiduous pursuit of knowledge, solicitous to discover erudite minds and interesting literary works. He opportunely fell in with a learned Bráhman with whom he frequently held familiar discussions. Enquiry was made regarding the truth of a universal report to the effect that in a certain mountainous part of India certain herbs grew which could restore the dead to life. The Brahmán replied: "The report has a semblance of fact, inasmuch as by the mountain is meant a wise man, by the herbs knowledge, and by the dead an ignorant person," and he proceeded to expound the various lore of the country and the advantages thereof. In this he included the story of Kalilah and Damnah, and briefly recounted its merits and said, "the rulers of Hindustan keep this manual of state-craft studiously concealed and do not show it to every one." The desire to obtain this work rendered the monarch impatient. He commanded his ministers saying: "I need a judicious and discerning person who to a strong bodily constitution unites firmness of purpose and various learning, besides a knowledge of foreign tongues." Burzúyah was found to possess these important qualifications and successfully proved his capacity. A large sum of money was entrusted to him in order that he might set out in the guise of a merchant to that country, and through inquiries of experts attain the object of his mission, and return with it and other scientific treatises to the court. He came to India, and setting up as a trader passed himself off as an unlearned person desirous of acquiring knowledge. In this way he secured an intimacy with the ministers of the Indian princes, and through their instrumentality returned to the imperial court with that volume of wise lore, together with other valuable objects. The king received him with favour and fulfilled his desires.[1]

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[1] See Vol. II. pp. 210–215, for the connection of Bahrám Gor with the royal house of Málwah. The adventures of this monarch were the subject of a poem by the Persian poet Kátibí, and they are amply narrated in the Sháhnámah. Firdausi gives the name of the Indian prince as Shangal. Bahrám is represented as having fled from Kanauj with his wife after his marriage, being wearied of his splendid exile. The monarch pursues, but after an interview becomes reconciled to his departure. He subsequently visits his son-in-law in Persia escorted by seven subject princes, *viz.*, those of Kábul, Hind, Sind, Sandal, Jandal, Kashmír and Multán. Firdausi gives the number of singers, male and female, as ten thousand. These did not accompany him but were furnished by his father-in-law at his request on account of their scarcity in Persia. The poor had complained that the banquets of the rich were made mirthful with music and flowers, and that they were themselves despised as destitute of these luxuries. The king laughed and sent for these musicians, gave them each an ox and an ass, and divided amonst them a thousand ass-loads of grain in order that they should support themselves by agriculture, and give their services free to the poor. They eat their cattle and corn, and at the end of the year presented themselves before him with emaciated faces, but he dismissed them saying that they had still their asses left. Since which time they have been a wandering race, with dogs and wolves for companions, and subsisting by theft. Sháhnámah.

[2] At p. 2 this name has been spelt Barzawayh after the Arabic fashion as in Sibawayh, Nifbawayh, &c., but the Persian form Burzúyah as in Sherúyah, is correct.

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[1] This story is somewhat differently told by Firdausi. Burzúyah, he narrates, was one of the distinguished circle of learned men at the court of Núshírwán, and one day presented himself before that monarch saying that he had lately read in a Sanskrit work of a mountain in India where grew a herb bright as a Greek sword-blade, which skilfully compounded and sprinkled over a corpse would restore it to life, and he asked permission to go in search of it. The king despatched him to India ostensibly as a merchant, with many presents, steeds, and a letter addressed to the king of Kanauj, and with merchandise laden on 300 camels. The Indian prince offered him every facility in his search for the wonderful herb, of which no trace could be found. He was directed at last to a hoary sage who informed him that the mountain was wisdom, the herb an eloquent monitor, and the corpse an ignorant man and that this herb was fitly represented by the work called Kalílah which was in the king's treasury Returning elated to Kanauj, Burzúyah petitioned the Prince for the gift of the work, which *in Arabic* was called Kalílah. The poet does not stop to explain how it could have been so called before it was known to the Arabs or translated into Arabic, but continues, that the prince demurred to so unusual a request, eventually consenting that the work might be read and inspected only in his presence. Burzúyah complied, reading only as much at a time as he could get by heart and transmitting it in his correspondence to Núshírwán. As soon as he learnt, in reply, that the whole work had been received, he took his leave and

MUḤAMMAD ḲÁSIM

Was cousin to the celebrated Hajjáj. He received his commission in the reign of the Caliph Ạbdu'l Malik, as has been already noticed.[1]

AMÍR NÁṢIRÚDDÍN SABUKTIGÍN

Was the father of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazní. After Bahrám Gor none of the (Persian) kings entered India. Sabuktigín invaded it at the head of an army in the year A.H. 367 (A.D. 977), and after several engagements returned to Ghaznín.

AMÍR SULṬÁN MAḤMÚD GHAZNAVÍ

Led twelve descents on India. The first was in A.H. 390[2] (A.D. 999-1000), and the last in A.H. 418 (A.D. 1027). Fanatical bigots representing India as a country of unbelievers at war with Islám incited his unsuspecting nature to the wreck of honour and the shedding of blood and the plunder of the virtuous.

SULṬÁN MASAỤD

Was son of Maḥmúd: He crossed into India in A. H. 426 (A. D. 1034-35).[3]

SULṬÁN IBRÁHÍM, SON OF SULṬÁN MASAỤD.

Although a considerable territory in Hindustan was in the possession of the descendants of Sulṭan Maḥmúd, none of the undermentioned princes

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returned to Persia. On his arrival he asked the king to command its translation by his minister Buzurj-mihr, and in recompense for his own toils to permit his name and connection with the work to preface the translation. This favour was granted and the translation was made in the current Pahlavi dialect and was so read until its translation into Arabic in the time of Mámún. Under Naṣr-b-Aḥmad Samani (A. D. 913-43), it was translated into the Dari dialect of Persian by order of his minister Abu'l Fazl, and then read out to Rúdakí who turned it into verse. Such is the narrative of Firdausi. It is remarkable that he should incorrectly ascribe the Arabic translation to Mámún instead of al Manṣúr, in whose reign it was rendered into Arabic by the Kátib Ạbdu'llah-b-u'l Muḳaffạ.

[1] See Vol. p., 344.

[2] Elphinstone gives the date of the first as A. H. 391 (A. D. 1001) and the last as A. H. 415 (A. D. 1024.) The discrepancies may be reconciled by including or excluding the initial preparations and the time occupied in the invasion. In the case of the last invasion, Elphinstone supposes it to have occupied one year and a half; Ferishta two years and a half; Price more than three years. Abul Fazl may take into account the return of Maḥmúd to Multán within a year of his twelfth expedition.

[3] Elphinstone, A. H. 432 (A. D. 1040).

entered India :—Makḥul-b-Sulṭán Maḥmúd; Maudúd-b-Masaúd; Masaúd-b-Maudúd; Sulṭán Ali-b-Masaúd-b-Maḥmúd; Sulṭán Abdu'r Rashíd-b-Maḥmúd; Farrukhzád-b-Masaúd; but when in course of time the crown devolved upon Ibráhím-b-Masaúd-b-Sulṭán Maḥmúd he made peace with the Saljúkis and turning his thoughts to India he entered it on several occasions.

SULṬÁN MASAÚD-B-IBRÁHÍM

Also crossed into India at intervals and was successful.

BAHRÁM SHÁH-B-MASAÚD-B-IBRÁHÍM.

The *Ḥadíkat (u'l Ḥakáik)* of the (poet) Ḥakím Sanái[1] and the *Kalíla Damna* of (Abu'l Maáli) Naṣru'llah Mustaufí were dedicated to him. This prince also visited India.

KHUSRAU SHÁH-B-BAHRÁM SHÁH.

On the death of his father, he succeeded to the throne. It was about this time that Aláu'ddín Ḥusayn Ghorí, known as *Jahánsoz* or Burner of the World, sacked Ghazníń and entered India. Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu'ddín Sám and Sulṭán Shihábu'ddín, nephews of Aláu'ddín Ḥusayn, on whom the latter had bestowed Ghazníń and the adjacent provinces, contrived to secure the person of Khusrau Sháh from India and put him in prison where he ended his days, and thus the dynasty of the descendants of Maḥmúd passed away. Some authorities, however, assert that Khusrau Sháh held his court at the capital of Lahore, and that on his death, he was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik who was taken by the Ghorís and placed in confinement,[2] in which he continued till he died.

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[1] This poet was a native of Ghazní. His *Hadíkah* is well known and is altogether of a religious character, a mystical treatise on the unity of God and other devotional subjects. The motive of these aids to piety is excellent, but their treatment is somewhat monotonous and would be more efficacious in prose. Ḥusayn Wáiẓ, in his preface to the *Anwár i Suhaylí*, mentions the poet Sanáí and also Naṣru'llah's version of Kalíla and Damna. *Vide* Eastwick's translation, pp. 15 and 8. An account of the translations this work has undergone is given by De Sacy in the "Memoire Historique" which prefaces his own edition of it. Eastwick gives A. D. 1180, as about the time when Sanáí flourished. The Natáiju'l Afkár places his death in A. H. 525 (A. D. 1132). Bahrám Sháh came to the throne in A. D. 1118, and was succeeded by Khusrau Sháh in A. D. 1153. *Mustaufi* signifies President of the Exchequer, and may be either a family designation or derived from occupation of the office.

[2] This latter version is correct. Khusrau Sháh died in A. D. 1160, after a reign of seven years. Khusrau Malik, his son prolonged his feeble rule for 27 lunar years to A. D. 1186. He was taken prisoner by Shihábu'ddín through a stratagem, and sent with his family to Ghirjistán where, some years after, he was put to death.

SULṬÁN MUIZZ'UDDÍN MUḤAMMAD SÁM.

He is also called Sulṭán Shihábu'ddín. After the capture of Ghaznín Aláu'ddín Ḥusayn Ghorí imprisoned Ghiyáṣu'ddín and Shihábu'ddín.

On his death, his son Sayfu'ddín came to the throne and by releasing them attached them to his person.

On the death of Sayfu'ddín in his campaign in I'rák[1] he was succeeded by Ghiyáṣu'ddín. During his reign Shihábu'ddín led several expeditions into India, and the (defeat and) death of Prithví Rájá and the conquest of Hindustan occurring about this time, he left his slave Ḳutbu'ddín (Eibak) at Delhi as his representative. On the death of Ghiyáṣu'ddín, the throne was occupied by Shihábu'ddín who favoured the Turkish slaves. Among these was Táju'ddín Eldóz,[2] upon whom he bestowed the governments of Mekrán and Súrán which are dependencies of India.

SULṬÁN ḲUṬBU'DDÍN AIBAK

Was one of the slaves of Sulṭán Mu'izzu'ddín,[3] and rose to eminence through his own valour and resolution. The Sulṭán entrusted to him the viceroyalty of Delhi. He made many successful compaigns in India and performed many acts of personal prowess.

MALIK NÁṢIRU'DDÍN ḲABÁCHAH[4]

Was also a slave of Mu'izzu'ddín. On the death of his master he made himself master of Uchh, Multán and the Sind country.

SULṬÁN SHAMSU'DDÍN ALTMISH

Some account him to have been a slave of Shahábu'ddín and others of Ḳuṭbu'ddín Aibak.[5] After the death of the latter, his son Áram Sháh being defeated, the sovereignty devolved upon Altmish.

SULṬÁN GHIYÁṢU'DDÍN BALBAN

Was one of the slaves of Shamsu'ddín and brought from Túrán to India. For a time he held the title of Ulugh Khán[6] and subsequently obtained the sovereign power.

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[1] Against the Turkish tribe of the Euz or Ghuz long settled in Kípchák, and who about this time first came into prominence.

[2] In Ferishta the name is Eldoz; in D'Herbelot, Ildiz. In Turkish, Ildiz or Yildiz signifies a star, and this is doubtless the true orthography. D'Herbelot gives the names of the two provinces as Kirmán and Sourán, Ferishta, Kirmán and Sheorán; Keith Johnston writes the latter both Sarawan and Sahúrawán. D'Herbelot describes it as marching with Kermán on the east.

[3] Another epithet of Shihábu'ddín Ghori. See Vol. II. 263.

[4] See Vol. II. p. 341 n. which quoting the U. T. duplicates the *b* in Ḳabbácha, but there is no warrant for this orthography. The *Burhán-i-Ḳáṭi* gives it the measure of *Saráchah*.

[5] See Vol. II. p. 303 and ff.

[6] See Vol. II. p. 304, n. 2.

Sulṭán Muḥammad-b-Sulṭán Malik Sháh Saljúḳí.[1]

According to some authorities, towards the close of his life having settled his differences with his brothers, he invaded India and put many to death. A stone idol weighing ten thousand maunds fell into his possession. The Hindus sent him a message offering to ransom it at its weight in pearls. This offer he refused.

Sulṭán Jalálu'ddín Mankburní.[2]

When Sulṭán Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh took refuge from the troops of the great Ḳáán, Changíz Khán, in the island of Ábaskún,[3] he was accompanied by his son Jalálu'ddín who, on his father's death, set out for Khurásán and thence hastened to Ghaznah, and was engaged in several important actions against the Ḳáán's forces in which he was victorious. The great Ḳáán himself marched in person to remedy the disaster. Jalálu'ddín unable to cope with him retired towards Hindustan. The great conqueror pursued him to the banks of the Indus and both armies were again engaged. Yielding at last to superior force he mounted his horse and seizing his royal umbrella in his hand plunged into the stream and crossing its raging waters landed at a point opposite the enemy. He there took off his saddle and flung his clothes in the sun, and planting the umbrella in the ground sat down under its shade. The Ḳáán beheld this feat with astonishment and was loud in his admiration. For a night and day he remained there and was joined by fifty of his men, and cutting some clubs, they made a night attack on a party of Indians and carried off a considerable booty,[1] and in a short time ten thousand horsemen were assembled under his command. Sulṭán Shamsu'ddín Altmish, Emperor of Hindustan, was under the gravest apprehension, and could not venture to engage him.[2] Jalálu'ddín continued for nearly twò years in India carrying on a desultory warfare, and made himself master of several fertile districts, but subsequently returned by way of Kach and Mekrán to the conquest of I'ráḳ.

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[1] He was the fifth prince of the elder branch of the Seljúḳs of Persia, omitting the ephemeral reign of Malik Sháh, son of Barkiarok. He succeeded to power in A. D. 1105 and died in A. H. 511 (A. D. 1118). The author of the *Táríkh-i-Guzídah*, Ḥamdu'llah-b-Abí Bakr Ḳazwíní, mentions his invasion of India and the capture of the idol. His reason for rejecting the offer of the Hindus was that as Ázar, the father of Abraham, was a maker of idols (*but tarásh*), it should never be said of him that he was the seller thereof (*but farosh*). See the sketch of this conqueror's career in D'Herbelot. Art. Mahommed fils de Melikschah.

[2] So Hammer enjoins that the word should be written, yet his coins give Mankbarín. See Elliot, II. 549.

[3] See p. 86. This is a port on the Caspian which in that neighbourhood received the name of the Sea of Ábaskún. V. Maynard, "Dict. de la Perse." He fled says De Guignes, into Ghilán, passed Astarábád and took refuge in "the island of Ábaskún," where he died miserably abandoned by every one. As Suyúṭi narrates that he fell ill of a pleurisy and died alone and abandoned, and his corpse was shrouded in his bedding, A. H. 617 (A D. 1220). v. Hist. of the Caliphs. Jarrett, p. 495. The narrative in the text is borrowed from Mirkhond and may be compared with D'Herbelot under Art. Gelaleddin, and De Guignes. Hist. des Huns, Tom. II. 278, and III. 52–58. The latter gives Manbekberni as a variant of Mankberni. His retreat into India (A. D. 1221), is mentioned by Ferishta, who adds that Nizámu'ddín Aḥmad Bakshí and some other historians place the date of his arrival after the death of Náṣiru'ddín Ḳabáchah (A. D. 1228, Tab. Náṣiri), but without sufficient warrant.

Some authorities assert that when the number of his followers amounted to a thousand, he marched towards Delhi, and sent a messenger to Sulṭán Shamsu'ddín Altmish desiring a post in his service. The latter prudently declined, and after the manner of astute intriguers he poisoned his messenger, and sending him a number of valuable presents sped him towards Irán.[3]

TURMATAI[4] NOVIAN

Was one of the principal generals of Changíz Khán. After the incidents in connection with Sulṭán Jalalu'ddín, he invaded India and took Multán. Náṣiru'ddín Ḳabáchah who was governor of that province, opened the gates of his treasury and won over the soldiery, and by his address and valour remedied the disaster.

MALIK KHÁN KHALAJ[5]

Was one of the military adventurers of Khwárzam and invaded Sind.

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[1] See this story in the *Tarikh-i-Jahán Kushá* of Juwaini. Elliot, II. and the narrative taken from the Rauzatu'ṣ Ṣafá. Elliot, II. Appendix 558.

[2] According to D'Ohsson (III. 4), he proposed peace and the hand of his daughter which were both accepted by the Sulṭán. Elliot, II. Appendix 561 n.

[3] Ferishta says he compelled him to retreat towards Sind and Sewistán, and Mírkhond that he remained an independent power in India for three years and seven months. Elliot, II. 561.

[4] This name appears in the Tárikh-i-Jahán Kushá as Túrtái (Elliot, II. 391), who was despatched by Changíz Khán in pursuit of Sulṭán Jalálu'ddín. He captured Multán and ravaged the surrounding country returning through Sind to Ghazní. I cannot trace the name of Túrtái or Turmatai in the Rauzatu'ṣ Ṣafá. The word Noviana, (or Novian in oriental historians), in the Mogul language signifies chief or general, corresponding to the Arab word Emir (De Guignes a. III. p. 69), and will be found as an adjunct to many names in the history of the Moguls (Vol. III. Book XV). The principal generals are mentioned by De Guignes, but none of the name of Turmatai, the orthography of which I do not know as the vowel points are wanting in the text.

[5] Commonly Khilji. The origin of the name is given by De Guignes, as

Náṣiru'ddín Ḳabáchah advanced to give him battle and displayed great heroism in the encounter in which the Khalají lost his life.

ṬÁHIR

Was one of the generals of Changíz Khán, and in the reign of Mu'izzu'ddín Bahrám Sháh (A. D. 1239–42) son of Sulṭán Shamsu'ddín (Altmish), he was infatuated with the design of invading Hindustan. Malik Ḳaráḳash at that time held the government of Lahore in behalf of the Sulṭán and from want of spirit and the disunion among his followers, he set out one night for Delhi, and the town was sacked.[1]

MANKÚYAH[2]

Was one of the generals of Hulágú Khán. He advanced as far as Uchh in the reign of Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín Masạúd Sháh (A. D. 1242–46), who marched to give him battle. On arriving at the banks of the Biáh, the invader retreated to Khurásán. A year previous to the invasion of Mankúyah, a part of the army of Changíz Khán entered Bengal[3] and hostilities

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bestowed on an officer of his service by Ogouz Khán, an ancient Mogul king. This officer having been delayed on the line of march through the unseasonable accouchement of his wife, was unable to find any provisions for her. The starving mother was without milk, and he went in pursuit of game for her nourishment. Taken before Ogouz Khán he related the cause of his delay, and the king dismissed him with the surname of Kall-Atz, *Kall* signifying 'repose' and *Atz* hungry. D'Herbelot writes the words *Cal-ag* (with a soft *g*) and the story with different particulars on the authority of Mírkhond. The tribe he names Khalag.

[1] This invasion is noticed by Ferishta without naming the invader, as having taken place on the 16th Jumáda. I. A. H. 639 (A. D. 1241), and according to Briggs, was under "a famous Turki leader Toormoosherín Khán." De Guignes gives the date of "Tourmeschirín Khán, of the Zagatai branch of the Western Tartars, as A. H. 728 (A. D. 1327). He succeeded his brother Daoutmour Khán in the rule of Transoxiana and forced his people to adopt the faith of Islám D'Ohsson places the date of his death in 1330 (Elliot III. 42). The name may mislead, but the date fixes the distinction of person. In the beginning of the reign of Ạláu'ddín, (A.D. 1295-1316), Prince Katlagh Khwájah brother of Turmashirín invaded India. In A. H. 729 (A. D. 1328) Turmashirín himself advanced to the confines of Badáon. Badáoni speaks of a previous inroad by the same leader, but that could have taken place only a few years previously. I find no authority for Briggs's statement, nor the name of Ṭáhir in De Guignes, Ferishta or Elliot.

[2] In the Ṭabaḳátu'n Náṣiri, *Mankúta* with a variant *Mankúna*. A change of the diacritical points will produce any of the three forms; the person intended is Mangú Khán: v. Elliot, II. 344.

[3] They arrived al Lakhnauti in Shawwál, A. H. 642 (March 1245), by way of Khaṭá and Tibet according to Ferishta, the same route taken by Maḥd Bakhtyár Khilji, when he invaded Tibet and Khaṭa from Bengal.

took place with Tughán Khán, who was at that time governor on the part of Ạláu'ddín Masạúd Sháh, but terms of peace were agreed upon. In the reign of Sulṭán Náṣiru'ddín Maḥmúd Sháh (A. D. 1245-65), the Mughal troops again invaded the Panjáb and retired.

SÁRÍ NOVIAN

Invaded Sind with a large army. Sulṭán Náṣiru'ddín (A. D. 1246-66), sent Ulugh Khán[1] to oppose him and followed in person, and the invader retreated.

TÍMÚR NOVIAN

In the reign of Hulágu Khán marched towards India with a large force and a hard-fought engagement took place with Ḳadar Khán, son of Sulṭán Ghiáṣu'ddín Balban between Láhor and Dípálpúr in which this nursling of fortune drank his last draught.[2] He was brave, studious, and a friend to learning, and twice despatched gifts of valuable presents to Muṣliḥu'ddín Shaykh Saạdí at Shíráz, with an invitation to his court. Although the poet was unable to accept it, he sent him a work written with his own hand. In this action Mír Khusrau was taken prisoner and has himself briefly alluded to this event in his poem. After this no foreign invasion took place for seven years.

ẠBDU'LLAH KHÁN

Was the grandson of Hulágu Khán who advanced upon India by way of Kábul, A. H. 691 (A. D. 1292,) Sulṭán Jalálu'ddín (Fíroz Khilji, A. D. 1288-95), marched to stem the disaster and a stubborn engagement was fought at Bagrám,[3] after which the invader retreated on terms of peace. Algú,[4] a grandson of Changíz Khán, with many other chiefs entered the service of the Sulṭán, who gave him his daughter in marriage. In the beginning of the reign[5] of Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín, some of the Túrán troops crossed the

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[1] Afterwards Ghiyáṣu'ddín Balban. The history of his family is given in the Ṭab. Náṣ. Elliot, II. 360.

[2] See p. 304, and Elphinstone. The phrase is not inappropriate, as Ḳadar Khán was surprised by the routed enemy as he halted by a stream to drink and to return thanks for his victory.

[3] Ferishta *Harám* ; Briggs, who thinks his MSS. in error, *Bairám* ; the Táríkh Firoz Sháhi *Barrám* ; a river divided the two armies, but there is no mention of the province in which the engagement took place.

[4] Elliot, *Ulghú* (III. 148). Briggs, *Oghloo*, Ferishta *Aghlán or Ughlán*. De Guignes gives the orthography *Algou.* The Táríkh Firoz Sháhi says that these Mughuls embraced Islám and were allotted residences in Ghiyáṣpúr, Kílughari, Indrapat and Tálúka, which were called Mughalpúr after them.

[5] Ferishta says in the second year of his reign A. H. 697 (A. D. 1297), and that

Indus, and he despatched (Almás Beg) Ulugh Khán and Ẕafar Khán with a large force to oppose them. The Mughals were defeated, some were taken prisoners, but the greater number were slain.

ṢALDI

Was of the Mughal race and about this time invaded Sind. The Sulṭán (Ạláu'ddín) appointed Ẕafar Khán (to oppose him), who in a short time obtained a victory and taking him prisoner, sent him to the royal court.[1]

ḲAṬLAGH KHWÁJAH[2]

In the same year crossed the Indus with a large army and advanced by direct marches on Delhi, and as his design was otherwise he did not open his hand to plunder. Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín resolved to give him battle and (Ẕafar Khán) defeated him, pursuing him for sixteen *kos*. The chiefs through jealousy did not join in the pursuit and the enemy returning surrounded him. Though (Ẕafar Khán) was offered the strongest assurances of advancement, he refused their terms and died fighting to the last.

TARGHÍ NOVIAN,[3]

At the time when Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín was investing Chitor, thinking the opportunity favourable, invaded India with a large army. The Sulṭán

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the army was despatched by Duá Khán, king of Transoxiana. Elphinstone and Briggs incorrectly give the name as Dáúd Khán. Almás Beg was the brother of the king and one of those concerned in the murder of Jalalu'ddín Fíróz Khiljí. Ferishta says that all actually concerned in the tragedy perished miserably in the course of four years, yet the abettor who profited most by the crime reigned for 20 years, unequalled in wealth and power by any monarch who preceded him. Nevertheless, that his end was evil is a warning to "those that have eyes."

[1] Mentioned in the Táríkh Fíróz Sháhí. Elliot III. 165. The name of the leader in Ferishta is Chaldi.

[2] He was the son of Duá above mentioned, as stated by Waṣṣáf (Elliot III. 62). The name of Ẕafar Khán is omitted by Abul Fazl, and the context would imply that the narrative concerns Ạláu'ddín. Ferishta and Zíau'ddín Barni both give the details of this action which took place in A. H. ~~1015~~ (A. D. ~~1606~~), and mention the failure of Ulugh Khán (properly Alp Khán. See Elliot III. 208), and other chiefs to support Ẕafar Khán and the favourable offer of Katlagh which was refused. Ẕafar Khán's reputation for valour among the Mughals resembled that of Cœur de Lion in Syria. If their horses shied they would ask if they had seen the ghost of Ẕafar Khán. Ạláu'ddín's jealousy or fear of his general was such that he thought his death the richest reward of the day. The Mughals retreated after the fight and returned to their country.

[3] He had previously accompanied Ḳatlagh in his invasion and it was through his successful ambush, that Ẕafar Khán was surprised and slain. The narrative of these events will be found in the reign of the prince, both in Ferishta and Barní.

after the capture of that fortress, A. H. 703 (A. D. 1303), hastened to oppose him and Targhí possessed himself of the fords of the river Jumna, within five *kos* of Delhi. The Sulṭán entrenched himself in the vicinity outside the city walls. After some hostilities Targhí returned unsuccessful to his own country.

Ạlí Beg and Tarták[1]

Were descendants of Changíz Khán. At the head of thirty thousand horse, skirting the (Sewálik) mountains, he penetrated to Amroha, A. H. 704 (A. D. 1304). Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín sent an army to oppose them. After severe fighting, both of these chiefs were taken prisoners and the rest as an example were trodden to death by elephants.

Kapak[2] Mughal

In the following year (A. H. 705) reached India with a considerable force, but was taken prisoner. The year after, thirty thousand Mughals made an incursion through the Sewaliks. The Sulṭán sent a large army which seized the fords and skilfully obstructed them. In the retreat many of the Mughals perished and some were taken prisoners.

Iḳbálmand

In the reign of Ạláu'ddín invaded the country at the head of an army of Mughals, but was killed in action. After this no further hostile designs were entertained by them.

Khwájah Rashíd[3]

Sulṭán Muḥammad Khudabandah sent the author of the *Jámi'ut Tawáríkh-i Rashídí* on an embassy to Sulṭán Ḳuṭbu'ddín, son of Sulṭán Ạláu'ddín, and a close friendly alliance was entered into between them.

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[1] Var. *Tiryák.* This variant and *Ziák* are also in Barni. In Ferishta, *Khwájah Tarbál* or *Tiryál*; in Briggs, *Khwájah Tásh*, which Elliot says is in accordance with D'Ohsson (Hist. des Mongols, IV. 571). III, 198, n.

[2] In Ferishta, کنک; in Briggs, *Eibuk*, Elliot has *Kank*, which is Ferishta's name, but no diacritical points determine the pronunciation. Kapak or Kepek is a Tartar name and claimed by one of the princes of Turkestan. See D'Herbelot under *Al Giaptu.*

[3] Fazlu'llah Rashídu'ddín was born in A. H. 645 (A. D. 1247), in Hamadán, and as a physician was brought into notice at the court of the Mughal Sulṭáns of Persia. He was raised to the dignity of Wazír by Ghazán Khán Maḥmúd o the Ilkhanian dynasty and maintained in office by Oljáitú, surnamed Khudabandah, brother and successor of Ghazan Khán (A. D. 1303–16). The Jámi'u't Tawáríkh was finished in A. D. 1310, and is a general history in 4 Vols. containing the history of the Turkish tribes,

LORD OF THE FORTUNATE CONJUNCTION.

(TIMÚR).

When the sovereignty of Delhi devolved upon Sulṭán Maḥmúd the grandson of Sulṭán Fíroz, and the office of chief minister upon Mallú Khán, all systematic administration and knowledge of affairs ceased to exist and the government fell into discredit. At this period the sublime Standards approached as has already been briefly described. Notwithstanding the conquest of so populous a kingdom, the booty obtained was not important, and the invaders impelled by love of their native land, retired from the country.

BÁBER.

His history has been fully detailed in the first volume.[1]

HUMÁYÚN.

When the jewel of sovereignty beamed with the radiance of a coming possession, Humáyún, after some unsuccessful attempts, invaded India. (A. D. 1555), as before narrated.

Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the universe, each of whom in manifold ways has attained to the desire of his heart.

But this long narrative will never end, for there are many of those freed from the trammels of the world and of others fettered therein, who have visited this country, such as Husayn Manṣúr, Abú Maashar of Balkh. Khwájah Mu'ínu'ddín Sijizí, Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín Úshí, Shaykh I'ráḳí, Shaykh Saadí, Mír Ḥusayní, Mír Sayyid Ali Hamadání and others.[2]

SAINTS OF INDIA.

(AWLIYÁ-I-HIND).

Inasmuch as the writer is a suppliant before the servants of God and the love of them is innate in his heart, he concludes this work with a notice

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the life of Oljáitú, an account of the prophets, kings, Caliphs and Arab tribes concluding with a geographical description of the earth. A portion of the 1st Vol. called the Táríkh Gházání has been translated by Quatromère. See Elliot's Bibl. Indica. to the Hist. of Mhd. India, p. 1, and D'Herbelot under Al Giaptu for the life of the monarch.

[1] The Akbarnámah, of which the Áín-i-Akbari is the third. The second contains the history of the reign of Akbar. Accounts of Humáyún will also be found in the 1st Volume.

[2] The names of almost all of these personages will be found in the Index of the 1st and 2nd Volumes.

of such among them as have been either born or have their last resting places in this country. He trusts that this course will be pleasing to many minds and a source to them of eternal bliss. For himself he will inhale fragrance from the garden of truth and receive the meed of his abundant toil.

Awliyá is the (Arabic) plural of *walí* which is interpreted as signifying 'nearness,' by which is intended spiritual proximity. Some authorities ascribe to *wiláyat* with a *kasra* of the *wao*, the meaning of diversity of appearance, and to *waláyat* with a *fatḥa*, that of authority. Others assert that the idea of a lover attaches to the first, and the state of the beloved to the second. The possessor of the former quality is called *walí*, that of the latter, *wálí*. Another opinion is that the word (*waláyat*) with the *fatḥa*, betokens the proximity (to God) of the prophets, and with a *kasra* (*wiláyat*), of the saints.[1] In ancient works many significations have been given, the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being; a lofty soul will indeed love God alone. To me the wonder is, what connection can exist between a dust-mote of creation and the self-existing sun, and what bond lies between the finite and infinity? A *walí*, in my opinion, is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit, and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune, and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it. The latter state they call *Uwaysí* with reference to the example of Uways Ḳaraní;[2] and some say

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[1] Compare with this, Jámí's introduction to his *Nafaḥátu'l Uns min Ḥadharáti'l Ḳuds* (Halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes), p. 3, Lees' edit. where the derivation and meaning of *walí* are discussed and illustrated "Do you desire to be a *Walí?*" said the celebrated devotee Ibráhím Adham, to a certain man, "then seek not the things of this world or the next, but resign thyself wholly to God and turn to Him." That is, that the selfish desire for the delights of paradise is an obstruction to perfect communion with God in a similar sense with worldly pleasures though, of course, differing in degree.

[2] This personage is referred to in the 87th Maḳámah of al Ḥarírí; "and the crowd thronged round Abu Zayd praising him and kissing his hand and seeking a blessing by the touch of his tattered garment, till I thought that he must be Uways al Ḳaraní or Dubays al Asadí." He was the son of Áámir and one of the Tábií'n (or those next in time to the companions of Muḥammad) celebrated among the devotees of Kúfah and was killed fighting at the battle of Ṣiffín under Ali, in A. H. 87. Ḳaraní is the name of one of the halting places of the people of Nejd on their pilgrimage to Mecca. See Arabic note to De Sacy's

The former, who possess the power of revealing things not manifest to the senses, are classed under twelve orders, of which two are regarded as unorthodox:—

(1). Muḥásibí. (2). Ḳaṣṣár. (3). Ṭayfúrí. (4). Junaydí. (5). Núrí. (6). Sahlí. (7). Ḥakímí. (8). Kharrází. (9). Khafífí. (10). Sayyárí. (11). Ḥulúlí. (12). Ḥallájí.

I. The source of grace to the FIRST-NAMED was Abú Ạbdu'llah Ḥárith[1] b-Asad Muḥásibí, a native of Baṣraḥ. He mastered all secular and speculative science and was thoroughly acquainted with the inequalities of the spiritual road. He was *the* teacher κατ' ἐξοχήν of his time and the author of many works. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 243 (A. D. 857). As he ever judiciously wielded the moral controlling authority of his age, he received this name of Muḥásib.

The SECOND follow Ḥamdún, the son of Aḥmad-b-Ạmmár, Ḳaṣṣár or the Fuller, his patronymic being Abú Ṣáliḥ. He studied under Thaurí[2] and acquired many spiritual benefits from Salm-b-Ḥusayn Bárúsí, Abú Turáb Nakshabí and Ạlí Naṣrábádí, and was a disciple of Abú Ḥafṣ. He attained a high degree of perfection though the world gave loose to the tongue of slander against him. He died at Níshapúr in A.H. 271 (A.D. 884).

Harírí, p. 506, for the prophetic announcements of his birth and sanctity, the visit of Omar and Ạlí to him, and their discovery of the "white wonder" of his hand in the Mosaic sense. Jámí quotes Farídu'ddín Aṭṭár to the effect that certain exalted mystics of the spiritual [illegible] are called Uwaysí [illegible] the above-named saint, through their being directly inspired by the prophet without any visible director, a rank and office to which very few can aspire and given only to the chosen of God. Nafaḥátu'luns, p. 21.

[1] He is said by Jámí never to have used any support for his back, night or day, for 40 years, but always to have sat resting his knees on the ground declaring it to be the proper attitude for a servant in front of his Lord the King, meaning the Almighty.

[2] Sufyán Thaurí is noticed in Jámí, p. 716; and in the same volume will be found the names of all the saints and doctors mentioned in the following pages. Internal evidence conclusively proves that Abul Fazl utilized Jámí's work in this compilation, one s[illegible] in the account of the almost *verbati*[illegible] name in the second list, and four [illegible] usual without acknowledgment. I do not think it necessary to disturb the dust of these uninviting biographies which are often as brief and colourless as those in the text, a bald record of names and dates with laudatory epithets of erudition or sanctity, and concluding occasionally with a few devotional maxims. Many of these are excellent precepts of conduct and are proofs of a true interior spirit of piety, but this is not the place to record them. For the rest, the English reader can be neither edified nor instructed by a hagiography of fossil names, most of them as profoundly forgotten as if they had never survived. The few that require any special mention shall receive it.

The THIRD revere Ṭayfúr-b-I'sa Bisṭámí whose patronymic is Báyazíd. One of his great ancestors was a Magian called Sharosháu. His earliest education was received from the elders of Bisṭám under whom he studied science and reached the rank of a *mujtahid.*[1] Next, having mastered the ordinary subjects of knowledge, he attained to the highest grade of intellectual distinction. He ranked equal to Aḥmad Khaẓrawaiḥ, Abú Ḥafṣ, and Yaḥya-b-Maáẓ, and was contemporary with Shaḳíḳ of Balkh, He died in A. H. 261 (A. D. 874-75), or according to another account, A. H. 234 (A. D. 848).

The FOURTH are adherents of Junayd Baghdádí whose patronymic is Abu'l Ḳásim and who is styled *Ḳawáríri*, the flask maker, and *Zajjáj*, the glass manufacturer, and *Khazzáz*, the raw-silk merchant. His father sold glass and he himself traded in silk. His ancestors were from Naháwand, but he was born and bred in Baghdad. He studied, for a time, under Saríy Saḳaṭiy, Ḥárith al Muḥásibí and Muḥammad Ḳaṣṣáb, and his connection is authoritatively tiaced with Kharráz,[2] Ruyam, Núri, Shiblí and many others among the chosen servants of God. Shaykh Abú Jaạfar-b-Ḥaddád says that if wisdom could be incarnate, it would assume the form of Junayd. He died in A. H. 297-98 or 99 (A. D. 909-10-11).

The FIFTH are called after Abishkhwur Núri Serábdil. His name was Aḥmad-b-Muḥammad or according to some, Muḥammad-b-Muḥammad. He was commonly known as Ibn-i-Baghawí.[3] His father was from Khurásán, but his own birth and origin are of Baghdad, and he is among those distinguished for wisdom and virtue. He was in friendly intercourse with Saríy Saḳaṭiy,[4] Muḥammad Ḳaṣṣáb, and Aḥmad Abú'l Ḥawárí, and contemporary with Zu'n Nún[5] of Egypt. He is considered equal in authority with Junayd, but somewhat more impulsive. He died in A. H. 295 (A. D. 907-8) or 286 (A. D. 899).

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[1] This term denotes a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question, and the title assumes that he was successful, an assumption commonly made by his friends and denied by his enemies, as in the case of Suyúṭi. See my Introduction to the translation of his 'History of the Caliphs,' p. xiv.

[2] Or the Cobbler. There are two of this epithet in Jámí, *viz.*, Abd'ullah of Rayy, who died in A. H. 320, and Aḥmad-b-I'sa, who died in A. H. 286 (A. D. 899): the latter is here meant. It is remarkable that many of these ascetics were of the humblest origin and petty tradesmen by profession.

[3] Relative adjective of Baghshúr, a town between Herát and Marv. called also Bagh according to Yáḳút.

[4] I am not sure of the orthography. *Saḳaṭiy* signifies a dealer in small wares, a pedlar. According to Beale who pronounces the word "Sakti," he was also so called because he formerly dealt in metals. The etymological connection is not evident. Jámí is silent on the epithet. I have also heard it pronounced Sukṭi, but so many of these holy men were of the lowest class and were known by their trades, that I think Saḳaṭíy is most probably correct.

[5] Abu'l Fayẓ Ṭhúbán-b-Ibráhím. The reputation for sanctity and miracles

The SIXTH originate from Sahl-b-Abdu'llah Tustari, who was a disciple of Zu'n Nún of Egypt, and one of the most eminent of those who attained to this sublime vocation. He was among the associates of Junayd and died in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 283 (A. D. 896), at the age of eighty-six.

The SEVENTH revert to Abú Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-Ali Ḥakím-i-Tirmiḍi. He was in intercourse with Abú Turáb Nakshabí, Aḥmad Khazrawaih and Ibn-i-Jalá, and was pre-eminent in all secular and speculative knowledge. He is reported to be a voluminous author and to have had the gift of miracles.

The EIGHTH look to Abú Saíd Kharráz, or the Cobbler. His name was Aḥmad-b-Ísa and he was a native of Baghdad. Through his inclination towards the Súfís he went to Egypt and resided in devout attendance by the temple of Mecca. His profession was that of a shoemaker and he was the disciple of Muḥammad-b-Manṣúr Ṭúsi. He associated with Zu'n Nún of Egypt, Sariy Sakaṭíy, Abú Ụbayd Baṣrí, and Bishr Al Ḥájí, and derived much spiritual instruction from them. He is the author of four hundred works. Those uninstructed in his doctrine believed him to be an infidel. He died in A. H. 286 (A. D. 899). Khwájah Abdu'llah Anṣári says that he knew none of the great doctors more profoundly versed in the mysteries of the Divine Unity.

The NINTH invoke Abú Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-Khafíf. His father was from Shíráz and he himself was the disciple of Shaykh Abú Ṭálib. He was master of secular and spiritual science and had seen Khazraj al Baghdádí and Ruyam, and was a contemporary of (Abú Bakr) Kattání, Yusuf-b-Huṣayn Rází, Abú Husayn Máliki, Abú Husayn al Muzayyan,[1]

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of this mystic extends throughout the Moslem world and his name constantly occurs in its literature. He died in A. H. 245 (A. D. 860), and a flock of birds of a kind never before observed, fluttered over his bier when carried to the grave. On the day following his burial was found written on his tombstone in characters dissimilar to those used among men: "Zu'n Nún, the friend of God, and slain by this love of God." As often as this was erased, it was found ever freshly engraved. Jámí records some of his devotional maxims. Beale (Orient. Biog. Dict.) states that the *Laṭáifu'l Akhbár* contains his Memoirs. Unless this refers to the work (*Laṭáif u Akhbári'l Uwal*) by Mhd Abdu'l Muṭí on the dynasties of Egypt, I am ignorant of its author.

[1] There were two of this epithet called *al Kabír* and *aṣ Ṣaghír*, Major and Minor: they were cousins and both natives of Baghdad; the former was buried in his own town in A. H. 327, the latter in Mecca. This information which is nearly all that Jámi gives is scarcely deserving of a note.

Abú Ḥusayn Darráj and many others of note. He wrote many works and died in the year A. H. 331 (A. D. 942-43).

The TENTH trace back to Abu'l Abbás Sayyárí. His name was Ḳásim and he was the son of the daughter of Aḥmad-b-Sayyár. He was a native of Marv and the disciple of Abú Bakr Wásiṭí. He pursued the ordinary curriculum of worldly studies as well as speculative science, and attained to an eminence in the practice of the spiritual life. He died in the year A. H. 342 (A. D. 953).

The ELEVENTH. The founder of this order was Ḥalmán[1] of Damascus.

The TWELFTH. This order had its origin in a Persian who was one of the disciples of Ḥusayn-b-Manṣúr Ḥalláj of Baghdad, not the celebrated Ḥusayn-b-Manṣúr (of Bayẓá).[2]

These last two have been the subject of much reviling.

In Hindustan fourteen orders are recounted which are styled the fourteen *families* and of these twelve only are described, omitting mention of those of Ṭayfúr and Junayd :—

(1). Ḥabíbí. (2). Ṭayfúrí. (3). Karkhí. (4). Saḳaṭíy. (5). Junaydi. (6). Kázrúní. (7). Túsí. (8). Fírdausí. (9). Suhrawardí. 10. Zaydí. (11). I'yáẓí. (12). Adhami. (13). Hubayrí. (14). Chishtí.

They assert that Alí, the Prince of the Faithful, had four vicegerents, *viz.*, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Kamíl, and Ḥasan Baṣrí. The source of these orders they believe to be Ḥasan Baṣrí who had two representatives, Ḥabíb-i-Ajamí, from whom the first nine obtain their spiritual fervour, and the other Abdu'l Wáhid-b-Zayd, from whom the last five are filled with consolation. The mother of Ḥasan Baṣri was one of the slave girls of Ummu Salimah,[3] and he received his name from Omar-b-Khaṭṭáb. He early became an orphan. From the dawn of intelligence his mind was illumined and through this brilliant destiny he chose the path of solitude and emaciated himself by austerities while he became filled with the good things of the spirit. He preached a discourse every week and gathered an assembly around him. When Rábi'ah[1] was not present, he would not proceed. The people said to him, "Why dost thou desist because some old woman does not come." He answered, "The food prepared for elephants is of no profit to ants."

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[1] Var. Abú Ḥalmán. Abu Ḥalímán. Abú Ḥukmán.

[2] See p. 74. The history of this latter personage is well known. He was crucified alive for three days from early morning till midday by order of the Caliph Al Muḳtadir in A. H. 309 (A. D. 922). He was accused of blasphemy for his words "Ana'l Hukk," "I am the Truth," by which he was supposed to claim divinity. Ibn-al-Athír denies this pretension on his part and maintains that he was a devout worshipper of God. On examination he was found to hold no heterodox opinion, but the Wazír Ḥamíd was determined on his death and had him scourged with a thousand stripes on the judgment of Omar, the Kádhi, that the shedding of his blood was lawful. His hands and feet were cut off, his body burnt, and his ashes thrown into the Tigris.

[3] Hind, the daughter of Abú Umayyah, and the latest survivor of the wives of Muḥammad. She died in A. H. 59 (A. D. 678). An Nawawí in his *Tahzíbu'l Asmá* (correctio nominum) says, that the mother of Ḥasan of Baṣrah was the favourite slave or freed woman of Ummu-Salimah, and Ḥasan was born to her two years before the close of the Caliphate of Omar (A. H. 21)

The FIRST order trace their connection with Ḥabíb-i-Ajamí. He was a man of substance and hypocritical in his life. His eyes were opened somewhat by Suhrawardí[2] and he was directed to the true faith by Ḥasan Baṣrí. Many disciples were instructed by him in the way of salvation. Once when he was escaping from the pursuivants of Ḥajjáj, he arrived at the cell of Ḥabíb. The officers asked him where Ḥasan was. He replied within the cell. They searched, but could not find him and reprimanded Ḥabíb and said, "Whatever Ḥajjáj may do to you, will be deserved." He answered, "I have spoken only the truth. If you have not seen him what fault is it of mine?" They again entered and made a strict search and returned in anger and departed reviling him; Ḥasan thereupon came forth and said, "O Ḥabíb, thou hast, indeed, truly done thy duty by thy master." He answered, "O master, thou hast been saved by the telling of the truth. Had I spoken falsely we should both have been killed." One night a needle fell from his hand in a dark room. A miraculous light shone. He covered his eyes with his hands and said, "Nay, nay, I wish not to search for a needle save by the light of a lamp."[3]

The THIRD order derive from Maʻrúf Karkhí. They say that his father was a Christian and changed his faith under Imám Riẓá and was honoured

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When the mother was occasionally obliged to leave her infant, Ummu Salimah would nurse it from her own bosom, and it was through the blessing of this privilege that he afterwards attained to his eminence of wisdom and sanctity. He died in A. H. 110 (A. D. 728). His mother's name is not given by An Nawawí.

[1] A pious lady of this name, a native of Baṣra is mentioned by Beale; her death is placed by him in (A. D. 801), and she is said to have been a contemporary of Saríy Saḳaṭiy who died in A. D. 867. He must have been a mere youth when she was living. She cannot be the person here alluded to. Another Rábiah Adawíyah, also of Baṣrah, a contemporary of Sufyán Thaurí, is given by Jámí, but without date.

[2] See p. 83. Yáḳúṭ mentions two among many religious doctors from the town. Jámí notices the life of one of them and besides these of three others of the name, of which one may possibly be the person alluded to, but no date of his period is given.

[3] That is probably, that he felt himself unworthy of supernatural aid.

with the office of his door-keeper. He associated with Dáúd Ṭái and practised mortification and through his rectitude of intention and perfected acts he rose to be a spiritual guide. Saríy Saḳaṭíy and many others profited by his instruction. He died in A. H. 200 (A. D. 815). It was about this time that Magians, Christians, and Jews thronged to him and each wished to practise his own faith under his direction, but it could not be carried out. Nevertheless he held a place in the pleasant retreat of universal tolerance.

The FOURTH follow Saríy Saḳatíy whose patronymic is Abu'l Ḥasan. He is one of the great masters of the practical religious life and was the director of Junayd and many other servants of God. He was one of the Associates of Ḥárith Muḥásibí and Bishr al Ḥáfi, and was the disciple of Maṛúf Karkhí. Adequate praise of him is beyond the capacity of my ignorance. In the year A. H. 253 (A. D. 867), he gathered up his garment from this dust-heap of a world.

The SIXTH acknowledge Abú Isḥáḳ-b-Shahryár as their head. His father abandoned the doctrines of Zoroaster and embraced the creed of Islám. He was instructed by Shaykh Abú Ạlí Firozábádí and was the contemporary of many doctors of the faith, and had mastered all secular and speculative science. He was released from the turmoils of earth in A. H. 426 (A. D. 1034-35).

The SEVENTH was founded by Ạláu'ddín Ṭúsi, who was united in the bonds of a spiritual paternity with Shaykh Najmu'ddín Kubra.

The EIGHTH invoke Shaykh Najmu'ddín Kubra. His patronymic was Abú Janáb, his name Aḥmad Khíwaḳí, and his title *Kubra*, or the Greater.[1] He was spiritually directed by Shaykh Ismáíl Ḳaṣrí, Ạmmár Yásir and Rozbihán, and he had great repute for his insight into matters of the exterior and inner life. Shaykh Majdu'ddín Baghdádí, Shaykh Saạdu'ddín Hammawíyah, Shaykh Raẓiu'ddín Ạli Lálá, Bábá Kamál Jandí, Shaykh Sayfu'ddín Bákharzí and many other religious obtained their eternal salvation through his efficacious prayers. He died by the sword in A. H. 618 (A. D. 1221).

The NINTH is favoured through Shaykh Ziáu'ddín Abu'n Najíb Ạbdu'l Ḳahir Suhrawardí. He was versed in the knowledge of the world and the spirit, and traced his descent from Abú Bakr aṣ Ṣiddíḳ[2] by twelve intermediary links. His doctrinal precepts he derived in direct transmission from Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazzálí; and he was the author of many works, among them the *A'dábu'l Murídín (Institutiones Discipulorum).* He passed to his heavenly abode in A. H. 563 (A. D. 1167-68).

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[1] Because in all controversies, says Jámí, in which he was engaged in his youth, he was ever triumphant, and so received the appellation. He was killed by the Tartars on their invasion of Khwárzam after the flight of Muḥammad Khwárzam Sháh. Jámí gives a lengthened biography of this saint and records some of his miracles, which are extraordinary enough, if they occurred.

[2] This and the following sentence are almost verbatim from Jámí.

The TENTH follow Shaykh Ạbdu'l Wáḥid-b-Zayd.

The ELEVENTH acknowledge Fuẓayl-b-I'yáẓ. His patronymic is Abú Ạlí and he was a native of Kúfah, but according to others of Bokhárá, and other places are also named. He passed his days as a wandering dervish between Marv and Báward (Abiward), and from his natural goodness of disposition, received interior illumination and his virtuous conduct assured his salvation. He passed from the world in A. H. 187 (A. D. 802-3).

The TWELFTH take Ibráhím Adham of Balkh as their guide. His patronymic was Abú Isḥáḳ. His ancestors were of princely race and the star of his happy destiny shone forth from his early youth, for he withdrew himself altogether from the world. He associated with Abú Sufyán Thaurí, Fuẓayl-b-I'yáẓ, Abú Yúsuf Ghasúlí and was in intimacy with Ạlí-b-Bakkár, Ḥuzayfah Maraṣhí and Silm al-Khawwaṣ. He died in Syria in the year A. H. 161 or 162 (A. D. 777-78-79).

The THIRTEENTH trace back to Hubayrah of Baṣrah.

The FOURTEENTH are connected with Abú Isḥáḳ Shámí who was the disciple of Shaykh U'lúw Dínawarí. When the Shaykh arrived at the village of Chisht, Khwájah Abú Aḥmad Abdál, who was the foremost among the Shaykhs of Chisht received instruction from him,[1] and after him his son Muḥammad illumined the lamp of sanctity. Following him, his nephew Khwájah Samạání carried on the doctrine, whose son Khwájah Maudúd Chishtí succeeded to the headship. His son Khwájah Aḥmad also reached the same eminence.

There is, however, no exclusive claim in regard to either of these two lists. Any chosen soul who, in the mortification of the deceitful spirit and in the worship of God, introduced some new motive of conduct, and whose spiritual sons in succession continued to keep alight the lamp of doctrine, was acknowledged as the founder of a new line, for besides these twelve and fourteen orders, many another catena of religious schools has a worldwide repute, such as the

ḲÁDIRÍ

which follows Shaykh Muḥyi'ddín Ạbdu'l Ḳádir Jílí. He was a Sayyid descended from Ḥusayn. Jíl is the name of a village near Baghdad.

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[1] This sentence is almost word for word identical with a passage from the notice of this personage in Jámí.

Some authorities state that he was from Jílán.[1] He was supreme in his time for his secular and spiritual knowledge. He received his dervish's habit from the hands of Abú Sạid al-Mubárak (b. Ạli al-Makhzúmí), and is thus spiritually connected with ash-Shiblí through four intermediaries. His sanctity and extraordinary miracles are world-famed. He was born into the world in A. H. 471 (A. D. 1078), and bid farewell to it in A. H. 561 (A.D. 1165).

YASAWÍ.

These are disciples of Khwájah Aḥmad Yasawí. In his youth he was under the supervision of Báb Arslán, who was an eminent spiritual guide among the Turks. On his death he profited by the instruction of Khwájah Yúsuf Hamadání. The Turks call him Ấtá Yasawí; Ấtá in Turkish signifying a father, and their saints are thus designated.[2] He returned to Turkistán at the command of the Khwájah and ended his days in the spiritual instruction of the people. Many miracles are reported of him. Four spiritual delegates are celebrated as religious guides: Manṣúr Ấtá, Sạid Ấtá, Sulaymán Ấtá, and Ḥakím Ấtá. Yasí is a town in Turkistán, the birthplace and town of this Shaykh.

NAḲSHBANDÍ.

This school owe their eternal salvation to Khwájah Bahá u'ddín Naḳshband. His name was Muḥammad-b-Muḥammad al-Bokhárí. He was a disciple of Khwájah Muḥammad Bábá Sammásí and received his religious instruction in regard to exterior conduct from (Sayyid) Amír Kulál, his delegate. Khwájah Sammásí used often to say to Khwájah Ạli Rámíthaní,[3] [universally known as (Ḥaẓrat) Ạzízán], as they passed in the vicinity of Ḳaṣr i Hinduán, "From this soil there comes the fragrance of a man that will soon make the Ḳaṣr i Hinduán (Castle of Hinduán), be called the Kaṣri Ạárifán (Castle of the Pious);" till one day coming from the house of (Sayyid) Amír Kulál and passing the castle, he exclaimed, "The fragrance has increased—that man verily has been born." On inquiry it was found that three days had elapsed since the birth of the Khwájah. His father carried him to the Bábá, who said that he would adopt him as his spiritual son, and turning to his friends said: "This is the one whose fragrance I smelt, and who will be the spiritual guide of the world." To Amír Kulál he said; "Withhold no care or kindness in the bringing up of our son Bahá u'ddín." His orders were carried out. After a time when his fame grew, Bábá Sammási said to him: "Your zeal has a loftier flight. You have my permission to go and beg of other souls." Thereupon he went to Ḳutham Shaykh[1] and attended his instruction, and profited by the guidance of Khalíl Ạtá and realised his purpose through the spiritual aid of Khwájah Ạbd u'l Kháliḳ Ghujduwání.[2] The source of his interior illumination was (the prophet) Khiẓr; his faith and discipline were derived from Khwájah Yúsuf Hamadání. Khwájah Yúsuf had four vicegerents, Khwájah Ạbdu'llah Barḳí, Khwájah Ḥasan Andaḳí,[3] Khwájah Aḥmad Yasawí, and Khwájah Ạbdu'l Kháliḳ Ghujduwání. Khwájah Yúsuf had received instruction from Shaykh Abú Ạlí Fármiḍí, and he from Shaykh Abu 'l Ḳásim Gurgání. The latter was the disciple of the following two personages, Junayd and Shaykh Abu'l Ḥasan Kharaḳáni, and these of Báyazíd Bisṭámi, and Báyazíd of the Imám Jaạfar aṣ-Ṣádiḳ.[4] The Imám was himself nourished from two sources; on the one

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[1] Among them Jámí from whom this notice is taken. His spiritual connection with ash-Shiblí signifies the investiture with the dervish's habit which ash-Shiblí performed upon Abu'l Fazl at Tamímí, who invested Abu'l Faraḥ Ṭursúsí, who clothed Abu'l Ḥasan at Ḳarashí, who in his turn conferred it on al-Makhzúmí. In his infancy he refused his mother's milk at the appearance of the new moon, on the fast of the Ramazán: a cow that he was tending in his youth addressed him in Arabic and inspired him with his vocation: he fasted for 40 days. These are some of the miracles reported by Jamí.

[2] According to Jámí the term in his biography of Báb Farghání. Báb (father) is applied to religious elders in the Farghána country. The appellation in this sense seems universal.

[3] Yáḳút's authority decides the pronunciation of this name. Rámíthan (رامیثن) he states, is a village in Bokhárá. Jámí and Abul Fazl after him write the word رامیثن. This account has been taken from Jámí's notices of Khwájah Muḥammad Bábá Sammási and Baháu'ddín Naḳshbandí to which I refer the reader for those of the other doctors herein named. Hinduán accord-

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ing to Yáḳút, is a stream between Khúzistán and Arráján, flowing through a district bearing that name. The prefix *ḳaṣr*, or castle, is given to many places in Yáḳút's work, but omitted in this instance. Amír Kulál was the *Khalífah* or vicar, of Bábá Sammásí.

[1] He was one of the Turkish Shaykhs and his reception of Baháu'ddín is noticed by Jámí.

[2] Ghujduwán is a small town in Bokhára. Yáḳút.

[3] Andaḳ is ten parasaugs from Bokhárá. Fármid is one of the towns of Ṭús. Kharaḳán is one of the Bisṭám villages on the road to Astarábád where, in Yáḳút's time, was still to be seen the tomb of Abu'l Ḥasan who died on the 10th of Muḥarram, A. H. 425 (A. D. 1033), at the age of 73.

[4] The Imám Abú Ạbdu'llah Jaạfar aṣ-Ṣádiḳ (the Veracious), fourth in descent from Ạli-b-Ạbí Ṭálib, born A. H. 80 (A. D. 699); died and buried at Medina A. H. 148 (A. D. 765). The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muḥd. al-Báḳir, his grand father Ạlí Zaynu'l Ạábidín and his grand-father's uncle al-Ḥasan, son of Ạlí. "How rich a tomb," says Ibn Khallikán, "in generosity and nobility."

side from his father Muḥammad Báḳir, and he, from his father Imám Zayn-u' l Áábidín, and he from his grand-parent the Imám Ḥusayn, and on the other from his mother's father Ḳásim-b-Muḥammad-b-Abú Bakr, and Ḳásim from Salmán al-Fársi (the companion) and Salmán[1] from Abú Bakr.

It is said that Khwájah Baháu'ddín had neither a slave nor a handmaid, and when asked the reason of this, he replied that (" the maintenance of) bondage was incompatible with the profession of a religious teacher." They inquired of him: " To what stage does your spiritual ancestry go back?" He replied, "No one reaches any stage by virtue of a spiritual ancestry." On the night of Monday, 3rd Rabíi' I, A. H. 791, (4th March, A. D. 1389) he disburdened himself of his elemental body.

The case of these orders is similar to that of the four schools of theology. Any one reaching the rank of *Mujtahid* may become a doctrinal authority, and there is no difficulty in the recognition of this as fourfold.

But it is better that I should desist from further details and seek the divine mercy by mentioning the Saints of God. In the following enumeration, under the title of " Saints," I have recorded the names of forty-eight only among thousands, and make this a means towards the attainment of eternal bliss.

SHAYKH BÁBÁ RATN

Was the son of Naṣr at-Tabrindí;[2] his patronymic was Abu'l Riẓá. In the time of Ignorance he was born at Tabrindah and went to Ḥijáz and saw the Prophet, and after many wanderings returned to India. Many accepted the accounts he related, while others rejected them as the garrulity of senile age. He died at Tabarindah, in A. H. 700 (A. D. 1300–1), and was there buried. Shaykh Ibn i Ḥajr Asḳaláni, Majdu'ddín Fírozábádí, Shaykh Alá u' ddaulah as Simnáni, Khwájah Muḥammad Pársá and many pious individuals acknowledged and commended him.

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[1] He was a freedman of Muḥammad; his name Abú Abdu'llah Salmán al-Khayr, or the Good, a native of Ṭayy, one of the villages of Ispahán; others say from Ráma Hurmuz. His father was headman of the village and a Magian. The youth fled from his home and fell in with some monks, in whose company he remained till their death. The last of them directed him to go to Ḥijáz and foretold the coming of a prophet. He travelled thither with some Arabs who sold him to a Jew of Ḳuraydha at Wádi'l Ḳura, who took him to Medína. There he met Muḥammad and recognized his prophetic mission, from his signet ring, and from an alms twice offered to him which were the three signs announced to him by the last of the monks. He is said to have been one of the most learned, pious and liberal of the companions, and to have advised Muḥammad to dig the ditch or entrenchment round Medina when attacked by Jews of Al-Naḍhír and Ḳuraydha. He died at Madáin in A. H. 31, and according to others in 35 (A. D. 655). An-Nawawí remarks that the learned are unanimous that he lived to the age of 250 years and some say three hundred and fifty. This unanimity is, indeed, wonderful.

[2] This is perhaps Tabarhindah (see vol. I. p. 316). Badáoní makes this place the head-quarters of Raja Jaypál, the antagonist of Maḥmúd of Ghazní. Ferishta states that the territories of Jay-

KHWÁJAH MUÍNU'DDÍN ḤASAN CHISHTÍ

Was the son of Ghiyáṣu'ddín Ḥasan and a Sayyid in descent from both Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and was born in A. H. 537 (A. D. 1142), in the village of Sijz, of the province of Sijistán.

At the age of fifteen he lost his father. Ibráhím Ḳabandazí,[1] a man absorbed in divine things, regarded him with an eye of favour and set aflame the gathered harvest of worldliness with the fire of divine ardour, and guided him in his quest. In Harún, a village of Níshápúr, he attended Khwájah Othmán Chishtí, and practised a mortified life and received the habit of *Khalífah* or vicegerent. Subsequently he reached a higher degree of perfection and was spiritually benefited by Shaykh

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pál extended from Sarhind to Lamghán. The position of Tabarhindah I cannot determine. In the account of Bábá Ratn given in the *Iṣábah fi tamyíz iṣ-Ṣiḥábah* (Recta institutio de distinctione inter socios prophetæ), he is said to have lived in a village near Delhi (p. 1098). Ibn Ḥajr Asḳaláni, the author of this work, does not quite bear out the statement of Abu'l Fazl. Bábá Ratn pretends that he lived to the age of 700 years by virtue of a blessing of Muḥammad, whom as a stripling he saw tending camels and carried in his arms over a stream between Juddah and Mecca, which the lad could not cross. The youth then three times prayed for his long life. Bábá Ratn again visited Mecca and there found in the Prophet, the youth of his first visit, and again three times the blessing of old age was invoked upon him. Various accounts place his death in A. H. 596, 612 and 632. Nothing appears to have been known of him till the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century of the Flight, and Asḳaláni says that if his statement were true, the earlier centuries would have heard something of him. Aḍ-Ḍahabí has no words too strong to condemn him as a flagrant imposter whose lies inspired by the father of them, were credited by fools. The specimens given in Asḳalánii's account fully bear out this condemnation, but as fictions they are amusing.

[1] This is the orthography of Yáḳút, but he says the *ráwis*, or relators of tradition commonly pronounce it *Ḳuhundas*, the Arabicised form of کهن دژ or "the old Fort." This is no doubt the correct form. There are many of this name, e. *g*., in Bokhára, Samarḳand, Herát, Balkh, Marv, Níshápúr and other places, and it is applied, he says, to the citadels of the large towns and not to isolated forts. He gives the names of several persons with this cognomen, but no Ibráhím. See Ferishta's account of this saint.

Ạbdu'l Ḳádir Jílí and other holy men. In the year that Mu'izzu'ddín Sám took Delhi (A. H. 589, A. D. 1193), he arrived at that city, and with a view of a life of seclusion withdrew to Ájmer and there inspired the same zeal among numerous disciples by his own efficacious will. He shared the reward of a heavenly kingdom on Saturday, the 6th of Rajab, A. H. 633 (18th March 1236). His resting place is at the foot of the hilly range of that district and is visited to this day by high and low.

SHAYKH ẠLÍ GHAZNAVÍ HAJÚBARÍ.

His patronymic was Abu'l Ḥasan. His father was Othmán-b-Abí Ạlí Jullábí. He lived secluded from ordinary worldly concerns and obtained a high degree of knowledge. An account of him is given in the *Kashfu'l Maḥjúb li Arbábi'l Ḳulúb* (delectio eorum qui relata sunt in favorem cordatorum).[1] In this work he says, "I followed in this path Shaykh Abu'l Faẓl-b-Ḥasan al Khatlí." His resting place is in Láhor.

SHAYKH ḤUSAYN ZANJÁNÍ.[2]

A man of extensive erudition. Khwájah Mu'ín'uddín attended his instructions at Lahór where his tomb is, and which is visited by many to the gain of their eternal welfare.

SHAYKH BAHÁU'DDÍN ZAKARÍYÁ[3]

Was the son of Wajíhu'ddín Muḥammad-b-Kamálu'ddín Ạlí Sháh Ḳurayshí, and was born at Kóṭ Karor, near Multán, in A. H. 565 (A. D.

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[1] A work on Ṣúfiism by Shaykh Abu'l Ḥasan Ạli b. Othmán al Ghaznaví. Khatlí is the relative adjective of Khatlán, a province in Transoxiana near Samarḳand. Yáḳút says that some pronounce it Khutlán which is wrong, Khuttal being a village on the road to Khurásán going from Baghdad in the vicinity of Daskirah.

[2] Zanján is a large town in the Jabal district between it and Azarbíján, near Abhar and Ḳazwín. Yáḳút.

[3] The text duplicates the K which is not admissible, and is corrected in the *Errata*. He is briefly noticed by Jámí. Ferishta who has a long monograph on him, says that he left seven million *tankahs* to his son Ṣadru'ddín, besides other furniture and goods which the latter gave away on the very first day of possession. Being asked why he so disposed of wealth amassed by his father and given in due measure to the poor, he replied that his father had sufficiently conquered himself to have no fear of an improper use of it, whereas he himself, not so advanced in sanctity, dreaded the temptation. Taking the silver *tankah* at 4d., according to the computation of Nizámu'ddín Bakshí, (Briggs, I. 432), this sum would be equal to £116, 666 pounds sterling. The word *tankah* succeeded the appellations of *dínár* and *dirham* of the earlier kings, and the

1169-70). His father died when he was a child; he grew in wisdom and studied in Túrán and Irán. He received his doctrine from Shaykh Shihábu'ddín Suhrawardí at Baghdad and reached the degree of vicegerent. He was on terms of great friendship with Shaykh Faríd (u'ddín) Shakkarganj, and lived with him for a considerable time. Shaykh (Fakhr-u'ddín) I'ráḳi and Mír Ḥusayní were his disciples. On the 7th of Ṣafar, A. H. 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of serene aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Ṣadru'ddín. He read it and gave up the ghost, and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town: "Friend is united to Friend." His resting place is in Multán.

ḲUṬBU'DDÍN BAKHTYÁR KÁKÍ[1]

Was the son of Kamálu'ddín Músa and came from Ush of Farghánah. He lost his father[2] when very young and privileged by the vision of (the Prophet) Khiẓr was keenly desirous of meeting with a spiritual guide till the arrival in Ush of Khwájah Mu'ínu'ddín. At the age of eighteen he received his doctrine and became a vicegerent. He profited by the instruction of many saints at Baghdad and other places. In the desire of meeting with a holy director he came to India and for a time attended Shaykh Baháu'ddín Zakariyá. He arrived in Delhi in the reign of Shams-u'ddín Altmish. The Khwájah (Mu'ínu'ddín) went there on a visit to him and after a little, left him and returned. He was of great service to the people in general. He died on the 14th[3] of Rabíi' I, A. H. 633 (Saturday, 27th November, A. D. 1235). His tomb is in Delhi, where it is visited by all classes.

SHAYKH FARÍDU'DDÍN GANJ I SHAKKAR

Was the son of Jamálu'ddín Sulaymán,[4] a descendant of Farrukh Sháh Kábulí. His birthplace was the village of Khotwal, near Multán.

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tankah was divided into *dáms* and *jítals*. Sher Sháh changed the name of *tankah* to *rupaiya* or rupee, adopted by Akbar. The *tankah*, according to Ferishta in Aláu'ddín's time, was equal to 50 *jítals*, (a *jítal* being about equal to a *paisa*) but in Mḥd. Tughlaḳ's time was not worth more than 16 *jítals*. At its proper standard it was probably about the same value as the rupee which in Akbar's day was of 174·5 gr. of pure silver. Queen Elizabeth's shilling contained 88·8. gr. of pure silver. The rupee of Akbar was, therefore, worth 1. s. 11¼. d. of English money of his time. See Elphinstone's Hist. Ind. B. VIII, and note on Akbar's coinage.

[1] See Vol. ii. p. 303, n. 2. The date of his death in Ferishta is Monday night, the 14th of Rabíi' I., A. H. 634. His father died when he was 1 year 6 months old.

[2] The *izáfat* after پدر is an error.

[3] The text has Wednesday morning, but this, according to Prinsep's Tables, must be an error.

[4] I adopt the variant which is confirmed by Ferishta. The text has Salmán,

In his early youth he followed the common course of studies. At Multán he met Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín, went with him to Delhi and was instructed in his doctrine. Some authorities state that he did not accompany him to Delhi, but took his leave on the way and hastened to Ḳandahár and Sistán, where he set himself to the garnering of knowledge. He then came to Delhi and put himself under disciplinary rule. He had many warrings with the spirit in which he eventually triumphed. When Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín was on the point of death, there were present Káẓí Ḥamídu'ddín Nágorí, Shaykh Badru'ddín Ghaznaví and many other holy men. They agreed that the habit and other personal belongings of the dying man should be committed to Shaykh Farídu'ddín. The Shaykh who was then at the town of Jhánsi, on hearing this, went to Delhi, and taking possession of the trust, returned. He was the source of blessings to many people. He bade farewell to this fleeting world on the 5th of Muḥarram, A. H. 668[1] (Monday, 5th September 1269), at (Pák) Pattan in the Panjáb, which at that time was called Ajodhan.

SHAYKH ṢADRU'DDÍN ẠÁRIF

Was the son of Shaykh Baháu'ddín. During his father's life-time, he reached the highest degree of sanctity. Sayyids Fakhru'ddín I'ráḳí and

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and Jalád for Jamál as a variant. Ferishta has Kamál. The name *Khotwál* in the text has several variants, but Ferishta accords with this reading. Ferishta gives various accounts of the derivation of his epithet *Ganj i Shakkar*, (the treasure-house of sweets). Once on going to see his spiritual director, being weak from fasting, his foot slipped and he fell in the mud, it being the rainy season. Some of the mud entered his mouth and was changed into sugar. His director, on his arrival, had preternatural intuition of the event, and told him that the Almighty had, probably, designed him to be a store-house of sweet things and would preserve him in this condition. On his return home, he found that this epithet had spread among the people who designated him by it. Another account is that meeting with some *banjárás* who were taking salt to Delhi, they asked him to bless their bales that they might sell with profit. He did so, and on their arrival the sacks were discovered to be full of sugar. A third account is that his mother knowing his sweet tooth, told him when he was a child, that the Almighty gave sweets to those who said their morning prayers, and at night as a reward surreptitiously put some sugar, wrapped in paper, under his pillow. When he was 12 years of age she thought it time to discontinue this cheat, but the sugar still continued to be miraculously supplied.

[1] The text gives Saturday as the day of the week, but this is not in accord with Prinsep's Tables. According to Ferishta, Thursday, the 5th of Muḥarram, A. H. 700, an error of a century by a slip, as he gives the date of his birth as A. H. 584, and his age at death 95, which would fix the date of death in A. H. 679. Beale gives A. H. 664.

Mír Ḥusayn were his disciples. He died in Multán, where he is buried, in A. H. 709 (A. D. 1309).

Niẓámu'ddín Auliyá.

His name was Muḥammad and he was the son of Aḥmad Dányál who came from Ghaznín to Badáon in A. H. 632 (A. D. 1234-35), where Niẓámu'ddín was born. For a time he went through the ordinary course of studies and received the epithet of Niẓám *al-Baḥḥáth*, or the Controversialist, and *Mahfil Shikan*, the Assembly-router. At the age of twenty he went to Ajodhan and became the disciple of Farídu'ddín Ganj i Shakkar and obtained the key of the treasury of inward illumination. He was then sent to Delhi to instruct the people, and many under his direction attained to the heights of sanctity, such as Shaykh Naṣíru'ddín Muḥammad Chirágh i Dihlí, Mír Khusrau, Shaykh Áláu'l Ḥaḳḳ, Shaykh Akhí Siráj, in Bengal, Shaykh Wajíhu'ddín Yúsuf in Chandérí, Shaykh Yaḳúb and Shaykh Kamál in Málwah, Mauláná Ghiyáṣ, in Dhár, Mauláná Mughíṣ, in Ujjain, Shaykh Ḥusain, in Gujarát, Shaykh Burhánu'ddín Gharíb, Shaykh Muntakhab, Khwájah Ḥasan, in the Dekhan. He died in the forenoon of Wednesday, the 18th Rabíí' II, A. H. 725 (3rd April 1325). His tomb is in Delhi.[1]

Shaykh Ruknu'ddín

Was the son of Ṣadru'ddín Áárif and the successor of his eminent grandfather. At the time when Sulṭán Ḳuṭbu'ddín (Mubárak Sháh Khiljí, (A. H. 717. A. D. 1317), regarded Shaykh Niẓámu'ddín with disfavour, he summoned Shaykh Ruknu'ddín from Multán in the hope of disturbing his influence. On his arrival near Delhi he met Shaykh Niẓámu'ddín. Ḳuṭbu'ddín on receiving the Shaykh (Ruknu'ddín) asked him "Who among the people of the city was the foremost in going out to meet him?" He replied: "The most eminent person of his age." By this happy answer he removed the king's displeasure.[2] His restingplace is Multán.

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[1] "In Ghiyáṣpúr," says Ferishta, "which is one of the quarters of new Delhi" He relates that Ghiyáṣu'ddín Tughlaḳ Sháh who then reigned at Delhi, though outwardly treating Niẓámu'ddín with consideration, was in reality displeased with him. When about to return from his expedition to Bengal he sent a message to the Shaykh directing him not to await his arrival in Delhi, and that henceforth he was no longer to remain in Ghiyáṣpúr. The Shaykh replied, *hanúz Dilhi dúr ast*: Delhi is still far off. Before the king's arrival in Delhi while at Afghánpúr, the building which had been raised by Alaf Khán for his reception, fell upon the king and crushed him in the ruins, in Rabíí' I., A. H. 725. The proverb *Dilhi dúr ast* owes its origin to this event.

[2] Ferishta who narrates the whole story in his memoirs of Niẓámu'ddín, does not mention this incident.

SHAYKH JALÁLU'DDÍN TABRÍZÍ

Was the disciple of Saíd Tabrízí. After some wanderings, he fell in with Shaykh Shihábu'ddín Suhrawardí and by his zealous service attained the office of vicegerent. He was on terms of intimacy with Khwájah Kuṭbu'ddín and Shaykh Baháu'ddín Zakariyá. Shaykh Najmu'ddín Ṣughra, who was Shaykh u'l Islám at Delhi, bore enmity against him and maliciously incited a disreputable woman to accuse the Shaykh of incontinence. Through the miraculous powers of Shaykh Baháu'ddín Zakariyá, the falsehood of the charge was established. He then went to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal.

SHAYKH ṢÚFÍ BADHNÍ.

His birthplace was Oudh. He lived a life of extraordinary abstraction, heedless of all save the worship of God. It is said that Khwájah Kuṭbu'ddín and he, with a number of others, were taken prisoners by the Mughals. Hunger and thirst drove the captives to the greatest straits. It was then that the Khwájah, by supernatural power, drew forth from his wallet warm cakes (*kák*), with which he supplied each one of the party, while the Ṣúfí gave them all to drink from his broken water-vessel (*badhná*). From this circumstance the Khwájah was called *Kákí*,[1] and the other *Badhní*.

KHWÁJAH KARAK.[2]

One of the greatest of the ascetics. He lived apart from worldly intercourse and passed his days in ruined places. Khwájah Kuṭbu'ddín Ushi sent him the habit of a recluse, which he took and threw into the fire. The bearer reviled him to the Khwájah who replied, "Go and demand it back, so that thou mayest know what has in reality happened." When he made his request, Khwájah Karak said, "Go, and take out a cloak from the fireplace, but only your own." When he went to look, he found that habit among many others, and repented of his conduct. His tomb is at Karrah,[3] Mánikpúr.

SHAYKH NIẒÁMU'DDÍN ABU'L MUAYYAD.[4]

He stood in the relation of a disciple to his maternal uncle Shaykh Shihábu'ddín Aḥmad Ghaznaví and flourished during the reign of Shams u'ddín Altmish. Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín Ushi and Shaykh Niẓámu'ddín Auliyá, both considered an interview with him as a great happiness.

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[1] See p. 303, n. 2, Vol. I.

[2] Var. Kaṛak.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 167, n. 2. This personage is mentioned by Ferishta in his account of the reign of Jalálu'ddín Fíróz Khilji, and his tomb is stated to be at Karrah.

[4] The text inadvertently omits the M in Muayyad. His life is briefly given in Ferishta.

Shaykh Najíbu'ddín Muḥammad

Was the disciple of Shaykh Badru'ddín Firdausí of Samarḳand, who was the *khalífah* or vicegerent of Shaykh Sayfu'ddín Bákharzí,[1] who held the same relation to Shaykh Najmu'ddín Kubra. From thence he came to Delhi and for a time directed the consciences of men, and there died. Some say that he and Shaykh I'mádu'ddín Ṭúsí were the disciples and vicegerents of Shaykh Ruknu'ddín Firdausí.

Ḳáẓi Ḥamídu'ddín[2] Nágorí

Was the son of Aṭáu'ddín of Bokhárá, where he was born. In the reign of Mu'izzu'ddín Sám he came to Delhi with his father, and for three years held the office of Ḳáẓí at Nágor. Unexpectedly the desire of a life of retirement seized him. Abandoning the world he journeyed to Baghdad and became the disciple of Shaykh Shihábu'ddín Suhrawardí. There he entered into intimate friendship with Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín and after travelling to Ḥijáz came to Delhi. He died on the night of the 5th of Ramaẓán, A. H. 644 (Sunday, 9th November, A. D. 1246) without any previous illness. He is buried in Delhi.

Shaykh[3] Ḥamídu'ddín Suwálí of Nágor

Was the son of Shaykh Aḥmad. In his early youth he was handsome and rich, but in pursuit of the truth he abandoned the world and applied himself to the practice of austerities. He wore the mantle of discipleship under Khwájah Mu'ínu'ddín and attained a high degree of perfection. He was styled *Sulṭán u't-Tárikín*, the King of Recluses. He rolled up the carpet of life on the 29th Rabíi' II, A. H. 673 (31st October 1274). His restingplace is in Nágor.[4]

Shaykh Najíbu'ddín Mutawakkil

Was the brother and disciple of Shaykh Farídu'ddín Ganj i Shakkar. Shaykh Niẓámu'ddín used to say: "When I left Badáon for Delhi desiring to pay my respects to Ganj i Shakkar, I met Najíbu'ddín and was much benefited by his society." He died on the 9th of Ramaẓán, A. H. 660. (27th July 1261).

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[1] Bákharj, according to Yáḳút, is a tract between Nísábúr and Herát containing numerous villages, the original name being *Bád harzah*, 'the quarter whence the wind blows.' The derivation is scarcely accurate as to meaning.

[2] Var. Ṣadru'ddín.

[3] One variant reads Ḳáẓí for Shaykh, and Ṣadru'ddín for Ḥamídu'ddín, and in two MSS. the word *Suwálí* is omitted. This and the preceding name appear to be confounded, and I am unable to decide the question of identity.

[4] The Sarkár of Nagor is in Márwár. See Vol. II. p. 270.

SHAYKH BADRU'DDÍN

His birthplace was Ghaznah.[1] In a dream he received the discipleship of Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín Ushí, and abandoning all, undertook the toil of a journey in quest of the holy man. In Delhi his desires were fulfilled and he received the office of vicegerent. Ḳáẓí Ḥámidu'ddín, Shaykh Faríd u'ddín Ganj i Shakkar, Sayyid Mubárak Ghaznaví, Mauláná Majdu'ddín Jurjání, Shaykh Ziyáu'ddín Dihlaví, and other eminent personages received the blessing of his instructions. In his old age when he was unable to move, the sound of a hymn would excite him to ecstasy and he would dance like a youth. When asked how it was that the Shaykh could dance notwithstanding his decrepitude, he replied: "Where is the Shaykh? It is Love that dances." His resting-place is at the foot of his own master's grave.

SHAYKH BADRU'DDÍN ISḤÁḲ

Was the son of Minháju'ddín Bokhárí, but some say he was the son of Ạlí-b-Isḥáḳ, of Delhi, where he was born. He went through the usual course of studies, but some speculative difficulties not being solved in this country he set out for Bokhárá. At Ajodhan, in intercourse with Ganj i Shakkar, his doubts were removed, and becoming his disciple he set himself to mortify his senses. The Shaykh conferred on him the distinction of being both his vicegerent and his son-in-law. He was buried in that place.

SHAYKH NAṢÍRU'DDÍN CHIRÁGH-I-DIHLAVÍ, OR THE LAMP OF DELHI.

His name was Maḥmúd and his birthplace Delhi. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Niẓámu'ddín Auliyá. He departed from this world that all must leave on the 1st of Ramaẓán, A. H. 757, (2nd Sept. 1356).

SHAYKH SHARAF (U'DDÍN) OF PÁNÍPAT[2]

His patronymic was Abú Ạlí Ḳalandar. He lived as a recluse and in one of his writings he says of himself: "At the age of forty I came to Delhi and received instruction under Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín. Mauláná Wajihu'ddín Páilí, Mauláná Ṣadru'ddín, Mauláná Fakhru'ddín Náfilah, Mauláná Náṣiru'ddín, Mauláná Mu'ínu'ddín Daulatábádí, Mauláná Najíb-u'ddín Samarḳandí, Mauláná Ḳuṭbu'ddín of Mecca, Mauláná Aḥmad Khansárí and other learned men of the day gave me a license to teach and to pronounce judicial decisions, which offices I exercised for twenty years. Unexpectedly I received a call from God, and throwing all my learned books into the Jumna, I set out on travel. In Roumelia[1] I fell in with Shamsu'ddín Tabrízí and Mauláná Jalálu'ddín Rúmí who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence I threw into the river. Subsequently I came to Pánípat and there lived as a recluse." His tomb is there.

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[1] Abu'l Fazl writes indifferently Ghaznah and Ghaznín. Yáḳút calls the former the vulgar pronunciation, and the latter correct.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 543, n. 94.

SHAYKH AḤMAD.

His birthplace was Nahrwálah, commonly known as Paṭṭan.[2] He became the disciple of Ḥamídu'ddín Nágórí and attained the high rank of a vicegerent; Shaykh Baháu'ddín Zakaríyá who was difficult to please, much commended him. He was buried at Badáoṅ.

SHAYKH JALÁL

Was the son of Sayyid Maḥmúd-b-Sayyid Jalálu'ddín Bokhárí.[3] He was universally known as *Makhdúm i Jaháníyán* (lord of mankind).

He was born on the *Shab-i-Barát*, 14th Shaabán, A. H. 707, (7th Feb., A. D. 1307). He was the disciple of his father and received a vicegerency from Shaykh Ruknu'ddín Abu'l Fatḥ Suhrawardí. It is said that he journeyed much and had intercourse with Imám Yáfaí and many others. He visited Shaykh Naṣíru'ddín Chirágh i Dihlaví, and became a vicegerent in the Chisht family. He put off his earthly body on Thursday, the Íd-i-Ḳurbán, 10th Zil Ḥijjah, A. H. 785, (2nd Feb., A. D. 1383). He was buried al Úchh, near Multán.[4]

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[1] Rúm, a vague term. It may mean Turkey or Asia Minor.

[2] See Vol. II. p.262.

[3] His memoir is given by Ferishta.

[4] See Chron. Pathan Kings. Thomas, p. 94. where the mausoleum of the Makhdúm is described by Munshi Mohan Pál as a very poor structure, raised about seven feet from the ground. A Persian inscription with the proverbial veracity of an epitaph, describes the darkness of the world at his death, and gives the date of this eclipse. The tomb is still visited by pilgrims.

According to Beale he is the founder of the Malang and Jaláliya Fakírs, and his memoirs, called the Kitáb-i-Kuṭbí, have been written by one of his disciples. He adds that a popular belief prescribes the eating of the earth of his tomb as a *cure* for folly. It would certainly be unimpeachable evidence of the malady.

SHAYKH SHARAFU'DDÍN MUNÍRÍ

Was the son of Yaḥya-b-Isráíl, the head of the Chishtís. He was instructed under Ganj i Shakkar. His childhood passed, he practised a life of austerity in the hills, and in the desire of seeing Shaykh Niẓám Auliyá, he went to Delhi with his eldest brother, Shaykh Jalálu'ddín Muḥammad. The Shaykh meanwhile had died, but others affirm that he saw him and by his direction went to Najíbu'ddín Firdausí, and after discipleship became his vicegerent. Shaykh Shamsu'ddín Muzaffar of Balkh and Shaykh Jalálu'ddín Awadhí, called also Jamál Ḳitál, received the vicegerency from him. He left many works, and amongst them his writings on the mortification of the spirit are in use as exercises. His burial-place is in Behár.

SHAYKH JAMÁLU'DDÍN HÁNSAWÍ

Was the descendant of Abú Ḥanífah of Kúfah. His profession was to deliver discourses and pronounce judical decisions, but renouncing this office he became the disciple of Shaykh Faríd Ganj i Shakkar and reached a high degree of virtue. To whomsoever the Shaykh Faríd gave a certificate of vicegerency, he would send him to Jamálu'ddín on whose approval the certificate took effect. If he did not approve the Shaykh would say that what Jamál tore up Faríd could not repair. He was buried in Hánsí.

SHÁH MADÁR

His title was Badíi'u'ddín. High and low throughout Hindustan have great devotion to him and attest his great sanctity. They say that he was the disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭayfúrí Bisṭamí. He never wore garments of rich texture and he held aloof from men. Every Monday his doors used to be open and a crowd of suppliants collected. As the people respectfully kept back, it was his custom to recite some story in which those who sought advice received their answer; and whoever heard the response which befitted his case, he rose blessing him. Strange tales are told of him. The Madárí order take their origin from him. His resting-place is in Makanpúr.

On the anniversary of his decease every year, crowds of people from distant parts flock thither, carrying banners of all colours, and recite his praises. Káẓí Shihábu'ddin in the reign of Sulṭán Ibráhím Sharḳi[1] had a quarrel with him of which he found reason to repent.

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[1] See Vol. II. p. 169.

SHAYKH NÚR ḲUṬB-I-ÁÁLAM

Was the son of Shaykh Aláu'l Ḥaḳḳ. His true name is Shaykh Núru'ddín Aḥmad-b-O'mar Asad, and he was born at Láhor. He was the disciple and vicegerent of his eminent father, who received the vicegerency from Shaykh Akhí Siráj. He in some degree attained to the knowledge of the Ineffable Mystery and became a mystic of exalted degree, as his works and some of his letters, in themselves, testify. Shaykh Ḥusámu'ddín Mánikpúrí was his vicegerent. He died in A. H. 808 (A. D., 1405), and was buried at Panḍúah.

BÁBÁ ISḤÁḲ MAGHRABÍ

Was born at Delhi and was the disciple of Ḥájí Shaykh Muḥammad Kímí.[1] His line of succession through some few intermediaries, traces back to Junayd. Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭṭú[2] thus writes: "I went to Delhi in his company. He showed me his old dwelling and said: "At the age of twelve I set out in search of spiritual help from saintly souls and chosing the vocation of a recluse received instruction from many eminent persons, and in the city of Kím, in Mauritania, and in intercourse with Shaykh Muḥammad who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, I attained to the desire of my heart, and became a vicegerent." He returned to Delhi in the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad who received him with much honour. Khwájah Mu'ínu'ddín instructed him in a vision to retire to Khaṭṭú in seclusion, and he followed this direction.

SHAYKH AḤMAD KHAṬṬÚ.

His title was Jamálu'ddín and he was born at Delhi, in A. H. 737 (A. D. 1336), of a noble family of that city. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bábá Isḥáḳ Maghrabí. His name was Naṣíru'ddín. By a freak of fortune he was carried away from his dwelling in a tempest of wind. After a time he was blessed with the instruction of Bábá Isḥáḳ Maghrabí and garnered a store of secular and theological learning. In the reign of Sulṭán Aḥmad Gujarátí (A. D. 1411–43), he came to Gujarát where all classes received him with respect and were loud in his praise. He subsequently travelled in Arabia and Persia and met many eminent doctors. He was buried in Sarkhech, near Aḥmadábád.

SHAYKH ṢADRU'DDÍN

Was the son of Sayyid Aḥmad Kabír-b-Sayyid Jalálu'ddín Bokhárí, and was commonly known as Rájú Ḳitál.[3] He was the disciple and vicegerent of his father and received also the latter distinction from his brother *Makhdúm-i-Jahániyán* and Shaykh Ruknu'ddín Abu'l-Fatḥ. Sulṭán Firoz held him in great honour. He slept his last sleep in A. H. 806 (A. D. 1403).

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[1] Var. Kashminí, Kasímí.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 241.

[3] See Ferishta under Jalálu'ddín Ḥusayn Bokhárí, for the history of the family.

SHAYKH ALÁU'DDÍN MUḤAMMAD

Was the grandson of Shaykh Farídu'ddín Ganj i Shakkar, and son of Badru'ddín Sulaymán. He was a man of a holy and commendable life and attained to great spiritual eminence. On his decease Sulṭán Muḥammad Tughlaḳ built a mausoleum over his remains.

SAYYID MUḤAMMAD GE'SÚDARÁZ (LONG HAIR)

Was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Naṣíru'ddín Chirágh-i-Dihlí. He became proficient in theology and secular knowledge and by the direction of his spiritual guide went from Delhi to the Dekhan, where he was received with honour by high and low. He died in A. H. 825 (A. D. 1421–2), and was buried at Kulbargah.[1]

ḲUṬB-I-ÁÁLAM.

His patronymic was Abú Muḥammad, and his title Burhánu'ddín. He was the son of Sháh Muḥammad-b-Sayyid Jalálu'ddín *Makhdúm i-Jahániyán*, and was born in A. H. 790 (A. D. 1388). He was the disciple of his illustrious father and received the vicegerency from Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭṭú. In the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad (Sháh Karím, A. D. 1443–51), the descendant of Sulṭán Muẓaffar Sháh by two removes,[2] by order of his father he came to Gujarát and there became eminent in secular and speculative learning. He died in A. H. 857 (A. D. 1453). His tomb is in Baṭwah,[3] near Aḥmadábád.

SHÁH ÁÁLAM.

His name was Sayyid Muḥammad, he was the son of Ḳuṭb-i-Áálam and was born on the 9th of Zu'lḳaadah, A. H. 817 (18th January 1415) He was the disciple of his father from whom he received the vicegerency and attained to eminent sanctity. Extraordinary miracles are related of him. His days came to an end on the 20th Jumáda II., A. H. 880 (21st Oct. 1475). He lies buried at Rasúlábád, near Aḥmadábád.

SHAYKH ḲUṬBU'DDÍN

Was the son of Shaykh Burhánu'ddín-b-Shaykh Jamálu'ddín of Hánsí and the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Niẓámu'ddín Auliyá. He lived apart from men and took no presents from princes. Sulṭán Muḥammad in person went to Háńsí and brought him to Delhi. He is buried at Háńsí.

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[1] Gulbarga in the map of the *Gazetteer*. Kulburga, in Keith Johnstone.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 261.

[3] See p. 240.

Shaykh Ạlí Payrav

Was the son of Mauláná Aḥmad Maháyamí. He became proficient in worldly and spiritual knowledge and explained the mysteries after the manner of Shaykh Muḥyí'ddín Ạrabí. He has left many works on theology, but most of them are no longer extant.

Sayyid Muḥammad Jaunpúrí

Was the son of Sayyid Baḍh Uwaysí. He received instruction under many holy men and was learned in spiritual and secular knowledge. Carried away by extravagance he laid claim to be a *Mahdí*[1] and many followers gathered round him and numerous miracles are ascribed to him. He is the origin of the *Mahdavís*. From Jaunpúr he went to Gujarát and was much in favour with Sulṭán Maḥmúd the Great. The narrow-mindedness of worldlings made India intolerable to him and he resolved to pass into Persia, but died at Farrah and was there buried.

Ḳáẓí Khán.

His name was Yúsuf and his birthplace Ẓafarábád. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭáhir, surnamed Kamálu'l Ḥaḳḳ. He was also the disciple of Hájí Ḥámid who was the vicegerent of Ḥusámu'ddín Mánikpúrí. He acquired secular and theological learning. His spiritual guide, during his own lifetime, charged him with the superintendence of his vicegerents, and at his death entrusted to his care his own son Ạbdu'l Ạzíz. On the 15th of Ṣafar, A. H. 900 (13th November 1494), he rested from the troubles of the world.

Mír Sayyid Ạli Ḳawám.

His birthplace was Siwánah. He was the disciple and vicegerent of Baháu'ddín Jaunpúrí Shaṭṭárí. Some say that he was instructed by Shaykh Ḳáṣá[2] Shaṭṭárí, while others affirm that his connection with all spiritual families can be correctly proved. In the year A. H. 905 (A. D. 1499), he passed from earth. His restingplace is Jaunpúr.

Ḳáẓí Maḥmúd

Was the son of Shaykh Jálindha[3]-b-Muḥammad Gujarátí. He was born in Bírpúr.[4] He was the disciple of his father and received the mantle of vicegerency from Sháh Áálam. Divine love filled his heart and many an edifying discourse fell from his lips. From the age of eleven he was spiritually illumined, and wonderful accounts are given regarding him. On the 13th Rabii' II. of the year (A. H. 942. A. D. 1535) in which the Emperor Humáyún defeated Bahádur (Sháh) of Gujarát, he passed to the other world and lies buried in Bírpúr.

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[1] See Vol. I. Biography of Abu'l Fazl, p. v.

[2] Var. Ḳáẓí, Fáẓil.

[3] Var. Jabland; Chánd, see Vol. I. p. 106, 545.

[4] Var. Sherpúr, Wazírpúr.

SHAYKH MAUDÚD AL-LÁRI

Was the disciple of Bábá Nizám Abdál. He went through the usual course of studies for a time under Mauláná Ábdu'l Ghafúr of Lár and sought spiritual guidance from many souls. He was thoroughly versed in the methods of exposition and exegesis of the schools and skilled in the complicated problems of philosophy, and he had met Sháh Niamat-u'llah Walí and Sháh Kásim Anwár. He slept his last sleep in Ramazán A. H. 937 (A. D. 1530).

SHAYKH HÁJÍ ÁBD'UL WAHHÁB-AL-BOKHÁRÍ.

Shaykh Jalálu'ddín Bokhárí had two sons. Makhdúm-i-Jaháníyáń was the son of Sayyid Maḥmúd and this (Shaykh Ḥájí) was descended from (the other son), Sayyid Aḥmad. He was the disciple and pupil of Sayyid Ṣadru'ddín Bokhárí. He was versed in secular and speculative science. He died in A. H. 932 (A. D. 1525-26).

SHAYKH ÁBDU'R RAZZÁK

Was born at Jhanjhána[1] and was the disciple and vicegerent of Sháh Muḥammad Ḥasan and the son of Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭáhir. At first he went through the usual course of studies which he abandoned for a higher aim. He died in A. H. 949 (A. D. 1542), and was buried at Jhanjhána.

SHAYKH ÁBDU'L KUDDÚS.

He asserted himself to be a descendant of Abú Ḥanífah. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad-b-Shaykh Áárif-b-Shaykh Aḥmad Ábd'ul Ḥakk. He acquired secular and spiritual learning and became eminent in theology. Many of his mystical sayings are recorded. The Emperor Humáyún with a few of the learned, visited him in his cell and an animated controversy took place. He folded up the carpet of his life in A. H. 950 (A. D. 1543). He was buried at Gangoyah,[2] near Delhi.

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[1] In the Muzaffarnagar dist., N. W. P.

[2] Gangoh, is a town in the Sahá-ranpúr dist., N. W. P. It consists of an old and new quarter, the former founded by the legendary hero Rájá Gang and the latter by Shaykh Ábdu'l Kud-

Sayyid Ibráhím

Was the son of Mu'inu'ddín-b-Ạbdu'l Ḳádir Ḥusayní. His birthplace was Íraj.[1] He was the disciple of Shaykh Baháu'ddín Ḳádirí Shaṭṭárí. He was proficient in all learning and rarely equalled for his good deeds. He had travelled much, and in the reign of Sulṭán Sikandar Lodí (A. D. 1517–40) went to Delhi. Shaykh Ạbdu'llah of Delhi, Miyán Ládan, Mauláná Ạbdu'l Ḳádir the soapmaker, and other celebrated doctors acknowledged his sanctity. He yielded up his fleeting life in A. H. 953 or 958 (A. D. 1546-51). He was buried at Delhi.

Shaykh Ámán.

His name was Ạbdu'l Malik, son of Ạbdu'l Ghafúr. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan. By the direction of his master, he received various instruction under Shaykh Muḥammad Maudúd al-Lárí. He died on the 12th Rabíí' II., A. H. 958 (20th April, 1551).

Shaykh Jamál

Was the son of Shaykh Ḥamzah and his father's disciple. He chiefly led a retired life though among worldly occupations. He was buried at Dharsú.

I think it fitting to conclude these notices with an account of (the prophets) Khiẓr and Elias, and thus supplicate an enduring remembrance.

Khiẓr.

His name was Balyán, the son of Kalyán, the son of Fáligh (Phaleg), the son of Ạábir (Heber), the son of Shálikh (Sale), the son of Arfakshad (Arphaxad), the son of Sám, (Sem), the son of Núḥ (Noé). Some call him Kalyán-b-Malkán, others Malkán, the son of Balyán, the son of Kalyán, the son of Simeon, the son of Sám, the son of Noé. His patronymic was Abu'l Ạbbás. He was called Khiẓr[2] because he sat upon a white

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dús who gives his title to the western suburb, where his tomb still stands among other sacred shrines. I. G. See Vol. I. 538, 546. Blochmann's references are to Badáoni Vol III and the Mirát'ul Ạálam.

[1] See Vol. II., p. 187.

[2] The generations of Sem to Abram in Gen. xi. descend through Arphaxad, Sale, Heber, and Phaleg. The further generations through Reu and Serug are here displaced for the fictitious substitutes. According to D'Herbelot the name of Khiẓr or Khedhr or Khedher—green, flourishing—was given on account of his having drunk of the water of life. The prophetical office of Khiẓr is inferred from Sur. xviii, v. 64, of the Korán. "They found one of our servants unto whom we had granted mercy from us and whom we had taught wisdom before us." Ṭabarí has the hardihood to deny the inference. He gives the tradition that his name was Elias, the son of Melká,

skin which through the blessed influence of his feet turned to green. He was born in the time of Moses within two parasangs of Shiráz, or according to another opinion in the time of Abraham. Some place him shortly before the mission of Abraham and others, a considerable time after. Shaykh Ạláu'ddaulah in his *U'rwat (li Ahli'lkhalwat wa'ljalwat)* (ansa viris solitariis et multum conspicuis oblata)[1] says of him, "he has many wives, and children are born to him and he gives them names, but no one can find a trace of him. It is now one hundred years and seven months that he has withdrawn himself from the world, and no children of his survive. In his early profession of broker he used to buy and sell and secure profit, and borrow and give in pledge; he is also learned in alchemy and knows where the treasures of the world lie buried, and by the command of God expends them in the service of the people, and never acts solely for his own benefit. He delights in music and dances, and will often pass a day and a night together in an ecstatic trance.[2] A thousand years ago he renewed his youth, and subsequent to that time this occurs after every one hundred and twenty years." The Shaykh continues: "In this year the period of renewal takes place and from the epoch of the Hijrah up to this day the renewal has occurred seven times. He associates, and prays with the (saints called) *Ḳuṭb* and *Abdál*.[3] They say that once in Medina

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the son of Heber, the son of Sálih, son of Arphaxad, son of Sem, son of Noé; that he accompanied Alexander in the search for the water of life which he himself discovered and drank of, thus becoming immortal; that Alexander failed, and so perished; that this was not Alexander of Greece mentioned in the Ḳorán, but a monarch who lived in the time of Abraham. Ṭabarí is silent on the subject of his professional occupation as a broker, which is scarcely in accord with a prophetical mission. Abul Fazl disdains no information from whatever source, and has little sense of the slender partition between the sublime and the ridiculous.

[1] This work is in Persian by Shaykh Ạláu'ddaulah Aḥmad-b-Muḥammad Simnáni and was completed on the 23rd Muḥarram, A. H. 721 (A. D. 31st January 1321), in the town of Súfiyábád. Háji Khalífah.

[2] The word is *madhúsh*. I have respected the prophetical character. The word may be interpreted, especially in connection with dancing, to the disparagement of his sobriety.

[3] Jámí, a great authority on points of mysticism, says that the saints are providentially raised to prove the truth of the prophetic mission, and are the sources of grace to the faithful and an assurance of victory to them over the infidels. They are 4,000 in number; do not recognise each other, nor know their own dignity and are hidden both from themselves and mankind. Three hundred among these have the office of binding and loosing, and are called *Akhyár* (the Good). Forty others are called *Abdál* (Just). Seven others are termed *Abrár* (Pious). Three others are *Nuḳabá* (Leaders), and one is termed *Ḳuṭb* (Pillar), or *Ghauṣ* (Defender). Another authority quoted by Jámí, the

some camel-men were having a fight with stones. A piece of stone struck Khiẓr on the head and cut it open. The wound chilled and became inflamed and his illness lasted three months. His prophetic office is disputed though many believe it." He accompanied Zu'l Ḳarnayn (the two-horned Alexander)[1] in search of the water of life, and obtained the boon of length of days. Some say that both Elias and Khiẓr obtained the water of life, and others maintain that Khiẓr is a spirit who assumes various bodily forms, and they deny him to be of mortal race.

ELIAS

Was the son of Sem, the son of Noé, and grandfather of Khiẓr. Some authorities give his father's name as Yásín and some give Nusayy and different other names. Others again derive his genealogy thus,—that he was the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar (I'ízár), the son of Aaron the brother of Moses. There is also a disagreement regarding his prophetical office. The *Ḳuṭbs*, *Abdáls*, and Khiẓr, stand to him in the light of disciples and revere him. He is tall of stature, with a large head; is reserved in speech and absorbed in thought. He has a solemn and awe-inspiring exterior, and the mysteries of all things are revealed to him. It is said that he was raised up for the defence of the faith of Moses and was sent as an inspired guide to the people of Baalbak; when he found that his admonitions were of no avail, he asked for his deliverence from the

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author of the *Futúḥát i Makkíyah*, says that there are seven Abdáls to each of whom is entrusted one of the seven climates. I restrict my quotations to the needs of the text. The scholar may pursue the definition at p. 21 of the *Nafaḥátu'l Uns.*

[1] He received this epithet says Ṭabarí because he traversed the world from end to end, the word *Ḳarn* signifying a horn, a term applied also to the extremities of the universe. It is given to him in the Ḳurán (Sur. xviii. vv. 82, 84, 92). D'Herbelot states that 'Two-horned' was originally applied to a monarch more ancient than Alexander, who lived in the time of Abraham. He also gives Ḍhu'lḳarnayn as a surname of Khiẓr. According to Sale, other opinions of the derivation are, that he had two horns to his diadem, or two curls of hair. Scaliger supposes it was occasioned by his being represented in his coins and statues with horns as the son of Jupiter Ammon, or as being compared by the prophet Daniel to a he-goat (Dan. viii), though there represented but with one horn. It as probably implied his supremacy and power, as in the case of the noble statue of the two-horned Moses of Michael Angelo in Rome. See Chap. CXII. Vol. I. of Ṭabarí (H. Zotenberg), for his account of this monarch. The oriental tradition of Yájúj and Májúj is here circumstantially narrated. Their innumerable descendants dwelt behind the iron gates at Darband. Their stature was of two cubits, and their ears were so long that they trailed on the ground. When they slept, they laid themselves down on one ear while they covered themselves with the other. They went naked and

Almighty,[1] and his prayer was heard. One day he went up into a hill with Eliseus, the son of Akhtúb, and a fiery chariot with its equipage and harness appeared, and leaving Eliseus as his successor he mounted the chariot and vanished from sight.

Extraordinary accounts are told of these two personages Khiẓr and Elias. The first mentioned roams chiefly over dry land and brings those who have strayed into the right path; the latter keeps by the coasts. Some reverse these conditions. Each has ten holy persons as their assistants, and both are said to have lived for many years and associate together. Some of the learned, however, do not believe in their existence. Elias is prayed to for the prevention of calamities, and Khiẓr for their remission after they have befallen.

PRAISE BE TO GOD

That a general review of the state of Hindustan has been now presented and the modes of thought and the customs of its people explicitly recorded. As time pressed and my mind was ill at ease, I did not formulate the proofs of their doctrine nor compare them with the systems of Greece and Persia. Neither did I set down the various conflicting opinions among the Hindus, nor express the thoughts that occurred thereon to this bewildered member of the synod of creation. Were my spirit not too much oppressed by the gloomy toil of these pages and the deciphering of the characters of manuscripts, and did fortune favour and continue its aid, I would first arrange these systems of philosophy in due order and weigh them with those of the Grecian and Persian Schools, contributing somewhat of my own impartial conclusions in measured approval or disapproval, as my fastidious judgment dictated.

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bred like cattle, and each before he died produced 1,000 children. Against the gates they could not prevail, but a million of them proceed at sunrise daily, to lick them with their tongues and by evening the iron is attenuated to the thinness of an egg shell, but miraculously recovers its thickness in the night, and this will continue till a deliverer arises amongst them who will become a believer, and the gates will then yield to their tongues and they will rush through.

[1] "And when he was there and sat under a juniper tree he requested for his soul that he might die and said, "It is enough for me, Lord, take away my soul: for I am no better than my fathers."

III. Kings xix. 4.

Thus spoke Eliseus as he fled from Jezabel to Bersabee of Juda. Abul Fazl confounds Samaria with Heliopolis, and, perhaps, from the similarity of names, places the slaughter of the false prophets of Baal at Mount Carmel in Baalbak. Mount Carmel is still remembered as the Jabal Már Elyás. Eliseus was the son of Saphat of Abelmeula. Ṭabarí gives Elias the genealogy assigned by Abu'l Fazl and calls Eliseus the son of Akhtúb. See Ṭabarí, Zotenberg, p 419, 10.

Before I had left my obscure home and had approached the gracious threshold of majesty which is the abode where truth meets with recognition, and had mixed with the learned of all creeds, it had been my constant wish that the Bountiful Giver of all desires would vouchsafe to me the companionship of five intelligent and well-disposed persons, namely, a scholar of literary attainments; a profound philosopher; a mystic of holy life; an accomplished rhetorician; and a thinker of speculative and lofty spirit. It was herein my desire that each of these through his own perspicacity and just views of the divine Government, should not regard the truth as captive to his own discoveries, but ever suspicious of his own liability to error, advance in his inquiries with a bold step so that in the common pursuit of truth, the opinions of each might be lucidly set forth. The prescriptive duties of investigation might, in such circumstances, be exercised, and convincing argument distinguished from specious fallacy and proof from all beside it, in the hope that from the heart-lacerating thorn-brakes of discord there might be a happy transition into the garden of unity. When from seclusion I became engaged in public affairs, the five wishes of my aspiring mind grew to fourteen, and nine Hindus increased the contemplated list. I found the majority of them, however, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like a silk-worm, a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own conclusions, and conceding attainment of the truth to no other, while foxlike, artfully insinuating their own views. In dejection of spirit as one crazy, I nigh came unto losing the control of my reason and breaking the warp and woof of life. On a sudden the star of my fortune blazed in the ascendant and the Imperial grace interposed in my favour, and thus rescued in some measure from vain imaginings, I found peace in the pleasant pastures of universal toleration.

I trust that by the happy destiny of this God-fearing monarch this union will be realised, and my long-cherished desires bloom with the radiance of fulfilment.

O Lord! Unto my soul its sight restore,
And let my feet Thy stair of Truth explore.
The treasures of Thy clemency set free
And bid my spirit find its goal in Thee.
Grant through life's busy ways still at my side,
Thy grace may aid me and Thy mercy guide.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

COMPRISING THE HAPPY SAYINGS OF HIS MAJESTY,

AND THE CONCLUSION,

With a brief notice of the Author.

(P. 227.) As I have now succinctly described the Sacred Institutes, in acknowledgment of my own obligations and as a gift of price to the rest of mankind, it appears fitting that I should record somewhat of the sayings of his Imperial Majesty in relation both to secular and spiritual concerns, in order that his words and actions may become known to far and near.

The following are among his utterances :—

There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language.

Each thing has a quality inseparable from it and the heart is influenced by some irresistible attachment to the power of which it submits and builds thereon the foundation of its sorrows and joys. Whosoever by his brilliant destiny withdraws his affections from all worldly concerns, attains to the Divine love which is above all others.

(P. 228.) The existence of creatures depends on no other bond than this. Whoever is gifted with this wisdom shall reach a high perfection.

Whosoever habituates himself to preserve this sacred relation, will be withheld from it by no other occupation.

Hindu women fetch water from their rivers, tanks or wells, and many of them bear several pitchers one above the other upon their heads and converse and chat freely with their companions, walking the while over any inequalities of ground. If the heart in like manner preserves the balance of its pitchers, no harm will befall them. Why should men be inferior to these in their relations with the Almighty.

When this interior affection both in its immaterial and material aspects is thus strengthened, who can sever the attachment of the rational soul to the Supreme Being?

From the practice of real ascetism the transition is easy to unlawful mendicancy. Since a thing is best comprehended by contrast with its opposite, the latter also thus comes to be pleasurably regarded.

The intellect will not with the full assent of reason, confessedly oppose the divine law, but some do not believe in the divine books, nor credit that the Supreme essence that is tongueless will express itself in human speech, while others again differ in their interpretation of them.

The divine grace is shed upon all alike, but some from unpreparedness in due season and others from incapacity are unable to profit thereby; the handiwork of the potter evidences this truth.

The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute, is for the awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart not the body.

The first degree of dutiful obedience is not to scowl with knitted brows when trials befall, but regarding them as the bitter remedies of a physician, to accept them with a cheerful countenance.

That which is without form cannot be seen whether in sleeping or waking, but it is apprehensible by force of imagination. To behold God in vision is, in fact, to be understood in this sense.

Most worshippers of God are intent on the advancement of their own desires not on His worship.

As the dark hair turns to grey, the hope arises that this hue which is never far distant, may be kept burnished by the wondrous workings of destiny, in order that the rust of the heart may be cleansed with it and its vision illumined.

Some there are who maintain that men walk in opposition to the will of God, and that their salvation depends on their renunciation of this evil habit; but he who is spiritually illumined knows that none can effectually oppose His commands, and physicians from this reflection provide a remedy for those that are sick.

Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme Being a name, but in reality to name the Unknowable is vain.

(P. 229.) The object of an appellative is the removal of ambiguity, but this is not predicable of the All Holy Essence.

There is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in nature is impossible. God is omnipresent.

All that men account good and bad and virtue and vice, arises from the wondrous phases of God's grace: the discordant effects result from human action.

To impute the existence of evil to Satan is to make him a co-partner of the Almighty. If he is the robber, who is responsible for his being one?

The legend of Satan is an old-world notion. Who has the power to oppose the will of God?

A peasant was seized with a desire to seek the Lord. His spiritual guide learning his love for his cow, placed him in a confined space and directed him to exercise himself in meditation on that object. After a time he called him forth to test him. As the man had been absorbed in that contemplation, he persuaded himself that he had horns, and replied that his horns prevented his exit. His director seeing his single-mindedness, by degrees weaned him from his error.

The superiority of man rests on the jewel of reason. It is meet that he should labour in its burnishing, and turn not from its instruction.

A man is the disciple of his own reason. If it has naturally a good lustre, it becomes itself his director, and if it gains it under the direction of a higher mind, it is still a guide.

Commending obedience to the dictates of reason and reproving a slavish following of others need the aid of no arguments. If imitation were commendable, the prophets would have followed their predecessors.

Many whose minds are diseased persuade themselves into an affectation of health, but the spiritual physician recognises the impress on their brows.

As the body becomes sickly from indisposition, so the mind has its disorder; knowledge decays until a remedy is applied.

For a disordered mind there is no healing like the society of the virtuous.

To read the characters of men is a thing of great difficulty and is not in the power of every one.

The soul notwithstanding its superiority, takes the tone of the natural disposition by association with it and the brilliancy of its lustre thus becomes dimmed with dirt.

(P. 230.) Through dullness of insight the concerns of the soul which are the source of happiness are neglected, while the pampering of the body which enfeebles the spirit, is eagerly practised.

Men through attachments to their associates acquire their disposition, and much of good and of evil thus results to them.

When his understanding is still undeveloped, man is in constant change of mood; at one time taking joy in festivities, at another sitting disconsolate in the house of mourning. When his vision is raised to higher things, sorrow and joy withdraw.

Many in the conceit of their imagination and entangled in the thornbrake of a blind assent to tradition, believe themselves to be followers of reason, whereas if it be carefully regarded they are not in its vicinity.

Many simpletons, worshippers of imitative custom, mistake the traditions of the ancients for the dictates of reason, and garner for themselves eternal perdition.

Acts and words are variously the effects of good sense, or of desire or of passion, but through the withdrawal of impartial judgment the facts are noisily misrepresented.

When rising from sleep which is a semblance of death, one should be earnest in giving thanks for a renewed life by seemly thoughts and virtuous actions.

Conscience requires that rectitude and probity which is commendable in the sight of all men, should be associated with appropriate action.

One should first labour for one's own edification and then turn to the acquisition of knowledge in the hope of lighting the lamp of wisdom and extinguishing the risings of dissension.

Alas! that in the first flush of youth our inestimable lives are unworthily spent. Let us hope that in future they may virtuously terminate.

The vulgar believe in miracles, but the wise man accepts nothing without adequate proof.

Although temporal and spiritual prosperity are based on the due worship of God, the welfare of children first lies in obedience to their fathers.

Alas! that the Emperor Humáyún died so early and that I had no opportunity of showing him faithful service!

The sorrows of men arise from their seeking their fortune before its destined time, or above what is decreed for them.

(To his son.) My good counsel is your brother. Hold it in honour.

(P. 231.) Ḥakím Mírzá[1] is a memorial of the Emperor Humáyún. Though he has acted ungratefully, I can be no other than forbearing.

Some bold spirits asked permission to lie in ambush and put an end to that rebel. I could not consent, thinking it remote from what was befitting in his regard. Thus both that distinguished memorial of majesty escaped from harm, and my devoted friends were shielded from peril.

The concerns of men are personal to themselves but through the predominance of greed and passion they intrude upon (those of) others.

It is meet that worldlings should lead a busy life in order that idleness may be discouraged and the desires may not wander towards unlawful objects.

It was my object that mendicancy should disappear from my dominions. Many persons were plentifully supplied with means, but through the malady of avarice it proved of no avail.

The world of existence is amenable only to kindness. No living creature deserves rejection.

The impulse of avarice, like pride, is not consonant with magnanimity, and, therefore, should not be suffered to enter or influence the mind.

The office of a spiritual director is to discern the state of the soul and to set about its reform, and lies not in growing the locks of an Ethiop and patching a tattered robe and holding formal discourses to an audience.

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[1] Akbar's brother, king of Kábul. He rebelled against Akbar, invaded India and besieged Lahor in the 11th year of Akbar's reign. See Vol. I. p. 462, and Index under Mḥd. Ḥakím Mírzá.

By guidance is meant indication of the road, not the gathering together of disciples.

To make a disciple is to instruct him in the service of God, not to make him a personal attendant.

Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islám. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion?

Clemency and benevolence are the sources of happiness and length of days. Sheep that produce but one or two young ones in a year are in great numbers, while dogs notwithstanding their prolificacy are few.

The phrase is remarkable that one sits to show the road, but one rises to rob it.[1]

The difficulty is to live in the world and to refrain from evil, for the life of a recluse is one of bodily ease.

Although knowledge in itself is regarded as the summit of perfection, yet unless displayed in action it bears not the impress of worth; indeed, it may be considered worse than ignorance.

(P. 232.) Men from shortsightedness frequently seek their own advantage in what is harmful to them: how much the more must they err in regard to others.

Men through blindness do not observe what is around them, intent only on their own advantage. If a cat defiles its claws in the blood of a pigeon they are annoyed, but if it catches a mouse they rejoice? In what way has the bird served them or the latter unfortunate animal done them wrong?

The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon.

When the light of wisdom shines, a man distinguishes what is truly his own. What he has is only borrowed.

In a storehouse, mice and sparrows and other animals have a common interest but from ill-nature each thinks the place his own.

Most people avoid the society of those they dislike, and do not let the displeasure of God occupy their thoughts.

It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them would be in itself reprehensible: and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my compassion.

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[1] Alluding to the Persian idiom. برهنمای نشستن و برهزني برخاستن

An artisan who rises to eminence in his profession has the grace of God with him. The worship of God is the occasion of his being honoured.

Sleep and food are a means for the renewal of strength in seeking to do the will of God. Miserable man from folly regards them as an end.

Although sleep brings health of body, yet as life is the greatest gift of God, it were better that it should be spent in wakefulness.

A man of penetration finds no (preordained) injustice. He regards adversity as a chastisement.

A wise man does not take heed for his daily sustenance. The analogy of bondsman and servant is an exhortation to him.

Happy is he who hath an ear wherewith to hear and an eye to see, for as truth cannot be overthrown, a blind man in posssession thereof will not follow an evil course.[1]

Children are the young saplings in the garden of life. To love them is to turn our minds to the Bountiful Creator.

(P. 233.) To bestow in alms a coin which bears the impress of the name of God is very reprehensible.

In our prayers we should avoid the asking of temporal blessings in which the humiliation of another person is involved.

As to the seeking after God being thought to consist in controlling the natural bent of the spirit, most people find the solution of their troubles therein; were it otherwise, fruition would in many become a stair to further gratification.

The material world is analogous to the world of the spirit, for as in the one what is given in trust is again reclaimed, so in the other, works are required in accordance with knowledge.

In the receiving of admonition there is no respect of age or wealth. No distinction is recognized between the tender in years or the poor and others in the necessity of listening to the truth.

The prophets were all illiterate.[2] Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition.

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[1] The latter part of this sentence is corrupt in the reading. Three variants in the notes are unintelligible, and one MS. omits it altogether. My rendering is, therefore, conjectural. I would suggest the following emendation:

همچنانکه از پا نه برند حق –
ازان کر راه بد قیافه نه پذیرد

[2] "Who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet." Ḳurán vii; and again "It is he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate Arabians an apostle from among themselves." Sur. lxii.

Since the poet builds on fiction, his creation cannot be seriously accepted.

A rope dancer performs with feet and hands, a poet with his tongue.

He who happily introduces the verses of another in his own compositions or appositely quotes them, discovers the other's merit and his own.

A certain religeus was addicted to gluttony. He met a discreet adviser who gave him a dish of pumpkin which he was to fill and eat thereof daily, and to draw a sectarial mark on his forehead with pounded lote-fruit (*Rhamnus Zizyphus*). At the same time, to throw him off the scent, he taught him a prayer to be recited. In a short time his failing was cured.

Would that we did not hear of such differences of opinion among professors of secular learning, nor were confounded by contradictory commentaries and explanations of tradition.

Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.

There are but three causes of aberrant judgment, *viz.*, incapacity of mind; the society of enemies in the guise of friends; the duplicity of friends that seek their own interest.

Would that none other than the prudent had the reading and writing of letters, in order that the base might have no opportunity of fabrication for their own purposes, or of persuading short-sighted simpletons by every specious lie.

The detection of fabrication is exceedingly difficult, but it can be compassed by weighing well the words of the speaker.

Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, and all the appliances of government are to my hand, yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds; and apart from this outward pomp of circumstance, with what satisfaction in my despondency, can I undertake the sway of empire? I await the coming of some discreet man of principle, who will resolve the difficulties[1] of my conscience.

On the completion of my twentieth year, I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow.

(P. 234.) A darvesh on the northern bank of the Rávi, entered his cell and allowed no one to frequent it. On being asked the reason, he replied, that he was engaged in a special devotion, and that until the death of Ạbdu'llah Khán, governor of Túrán,[1] he would not leave it, nor allow any one access to him. His majesty said, "If he is one whose prayers are heard, then let him close the door of his good works upon us, otherwise let him refrain from this folly."

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[1] کشایش must be an error for کشاکش or کُشش.

If I could but find any one capable of governing the kingdom, I would at once place this burden upon his shoulders and withdraw therefrom.

If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say, then, of my sons, my kindred and others?

The Giver of desires has committed to my charge many a noble fortress. No one has thought of provisioning them, yet confiding in the strength of God, no further apprehension alarms me.

Whoever seeks from me permission to retire from the world will meet with cheerful acquiescence in his desires. If he has really withdrawn his heart from the world that deceives but fools, to dissuade him therefrom would be very reprehensible; but if he only affects it from ostentation, he will receive the requital thereof.

If in ailments of the body which are visible, its physicians have made and do make such errors of treatment, in the disorders of the soul which is invisible and its remedies scarce attainable, what medicine will avail?

It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him.

On the day when the Almighty wills that my life should cease, I also would not further prolong it.

My constant prayer to the Supreme Giver is that when my thoughts and actions no longer please Him, he may take my life, in order that I may not every moment add to His displeasure.

The solution of difficulties depends on the assistance of God, and the evidence of the latter is the meeting with a discreet spiritual director. Many persons through not discovering such a one, have their real capabilities obscured.

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[1] See Vol I. XXX. and 468; this prince had written to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islám, and Mírán Ṣadr and Ḥakím Humám were sent on an embassy to explain matters with an ambiguous Arabic verse to the effect that, as God and the Prophet had not escaped the slander of men neither could His Majesty. One of the letters in the collection called 'Inshái Abu'l Fazl' is addressed to this monarch, in reply to his inquiry whether Akbar had renounced Islám. This story is so obscurely worded that I am not sure whether I have seized the sense of the concluding lines. I infer that Akbar wished it to be known that he had no grudge against Ạbdu'llah.

(P. 235.) One night my heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly, between sleeping and waking, a strange vision appeared to me, and my spirit was somewhat comforted.

Whosoever with a sincere heart and in simplicity of mind follows my institutes will profit, both spiritually and temporarily, to the fulfilment of his wishes.

The source of misery is self-aggrandizement and unlawful desires.

The welfare of those who are privileged to confidential counsel at the court of great monarchs has been said to lie in rectitude and loyalty; no self-interest or mercenary motive should intervene; and especially in times of the royal displeasure, if no conciliatory language will avail, they should be silent.

A special grace proceeds from the sun in favour of kings, and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty; but the short-sighted are thereby scandalized.

How can the common people possessed only with the desire of gain, look with respect upon sordid men of wealth. From ignorance these fail in reverence to this fountain of light, and reproach him who prays to it. If their understanding were not at fault how could they forget the *Súrah*[1] beginning "By the sun," &c.

The reason why the hair of the head turns grey first is because it comes before the beard and the whiskers.

I have heard no good reason from the Hindus for the sounding of the gong and blowing the conch at the time of worship. It must be for the purpose of warning and recollection.

When it rains, if light breaks from the west, the air will clear, for, radiance from the quarter whence darkness proceedeth is a harbinger of light.

The reason why under the Muḥammadan law an inheritance seldom passes to the daughter notwithstanding that her helplessness seems deserving of greater consideration, is that she passes to her husband's house and the legacy would go to a stranger.

The meat which is nearer the bone is sweeter because it contains the essence of the nutriment.

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[1] The XCI. of the Ḳurán. "By the sun and its rising brightness; by the moon when she followeth him: by the day when it showeth its splendour: by the night when it covereth him with darkness: by the heaven and him who built it: by the earth and him who spread it forth .... how is he who hath purified the same, happy, but he who hath corrupted the same is miserable."—Sale.

Fruit in a plentiful season is never so luscious and sweet, because the source of supply of these qualities is proportionately subdivided.

The tales of the ancients, that, in certain places of worship fire from heaven was present, were not credited, and it was held to be exaggeration, it not being known that a mirror or the sun-crystal[1] being held to the sun would produce fire.

For all kinds of animals there is a fixed breeding season. Man alone is constantly under the impulse of desire to that end. Indeed, by this providential multiplication of the species a greater stability is given to the bond of union upon which the foundation of social life depends.

(P. 236.) Eating anything that dies of itself is unlawful. There is a natural repugnance to it.

A man's being eaten after he has been killed is the just requital of his own baseness.[2]

The prohibition against touching anything killed by the act of God, the cause of which is unknown, is in order to respect the deed.

Blood contains the principle of life. To avoid eating thereof is to honour life.

The birth of ugliness from beauty is not surprising. Indeed, if a man were to beget a different kind of animal, it would not be extraordinary, for as a matter of fact forms are designed from concepts, and since these are capable of being imagined, their production may take place.

If the love of the husband prevail, he but idolises his own partialities and begets a daughter; if the wife has the stronger affection, the image of her husband is oftenest present, and a boy appears.

As to what is said in ethical treatises, that an enemy should not be despised, the meaning is that since friendship and enmity are but phantasms of the divine dispensation, one should overlook the intervening enemy and view the Deity beyond.

Many a disciple surpasses his master, and yet his attitude to him must be one of deference and submission.

Miracles occur in the temples of every creed. This is the product of mental enthusiasm, for the truth can be but with one.

A gift is the deposit of a pledge and a lightening of an obligation from a former debt.

The origin of wearing the sacred thread (in a Bráhman), is that in ancient times they used to pray with a rope round their necks, and their successors have made this a religious obligation.

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[1] The *Súrya-kánta* or 'sun-loved,' a sunstone or crystal, cool to the touch and supposed to possess fabulous properties because, like a glass lens, it gives out heat when exposed to the rays of the sun. Monier-Williams, S. D.

[2] Or perhaps 'his own gormandising nature.'

In Hindustan no one has ever set himself up as a prophet. The reason is that pretensions to divinity have superseded it.

When any one is said to be of a good, or low origin, what is meant is, that one of his ancestors attained to spiritual or temporal distinction, or was known to fame from connection with some city or profession. It appears to me that good-breeding should involve good works.

It is said that greater friendship is shown by the receiver of a gift than by the giver;[1] but I consider that in the giver it is personal. He does not give but to a worthy object, and this can be evidenced in a receiver only by a gift.

(P. 237.) In Hindu treatises it is said that, in the acquisition of learning or of wealth, a man should so toil as though he were never to grow old, or to die.[2] But since the luxurious, from fear of these two sources of despair, withhold themselves from labour, it appears to me that in acquiring these twin needs of a worldly career, we should regard each morrow as our last, and postpone not the work of one day to the next.

The Hindu philosopher says that in the garnering of good works, one should have death constantly in view, and, placing no reliance on youth and life, never relax one's efforts. But to me it seems that in the pursuit of virtue, the idea of death should not be entertained, so that freed from hopes and fears, we should practise virtue for the sake of its own worth.

It is strange that in the time of our Prophet no commentaries on the Ḳurán were made, so that differences of interpretation might not afterwards arise.

(Regarding the saying), "the love of a cat is a part of religion," if the noun of action is not in construction with the agent, as Mír Sayyid Sharíf put it to escape a difficulty, it would not be humane to avoid a cat or regard it with repugnance. The silence of Mauláná Saạdu'ddín from this (obvious) reply is, therefore, not to be defended.[3]

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[1] This recalls the lines in Dryden's "Cleomenes:"

"A noble soul
Does much that asks: he gives you power to oblige him.
Know, Sir, there is a proud modesty in merit
Averse from begging and resolved to pay
Ten times the gift it asks."

[2] "The learned man may fix his thoughts on science and wealth, as if he were never to grow old, or to die: but when death seizes him by the locks, he must then practise virtue." Introd. "Hitopadesa." Sir W. Jones' Translation.

[3] The ephemeral controversies of the Court which Abu'l Faẓl seemed to regard as enduring to all time, and of which

"What the ancients have said, *viz.*, that the heaviest trials fall on th prophets, next upon the saints, and by proportionately diminishing degrees upon the virtuous, does not commend itself to me. How can the elect of God be thus punished?" Some of the philosophers suggested to his Majesty that these were trials sent by God. The king was amazed and said: "How can trials be justifiable by one who knows both what is hidden and what is manifest?"

Every sect favourably regards him who is faithful to its precepts and in truth he is to be commended. If he be engaged in worldly pursuits he should pass his days in righteousness and well-doing, and in the garnering the needs of the time; and if of a retired habit, he should live in warfare with himself and at peace with others, and regard praise and blame indifferently.

Some are of opinion that the greater the number of intermediaries between him that seeks the truth and him that has reached it, the more the grace of God abounds. But this is not so: rather the attainment thereto is dependent on attrahent grace and good works.

It is strange that the Imámís make beads of the earth of Karbalá, and believe that it is mixed with the blood of the Imám (Ḥusayn).

Whoever bestows his garments upon ignoble people, upon rope-dancers and buffoons, it is as though he went through their antics himself.

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the subjects and actors have long been forgotten, are to be elucidated only on conjecture. The saying alluded to in the text appears to be a parody on the tradition, 'the love of country is a part of religion' (حب الوطن من الایمان). Some traditions regarding the cat have been preserved and will be found in the *Ḥayát u'l Ḥayawán* [Vita animalium: auctore Shaykh Kamálu'ddín Mhd. b-Ben Ísa Demíri, anno, A. H. 808 (A. D. 1405) mortuo, Háj. Khal]. One of these, on the authority of Salmán al-Fársí, says that "the Prophet gave an admonition respecting the cat," *i. e.*, its humane treatment. Abú Hurayrah, the well-known companion, who received his epithet (father of the kitten), on account of having always a kitten with him, narrated a tradition that a woman was punished in hell for maltreatment of a cat. Ayesha asked him if this was true. He replied, he had heard it from Muḥammad's own lips. She rejoined that a Muslim woman could not have been so punished on account of a cat, and that the culprit was an *infidel*. He should, therefore, be careful how he repeated these traditions. Other examples are given on the spiritual advantages of kindness to these animals which cannot be of general interest. In explanation of the grammatical point, I suggest that what is meant is the duty of mankind in the humane treatment of cats, and, no doubt, all other animals; but if the word 'love' be in construction with a definite agent, and it be said that "the love of Zayd towards a cat is a part of religion," the application is censurable.

He alone whose knowledge is superior in degree to that of the author of a work should make selections therefrom, otherwise it is not a choice of passages but showing his own merit.

(P. 237.) The legend of Alexander's stratagem against Porus[1] does not carry the appearance of truth. A man thus raised to power by the Almighty does not act in this manner especially when he thinks his end drawing near.

One should write out a quatrain of Omar Khayyam, after reading an ode of Ḥáfiẓ, otherwise the latter is like drinking wine without a relish.

Men give the names of eminent men to their sons. Although it is done by way of good augury, it is not respectful. And what is most curious is that this is chiefly practised by theologians who do not believe in metempsychosis; while the Hindus who do, refrain from it.[2]

It is a remarkable thing that men should insist on the ceremony of circumcision for children who are otherwise excused from the burden of all religious obligations.

If the reason of the prohibition of swine (as food), be due to its vileness, lions and the like should be held lawful.

Burial of the dead is an ancient custom: otherwise why should a traveller on the road of annihilation bear a load. He should return as he came.

One day Ḳalíj Khán brought a register to His Majesty, and said, "I have named this the Khuláṣatu'l Mulk" (the Abstract of the Kingdom). His Majesty replied: "This name would more befit a province, a district, or a town: it should rather be called Ḥaḳíḳatu'l Mulk" (the Real State of the Kingdom). Ḳalíj Khán then represented his own capacity in affairs. Others who were present raised objections: During the discussion his knowledge of mathematics was questioned; on this he was silent. but introduced religion. His Majesty uttered the following verse:

"Hath earth so prospered 'neath thy care,
That heaven thy vigilance must share?"

On one occasion at a meeting for philosophical discussion, one of the poets in the assembly uttered the following couplet:

"The Messiah his friend, Khiẓr his guide, Joseph riding at his rein,
Oh! would that my son might meet with this honour."

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[1] See p. (Alexander of Greece, MS.) He must refer to the passage of the Hydaspes. The morality is somewhat fine-drawn. He might have looked at home for far graver delinquencies.

[2] This is scarcely true. The names of Rám Autár, Krishan or Kishan Chand, Rám Kishan, Arjun, Hanumán, Ganésh and many others are common enough.

His Majesty said "instead of 'my sun' if you read 'my knight', it wou be more appropriate." Discerning judges were loud in applause.

One day the following quatrain of Mulla Ṭálib Iṣfahání, in an elegy on Ḥakím Abu'l Fatḥ and congratulatory on the arrival of Ḥakím Humam,[1] was quoted in His Majesty's presence:—

"My brothers in their love what concord show!
This homeward comes ere that doth journeying go.
That went, and with him all my life he bore;
This comes, and coming doth that life restore."

His Majesty remarked that the word دنباله was prosaic and it would better run, ز رفتنش. The critics much approved.

(P. 239.) Solicitation is reprehensible from every man, especially from those who are disinterested and of lofty spirit for these defile not their hands save with necessities: therefore to solicit of them is to dishonour oneself and them.

Difference of capacity is the cause of the continuance of mankind.

The truth is such that where it reaches the ear it must penetrate the heart. Conviction is irresistible.

The severe illness of the young suggests the doctrine of metempsychosis.

What the divine books say, that great sinners in ancient times were changed into monkeys and boars, is credible.

If the idea were merely that souls were transfused into a few determinate shapes, this would be unworthy; but if the strange workings of destiny joined them to mineral, vegetable and animal life in serial progression till they were exalted to a high dignity, where would be the wonder?

Some of the ancients say that the punishment of each continues through various bodies, and that a body is thus prepared for the expiation of each period—this corroborates the above.

To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this.

The darkness of smoke is due to the absence of light and its own worthlessness.

When the time of death approaches, a certain sadness supervenes, and when it is at hand, a faintness also ensues. This, indeed, indicates that the gift and withdrawal of life are in the hands of God.

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[1] See Vol. I, p. 474.

The ear is the sentinel of the voice. When the speaker becomes deaf he loses the need of speech.

Although thieving is worse than fornication when it is practised when the faculties are first developed and in old age, yet because the commission of the latter grave sin contaminates another as well as the doer thereof, it involves the greater guilt.

It is not right that a man should make his stomach the grave of animals.

The killing of an innocent man is a benevolence towards him, for it is committing him to the mercy of God.

The authority to kill should be his who can give life, and he who performs this duty at the command of right judgment, does so with reference to God.

(P. 240.) When an inheritance passes, while a daughter is alive, to the brother's child, it having been transmitted to the deceased from his father, there is justification, otherwise how can it be equitable?

A city may be defined to be a place where artisans of various kinds dwell, or a population of such an extent that a voice of average loudness will not carry at night beyond the inhabited limits.

A river is that which flows throughout the whole year.

Kingdoms are divided from each other by rivers, mountains, deserts or languages.

In cold climates such as Kábul and Kashmír guns should be made thicker than ordinary, so that dryness and cold may not crack them.

A moderate breeze differs relatively in reference to a mill or a ship, but what is commonly understood by this term is one of sufficient force to extinguish a lamp.

The interpretation of dreams belongs to the world of augury. For this reason it is established that none but a learned man of benevolent character should be entrusted to draw a good omen therefrom.

Rhetoric consists in the language being commensurate with the capacity of the hearer, and that a pregnant meaning shall be pithily expressed in a manner intelligible without difficulty. Eloquence requires the delivery to be accompanied with elegance of diction.

One moral may be drawn from the instances of the ruler of Egypt (Pharaoh),[1] and Ḥusayn Manṣúr (Ḥalláj), namely that presumptive regard of oneself and regard of God are essentially distinguished.

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[1] This I conceive to be the meaning of this allusion. The serious obscurity of language which Abu'l Fazl affects is never more conspicuous than in these records of conversation. The story of Manṣúr is well known: absorbed in his

Dignity is the maintenance of one's station.

A wise man was asked the reason of the long life of the vulture and the short existence of the hawk. He replied, "The one injures no animal, and the other hunts them.

On this His Majesty remarked, "If the penalty to a hawk that lives only on animal life, be a brief span of existence, what shall happen to man who notwithstanding abundant provision of other kinds, does not restrain himself from meat?

Nevertheless, the thought that harmless animals are lawful and animals of prey forbidden food, is full of suggestion.

Learning to speak comes from association, otherwise men would remain inarticulate.

But when the experiment was tried it was shown through the instance of a dumb man, how, though silent in such a case, he might make himself understood by strangers.[1]

(P. 241.) Whosoever imprecates upon another the vengeance of God will not be heard. It was this reflection that comforted a man who had been cursed by others.

Since I used nitre (for cooling water), I recognise the rights of salt (fidelity), in water also.[2]

When I came to India I was much attracted by the elephants, and I thought that the use of their extraordinary strength was a prognostication of my universal ascendancy.

Men are so accustomed to eating meat that were it not for the pain, they would undoubtedly fall to on themselves.

Would that my body were so vigorous as to be of service to eaters of meat who would thus forego other animal life, or that as I cut off a piece for their nourishment, it might be replaced by another.

Would that it were lawful to eat an elephant, so that one animal might avail for many.

Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance, I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether aban-

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pantheism he imprudently gave utterance to the feeling that he was God (*Ana 'l Ḥaḳḳ*), and was executed at Baghdad, in the reign of Al-Muḳtadir

[1] This sentence is omitted by three MSS., and the note marks a variant in another. My interpretation is conjectural, the text being in the opinion of the Editor, corrupt. It is certainly unintelligible.

[2] This is a conceit on the well-known eastern duty of protecting a guest who has eaten of one's salt. This protection does not extend to the offer of water, but the use of nitre gives water this salt and its consequent rights.

it myself is, that many others might willingly forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency.

From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it. I took this feeling to indicate a necessity for protecting animals, and I refrained from animal food.

Men should annually refrain from eating meat on the anniversary of the month of my accession as a thanksgiving to the Almighty, in order that the year may pass in prosperity.

Butchers, fishermen and the like who have no other occupation but taking life, should have a separate quarter and their association with others should be prohibited by fine.

A merchant was approaching his end and his four sons were about to quarrel over his property. He directed them with due counsel, and told them that he had providently bequeathed them equal portions and had left these, one for each, in the four corners of his house, and that when he died they were to take their several shares. When his instructions were carried out, one found gold, another grain, and the other two paper and a bone respectively. Not comprehending this they began to make a disturbance. The King of Hindustan, Sáliváhana, thus interpreted it: "By the bone is meant that cattle should be demanded (by its holder) of the first, and by the paper, a money credit of the second." When the whole was computed, the shares were thus found to be equal.

Ḥasan Sabbáḥ[1] was once on journey by sea with a numerous company. Suddenly a storm arose, and consternation seized the people. He himself was cheerful, and when questioned thereon, he announced to them that they would be saved. On reaching land all of them were assured that the future was revealed to him. In point of fact he was undisturbed through his assurance that the will of God could not be altered, and his announcement of the good tidings of their security was caused by this reflection, that if they were drowned no one could save them; had they thought otherwise they would have taken to (vain) supplication.

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[1] This was the famous chief of the Persian Ismailians and known in the history of the Crusades under the name of the 'Old man of the Mountain',—for such was the interpretation put by the Latin historians on the title Shaykh u'l Jibál, properly signifying Lord of the Mountains, by which is meant, the mountainous district from Iṣfahán to Zanján, Ḳazwín, Hamadán, Dínawar and Ḳirmísín. The name I'ráḳ is commonly given to this tract by the Persians, but improperly according 'to Yáḳút, and is quite a modern term unknown to ancient geographers. He however allows that it is of common usage; the word is also written Jabal. The history of Ḥasan Sabbáḥ is well-known. He ended his reign and life in A. H. 578, (A. D. 1124).

(P. 242.) Ali,[1] called also Kharwá, used to say that he had se person in Baliá[2] whose upper part consisted of two bodies, each possessing a head, eyes, and hands, with but a single body below. The man was married, and a jeweller by profession.

In the year that Bayram Khán received permission to depart for Ḥijáz,[3] a hunting leopard killed a doe near Sikandrah ; a live young one was taken from its stomach. I separated the flesh from the bone myself and gave the leopard its fill. In doing so something pricked my hand. I thought it was a piece of a bone. When carefully examined, an arrow-head was found in its liver. The doe must have been hit by an arrow when young, but by God's protection it had touched no vital part, and did not hinder the animal from waxing strong and becoming pregnant.

A mouse will take an egg in *its* paws and lie on its back, while the others seize him by the tail and drag him into his hole. It will also give a twist to its tail while inserting it into a bottle and draw out opium or whatever else may be inside. There are many such instances of their ingenuity.

If a wolf opens its mouth impelled by desire to seize its prey, it can do so. At other times it cannot open it however much it may wish.[4] When captured it utters no sound.

The difference between mineral and vegetable matter[5] lies in this, that the former is not soluble in water and the latter dissolves.

Once in a game preserve, a tame deer had a fight with a wild one. The latter was cleverly caught. Some of the spectators quoted the following line : "We have never seen any one who could overtake a deer by running." The point was thus explained, that *ahú* "a deer" in Persian, means also "a defect," and this is not (required to be) secured by pursuit and effort.

The marriage of a young child is displeasing to the Almighty, for the object which is intended is still remote, and there is proximate harm. In a religion which forbids the re-marriage of the widow, the hardship is grave.

Marriage between those who are not related is commendable in order that heterogeneity may become kinship, and between relations, the more remote the affinity the closer is the concord ; and what has been recorded of the time of Adam, *viz.*, that as sons and daughters were born to each, the son of one was given to the daughter of another, sustains this view.

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[1] Var. *Khâurá Khárá.*

[2] Var. Malibár, Balísá.

[3] A. H. 968 (1560-1). See Vol. I, p. 317. The spelling of the name as Bayrám is more common than Bayram.

[4] The truth of the statement is not within my experience.

[5] I hazard this interpretation of سنگ و منگ which the editor has marked with a note of interrogation There are several variants in the notes which are of no value.

As to the kinship between cousins being within the permitted degrees under the Muḥammadan law, this was established in the beginning and was analogous to (the custom in) the time of Adam's birth.[1]

To seek more than one wife is to work one's own undoing. In case she were barren or bore no son, it might then be expedient (p. 243).

Had I been wise earlier, I would have taken no woman from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children.

The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price.

It is an ancient custom in Hindustan for a woman to burn herself however unwilling she may be, on her husband's death and to give her priceless life with a cheerful countenance conceiving it to be a means of her husband's salvation.

It is a strange commentary on the magnanimity of men that they should seek their deliverance through the self-sacrifice of their wives.

A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of good. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people, in obedience and praise.

The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship. They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty.

Sovereignty is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes, and the good works of such as have attained to true liberty of spirit also profit these.

A monarch should not himself undertake duties that may be performed by his subjects. The errors of others it is his part to remedy, but his own lapses who may correct?

Sovereignty consists in distinguishing degrees of circumstance and in meting out reward and punishment in proportion thereto.

This quality of appreciation adds dignity to the pursuit of happiness and is the chief source of success.

What is said of monarchs, that their coming brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth. When minerals and vegetables have their peculiar virtues, what wonder if the actions of a specially chosen man should operate for the security of his fellows.

(P. 244.) In the reciprocity of rule and obedience, the sanctions of hope and fear are necessary to the well-ordering of temporal government and the illumination of the interior recesses of the spirit; nevertheless a masterful will, never suffering the loss of self control under the dominance of passion, should weigh well and wisely the measure and occasion of each.

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[1] I omit four of the royal opinions which may be consulted in the original.

Whoever walks in the way of fear and hope, his temporal and spiritual affairs will prosper. Neglect of them will result in misfortune.

Idleness is the root of evils. The duty of one who seeketh his own welfare is to learn a profession and practise it. It is imperative in prefects never to be remiss in watchfulness.

The anger of a monarch like his bounty, is the source of national prosperity.

Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world.

Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration: the adoration of the elect is expressed in their mortification of body and spirit. All strife is caused by this, that men neglecting the necessities of their state, occupy themselves with extraneous concerns.

A king should abstain from four things: excessive devotion to hunting; incessant play; inebriety night and day; and constant intercourse with women.

Although hunting suggests analogies of state policy, nevertheless the first consideration is to be sparing in the destruction of life.

Falsehood is improper in all men, and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God, and a shadow should throw straight.

Prefects should be watchful to see that no one from covetousness transgresses[1] the limits of his own business.

Sháh Ṭahmásp, king of Persia, one night forgot a verse. His torch-bearer quoted it. He punished the speaker somewhat, and said, "When a menial takes to learning he does so at the expense of his duties."

A king should not be familiar in mirth and amusement with his courtiers.

A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him.

The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.

A king should make a distinction in his watch over the goods, the lives, the honour and the religion of his subjects. If those who are led away by greed and passion will not be reclaimed by admonition, they must be chastised.

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[1] Or it may be rendered, though not with strict grammatical propriety, "abandons his own profession."

He who does not speak of monarchs for their virtues will assuredly fall to reproof or scandal in their regard.

The words of kings resemble pearls. They are not fit pendants to every ear.

CONCLUSION.

Praise be to God that this royal treasure of record, this register of knowledge, the syllabus of the volume of wisdom, the summary of administrative writings, the tablet of instruction in the school of learning, the exemplar of ceremonial among men of understanding, the code of polity of the imperial court, this patent of morality in the audience-hall of justice and mercy, has been brought to completion. Much labour had to be endured and many difficulties overcome before the inception of this antidote for the world's constitution, this prophylactic for those envenomed by sensuality and suffering could be successfully undertaken. Many a dark night passed into morning and many a long day grew to eve, ere this mine of the diadem of eternal happiness, this pearl of the throne of everlasting sovereignty could be publicly displayed. What warring of the capacity with the natural constitution took place, how many a struggle between myself and my heart drove me to distraction ere the count of this investigation fleeting as the world, the result of this search deluding as the waters of a mirage, could be set down! Prayers were poured forth before the Almighty throne, supplications were offered up on the threshold of divine light, in order that this amulet on the arm of the wise, this magic spell of those who love knowledge, written in my heart's blood, might have the spirit of life breathed into its lettered form.

What toil endured through love that work so planned,
Watered by tears and blood, should rooted stand!

Alas! Alas! that one nurtured by the divine bounty and long suffused by the radiance of truth, should defile his tongue with murmurs of toil and labour, and record his harrowing of soul and his travail on the tablet of illustration! It is through the wondrous workings of His Majesty's favour and the spell of his enduring prerogative that this dissertation has been set forth and a great work brought to its conclusion. That cynosure of divine unity to the virtuous, by the efficacy of a direct intention and the probity of unswerving rectitude appointed a treasurer to the stores of his wisdom and sagacity, and gave him access to the recesses of his sanctuary. That gem of singlemindedness, in honour of the Supreme Being and in thanksgiving for ever increasing bounties, brought forth a work of knowledge by a master-spirit of wisdom for the profit of inquirers, and a royal mandate from the tabernacle of sanctity for the seekers of happiness. By a sublime favour he endowed this fortunate and loyal nature with the capacity of reading and understanding it, and by his all-embracing condescension permitted me to reproduce somewhat thereof as came within my limited intelligence and to be honoured with the stewardship of the divine bounty. Far and near, friend and stranger, participate therein, and all classes of mankind illumine their minds with the splendour of truth. Thanks be to God that in these noble maxims of conduct, the visible world finds its remedy, and the things of the invisible are by them harmoniously regulated!

The light that o'er seven spheres celestial plays,
Wins all its radiance from imperial rays.
The blind need now no more a staff to take,
While those that see find luminous their ways.

The garden of prosperity blooms unto good-will and for joy has come a day of festival. The eye opens in cheerfulness and the night of sorrow has passed. Many a truth in the orders of nature and grace, and many incidents of binding and loosing have been set down in despite of fraudful concealers of the truth, and an illumination of wisdom is displayed for the guidance of the sightless and faint of heart and for the purblind that lose their way. Through a lofty destiny for which sincere loyalty is another name, a new canopy of wisdom has been erected, and the duty of thanksgiving which is the final cause, has reached its accomplishment.

In honour of my liege, the king,
With all true loyalty I bring
A cypress set in garden fair,
Wherein shall trysting all repair,
And with full draughts of wine elate,
Its happy growth commemorate.

Notwithstanding the coming and going of so many leaders of the caravans of knowledge and the gathering together of treatises from the schools of learning, to-day only can the purity of the jewel of wisdom be assayed and its weight tested by another scale—now only is sovereign intellect arrayed on the throne of empire and its sway enforced by a later ordinance. Now must the field of gift and offering be made wide and the festal melodies and pæans of success resound, but not as Firdausi, who in a grovelling spirit, fell into the aberration of greed and made the curtain of his honour an object for the haggling of traffic. He was a seller of words and knew not their value. Thinking them interchangeable with a few pieces of metal, like shameless hucksters of the market, he lost his credit in stickling for price. *He* sought to make rateable worth incalculable, and the measurable measureless. *This* servitor at the table of multitudinous royal bounties records in this work his gratitude for transcendent favours, and signalizes the wondrous dispensations of the world-adorning Creator of the universe.

Had naught but gold this volume from me wrung,
Life would have ended ere a pearl were strung;
'Twas love that planned the task, for through such strain
Could only love my feeble voice sustain.

Firdausi took thirty years of labour to secure eternal execration, while I have borne with seven years of toil for the sake of everlasting glory. He fused his worth into the cast of verse which is a matrix of determinate shape, and I have strung into writing, gems of the purest water through the infinite expanse of prose.

My pen its point deep in my heart's blood dyes
To write such prose as far all verse outvies;
For prose in its degree doth verse excel,
As unbored pearls the rarest price compel.

What connection is there between the servitor of the Lord and the worshipper of gold? between thanksgiving and lamentation? Self interest let fall a veil before his clear vision in that he sought largesse in the laboratory of genius from the great ones of the earth. Had no defect obscured his sight in his dealings with others, he would not have entered so devious a path nor spoken a line for lucre, and would have secured the possession of the jewel of magnanimity.

When thought of self intrudes doth genius flee,
And the heart blinds the eyes that may not see.
The beam in his own vision what though plain,
The critic quick to cavil seeks in vain;
Absorbed in greed the faults of others hears,
But from his own withholds unwilling ears.

But apart from this consideration that in the markets of wisdom, works that delight the heart cannot be purchased by the gold and silver of the world,[1] and that such gems of price are not to be weighed against coin, by his grace of diction and the charm of his verse he strove to immortalize his name, and has left behind him a noble and gracious scion in the full vigour of youth that will survive to ages. To the rich and prosperous it adds another dignity: the wise that love truth it favours with another aid. The simple-minded that seek after happiness are familiarized with the gains and losses of life, and it pours out for the many who resent the disappointments of toil, the healing balm of resignation. To the faint of heart it lends courage: to those who have the craft of the fox it gives the boldness of the lion and the fury of the alligator. Upon the intolerant and narrow-minded it bestows cheerfulness and large views, and stimulates the magnanimous and raises them to the pinnacle of greatness.

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[1] I omit the *iẓáfat* after روزگار and place سیم in construction with it.

Although to outward appearance he was but rendering a service to the great ones of the earth, he was implicitly bearing the jewels of his wisdom to the market of appreciation. Had he not been under the influence of cupidity, nor exposed his penetrating genius to the spoil of misplaced desire, he could never have been sufficiently grateful for the divine favour in the opportunity of winning the applause and admiration of mankind. Nay, had he possessed any sense of justice and any knowledge of the world, besides this rare product of intellect, he would have carried some substantial offering to the throne of majesty, in order that the royal approval might be the means of displaying the quality of his jewel, and that he might bequeath as a gift of price, a memorial to his successors in the pursuit of intellectual fame.

Praise be to God! that by the divine grace and providential assistance, I have not set my heart upon the composition of this work with a view to approbation or to listen to my own praises, into which pitfall of the imagination so many have sunk, nor suffered my natural constitution to be trodden under foot by ambition, not even with regard[1] to the large field of its acquired characteristics, far less its innate qualities in any abundance.

He who is deficient in a lofty spirit and noble sentiments is ensnared by a desire of worldly goods. But even the stranger knows that the odour of misrepresentation has not entered my nostrils, and the alien recognises in me a critical judge. What analogy is there between the painted silks of China and the raw yarn of a hair-rope maker? between a keen blade of Egypt and a piece of coarse iron? How can the priceless gem of truth descend to the level of worldly potsherds? Why exchange eternal bliss for the silvered inanities that soon decay? And especially at this time when by the wondrous workings of destiny and a smiling fortune, priceless jewels are but as gravel before the palace of auspiciousness, and my loyal spirit, illumined by the rays of wisdom, has found rest on the heights of joy. Were I even destitute of the goods that pass from hand to hand in the market-square of the material world, and fortune through malice or fickleness, sent not wealth to serve me, I would never entertain such a feeling nor approve in my own person such imprudence in affairs. On the contrary, my first thought is the praise of God, in that the deeds of majesty have been illustrated by commendable description. The second consideration of the mind with a view to human needs is that the eminent men of future time and the learned of the present, may bring up gems of purest ray from this fathomless sea to beautify the mansions of their deeds. Had I possessed a lofty spirit, I should not have descended from the summit of the heights of unity to the level of polytheism, but what is to be done?[1] I quote the words used by the leader of the enlightened minds of the past, the spiritual doctor (Mauláná Rúmí)—

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[1] I should alter the punctuation of the text and place the stop after طبیعت او. The difference between فطرت and طبیعت is that the former signifies the essential nature of individual man, the latter the super-induced accidents of temperament which are more under his control.

Since I am linked with those who see awry,
Idolater! I, too, must preach idolatry.

Though every one cannot comprehend the object of this fast in the morning of existence and this mirage in the noon of life, I think that all should perceive and bear in mind that the exertions of the wise and the good should be restricted to two objects, and the supreme purpose of pursuit in those of lofty penetration and wakeful destiny should not exceed these. The *first* is to secure the benediction of God and to lay the foundations of a stately fabric in the pleasant meads of His holy pleasure, and this is the means to eternal life and the ornature of enduring bliss. Those who choose that country for their abode go not down unto death, and the sound of body therein behold not the face of sickness. Its vigorous dwellers know not of debility, nor those that thrive there, of decay. Wealth does not decline in poverty, and loss of vision enters not therein. This is to be obtained only by a sincere intention and the possession of the four excellent qualities together with the avoidance of the eight vicious characteristics of which books of wisdom have fully treated. The *second* is a good repute in this fleeting world, which signifies an enduring existence and a second life. Although this also is accomplished through the same source of enlightenment by which a virtuous disposition is formed, yet it is chiefly secured by a smooth tongue and an open hand, and sincerity of intention and rectitude of mind are not imperative. Blest is he who by the divine auspices links the first with the second, and prospers in the temporal as well as in the spiritual world. The means adopted by the seekers of truth to participate in social enjoyments and yet to win peace with some comfort to their consciences, are these, that with strenuous endeavour and by the favour of fortune, they separate good resolutions and virtuous conduct from the disorders of self-regard and the labyrinth of hypocrisy, and submitting their minds to the dictates of sovereign reason and the divine pleasure, live apart from the blame and praise of mankind; and the profit which these simple dealers obtain from their inestimable lives and the advantage secured by their exertions, are a perpetual remembrance and an illustrious name.

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[1] This language, considering the dedication of the volume and the eye under which it was written, cannot be taken as an expression of regret at his accredited apostasy from Islam and conversion to Hinduism, but to imply the necessity of following the language of conventionality though pledged to the support of his master's creed. Nevertheless his sincerity in his adhesion to Akbar's faith was suspected. See Vol. I. Biography xvii.

The leaders in the four quarters of the visible and invisible worlds, and the deep thinkers that betake themselves both to occupation and retirement, who through their comprehensive views and wide survey of the field of knowledge penetrate the mysteries of these two sublime principles, sustain by the grace of God the weight of the two worlds on the shoulders of their capacity, and in the strength of the Almighty arm move lightly under the burden. The harmonious operation of these two opposite interests, one alone of which is rarely attainable under the most capable and statesmanlike administrators even under the sanction of penal law, is by them so successfully carried out under the guidance of celestial favour that the primordial intelligence of nature itself stands amazed and the wonder-working heavens are confounded. By them, moreover, the sources of advantage and detriment, both temporal and spiritual, are commanded, and these antagonistic dual elements simultaneously co-operate in the establishment of festal conviviality of intercourse. And for exemplar of such a one, lo! from the brow of this prosperous reign that irradiates the face of the State, what splendour is reflected and as a glory shines upon the raiser of its auspicious banner in this our happy age! For to-day the skies revolve at his will and the planets in their courses move by his sublimity.

Akbar, the king, illumines India's night,
And is as a lamp in the court of the House of Timour.

The heart exults at his mention and the tongue vaunts his praise. May the Almighty vouchsafe long life to this incomparable wonder of the kingdom of wisdom, and eternal happiness to his subjects. This sovereign of the orders of nature and grace, by the light of his God-given intelligence and the night-beacon of his powerful will has so organized the measureless limits of these two dominions and moves through them with such prudence and sagacity, that aspiring discerners of each form of progress look to no other than him, and each and all consider as their own this pearl of wisdom that enlightens the world. Since the time that eloquence and knowledge of affairs have existed and the highway of literary composition been frequented, so exquisite and exact a co-operation of two antagonistic principles in a single hallowed person has never been recorded—a person who is the meeting of the oceans of church and state, the fountainhead of temporal and spiritual order—who prepares the litters of travel while yet abiding in his native land[1]—a lamp for those who gather in privacy, a solver of trammels to those who are in bonds, a balm for the open wounds of the broken-hearted. Manifold worldly cares raise no dust of defect in his heart that loves retirement, and perpetual prayer and a concentrated mind suffer no breeze of pre-occupation to play upon the necessary duties of his station. Thus he has outward obligation with liberty of spirit.

Lo! from his brow behold the pure of sight
God's love and knowledge beam with radiant light.
A crowned monarch—a throne's rightful heir—
Lord of the world—the kingdom's founder there!

It is imperative upon the ambition of all masters of eloquence to decorate the ears and throat of the age with a description of the virtues of such a choice specimen of the court of existence and to adorn with its beauty the bosom and skirt of Time. A rare treasure will thus be prepared for future travellers in the caravans of being, and seekers from afar will come into the possession of knowledge. Although the spheres themselves in their courses by gesture and speech, tell thereof and transmit it to succeeding generations, yet by the workings of destiny accidents befal and the thread of continuity is often severed. When, however, works are written to record these wondrous deeds and they are inscribed upon the tablets of time, the hand of vicissitude less frequently affects them and they endure to distant ages. A fabric that is laid upon virtue, the summit of the porches thereof reaches to the pinnacles of the seventh heaven, and a foundation whereon fortune builds is not sapped by revolving cycles.

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[1] That is, preparing for the world to come while yet in this, or facilitating the salvation of others.

Behold the recompense of noble toil
That guards the Cæsars' halls from Time's despoil!

It is evident that of mighty monarchs of old there is no memorial except in the works of the historians of their age, and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicious annalists, yet the ravages of time obliterate them not. Of the splendour of the House of Buwayh no record exists save in the labours of the pens of Ṣábi[1] and Muhallabí, and the noble pages of Rúdakí, U'nṣari and U'tbí alone tell of the glories of the kings of Ghazní.

Maḥmúd hath many a palace raised on high,
That with the moon might well dispute the sky:
Yet of all these no stone doth now remain,
While Time doth roll o'er U'nṣarí in vain.

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[1] Abú Isḥáḳ Ibráhím-b-Hilál, aṣ-Ṣábí or the Sabean, author of some celebrated Epistles, was clerk of the Baghdad Chancery office in which he acted as secretary to the Caliph al-Muṭí l'illáh and to I'zzu'd Daulah Bakhtyár of the family of Buwayh the Daylamite. He was born about A. H. 320 (A. D. 932), and died in 384 (A. D. 994.) He remained a strict Sabean and would not change his religion notwithstanding the solicitations of I'zzu'd Daulah. He wrote a history of the Buwayh dynasty under the title of *Táju'l Milal* or *Táju'l Daylamíyah*. See Ibn Khall and D'Herbelot. The latter precedes the notice of this personage with an account of the Sabean doctrines.

Al-Muhallabí was descended from Ibn Abí Ṣufra al-Azdí and was appointed Wazír by Mu'izzu'd Daulah Ibn Buwayh in A. H. 339 (A. D. 950). Ibn Khallakán says that his powerful influence and firm administration, as well as his acquaintance with literature, made him celebrated. He was born in A. H. 291 (A. D. 903) and died in A. H. 352 (963), and was buried at Baghdad. A few of his verses are given by his biographer, but there is no mention of any work of his composition. It is more probable that Ṣábí and Muhallabí would never have been heard of but for the House of Buwayh whose history is involved in, and survives with the annals of the Arabian Caliphate of which they were at one time masters. Their dominion extended over I'raḳ, Persia, Khúzistán, Ahwáz, Ṭabaristán, Gurján and Mazenderán under seventeen princes, and finally passed into the hands of the dynasty of Seljúk.

Rúdakí flourished in the reign of Amír Naṣr, son of Aḥmad of the Samánide dynasty, and was extraordinarily favoured by that prince. He turned the Arabic translation of Pilpay's 'Fables' into Persian verse in A. H. 313 (A. D. 925), and was the first who wrote a *Díwán* or collection of odes in Persian. He died in A. H. 343 (A. D. 954). Beale. U'nṣari lived in the court of Maḥmúd of Ghazní and wrote an heroic poem on the deeds of Sulṭán Maḥmúd. He was also the author of a *Díwán*. He ranked not only as one of the first poets in that celebrated court, but was versed in all the learning of that age. His death is placed variously in A. H. 1040 and 1049. For U'tbí see Vol. II. p. 34 n. 7.

Whosoever comprehends this talisman of prudence, this spell of enlightened research, and appreciates these characters of thought and this lawful sorcery, will perceive this much, that my intention is to apprize far and near of these two attributes of high sovereignty and to lay the stable foundations of an enduring dominion. By this means the writer will secure a determinate sustenance from these divine treasures and a large provision from the table of manifold graces.

This lasting work I consecrate to Fame,
And to all time commemorate his name;
Above its page its syllables enrolled
Shall turn the pen that writes them into gold.

But if through the strange effects of self-interest such fact is unperceived and this pious intention is hidden from his view, at least this measure of knowledge will be secured and the collyrium of vision in this sufficiency will be prepared, that the design of the mind that employs the pen and the object of this benevolent purpose is the happiness of the people at large and the prosperity of the commonwealth. The primary purpose of these annals of wisdom is the distinguishing of right from wrong, for the feet of many have been worn in the search of this recognition and have effected nothing; and secondly, to appreciate the results of virtuous and vicious conduct, of which this work is full. From the one he will learn how to garnish and sweep his house, from the other, to order the ways of his life. When he meets with prosperity and joy, finding no trace of those that have passed away, he will not admit the inroads of presumption; and if sorrow oppress him when among such as have gone before, no exemplars thereof remain, he will not surrender himself to its sway, but among the accidents of life, seated upon the prayer-carpet of enlightenment, he will be assiduous in praise and supplication before the Supreme Giver, and from the impotence and helplessness of the strong that are no more, he will perfectly comprehend the power of the Omnipotent hand. Dumb as I am and dejected of heart, what are these vain imaginings and this apparatus of chronicle and pen-craft! What connection is there between enemies of the flesh who love retirement, and the showy and affected scribblers of the world? And what analogy between those who abate the price of their own wares and the displayers of adulterated goods?

My thoughts do modestly my works decry[1]
While Gebirs, Moslems hawking run, "who'll buy?"

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[1] The reader of the preceding pages will scarcely be of this opinion.

How shall I write of the strange ways of fortune and the delusive workings of destiny? In the beginnings of knowledge, I was overwhelmed with sorrow at the thought of existence, and at sacred places and auspicious times I prayed for release from the flesh. But, unawares, my spirit drew me by degrees to the school of research, and in confusion of heart which leads men astray, I sought the world. The ordinary course of learning was opened before me, and my mind became stored with ample measure of knowledge which raised in me an extraordinary arrogance. Under the guidance of a happy fortune, from a perusal of the works of the ancients, my mind was convinced that men must necessarily be comprised under three classes. The *first* is characterized by evil disposition and conduct, and this is evidenced in the traducing of one's neighbour and disclosing his faults. The *second* by good intentions and virtuous purposes; and the possessor of these they describe as half a man. From amiableness in his judgments and a large tolerance of views, he speaks charitably of all men. The *third* by a lofty spirit and eminent virtue; and these reveal the perfect man. The master of these qualities from transcendent elevation of mind, regards not mankind at all, and, therefore, much less virtue and vice in the abstract. Objective ideas find no entrance into his mind. His contemplation ever traverses the field of his own heart, and discovering his own defects, he labours to remedy them, and finally he adorns the sanctuary of his soul with the true principles of virtue in the hope of attaining by their means to the goal of deliverance in the fruition of eternal bliss.[1] When I read these seductive and winning numbers on the dice-tables of wisdom,[2] I woke somewhat from my slumber and began to inquire. Withdrawing from worldly concerns, I fell to a critical introspection and began to transcribe the roll of my sins. When I had traversed a portion of this terrible road, veils in fold on fold were suspended before my vision. It seemed as though I could not advance a step, and save a few venial errors which I had committed in my youth, I believed myself innocent. As the very delusion of this mocking fancy awoke me to consciousness, I was not undone by my spiritual enemies. I was compelled to turn back and alighted at the first station of abstraction from being, and made the transcription of the failings of my fellow creatures a mirrored reflection of my own. I thus became aware of many reprehensible qualities. In this ghostly and spiritual warring and distress of mind and body, leaving the recess of seclusion, I came to the court of His Majesty and the star of my fortune rose on the horizon of desire. By his great condescension His Majesty resolved my doubts, and I surmounted the heights of the visible and invisible worlds. I was honoured with the guardianship of the treasure of truth and entrusted with the keys of familiar intercourse, as has been briefly adverted to at the close of the first and second books. My heart emptied itself forth, and a treatise on morals was composed. A new life arose in the framework of language. For a long period the provision of bodily sustenance, the furnishing of which is approved in the truth-desiring eyes of sovereign reason, made my mind uneasy. What I had read in ancient works, occasioned only further bewilderment. One morning I craved for a scintillation from the court of the lord of light, and sought the exhibition of the talisman that resolved all difficulties. And as fortune befriended me and my heart was attentive, a refulgence from the luminary of grace shed its rays and the wondrous enigma was solved, and it was made clear that daily provision was under the pledge of royal justice and the acceptance of duty by grateful servants, as I have to some extent notified at the beginning of the last book.[1] Most strange of all, however much from time to time the desire for seclusion which was innate in me renewed its impulse, the thought of increased worldly advancement likewise gained strength. With this provision secured of appropriate sustenance and due supply of bodily vigour[2] on which the success of every undertaking depends, I withdrew from various other pre-occupations and turned my attention strenuously to military matters,[3] and like those exclusively occupied in business, whom more solemn considerations do not affect, severing not the night from day, I sat at the gate of expectation. Since in this profession centres the interest of life and it adorns the acquisition of perfect and accurate judgment, in uniting the coruscation of political ability with the glitter of the sword, my whole ambition was to perform some service and to dare some signal deed in honour of this chosen profession, which would astonish even experienced statesmen and amaze the perusers of the history of the ancients, in order that the duties I had undertaken might be adequately fulfilled. This desire every moment increased, but the inopportuneness of the season suffered me not to speak. I had come from a religious house and a college to the royal court. Those who regard outward circumstances only might impute designs to me that had never crossed my mind, and I judged from appearances that if this secret intention got wind, they would blame me and loosen the tongue of reproach. But since the luminous mind of majesty is a mirror of verities and a world-displaying cup,[1] without representation on my part or communication, the king vouchsafed to favour and honour with a commission my obscure personality that was unassisted by patronage, and raised me to an exalted rank and to the degree of a very distinguished command.[2] For some days among the learned at their meetings considerable jealousy was excited, and the courtiers had for a long time banded together in envy against me. It was a strange co-incidence that I should be about the arsenal in search of a sword, while fate would force a pen into a master hand. I was examining the burnish of the lance-head while destiny was sharpening the point of the reed in order that the ordinances of the sovereign might be reverently proclaimed in the publication of these important records. I was a prey to conflicting emotions. Since I had not the capacity for this office, and my mind had no inclination to this kind of historiography, I was on the point of declaring my incompetence and standing aside, withdrawing from so onerous a task. But as I was impressed with His Majesty's knowledge of things that are hidden and with the obligation of responding to his favours by some signal service, I was unable to decline his command. The thought then occurred to me that His Majesty had in view my own application and industry as well as the literary capacity of my brethren,[3] so that the materials which I might with indefatigable assiduity collect together, that accomplished and eloquent writer[4] might harmoniously set in order and thus bring to completion this stupendous task. In a little while under the strenuous support of a will of miraculous efficacy, I opened my eyes to an interior illumination, and reflected that the royal command was a magic inspiration to literary effort and a talisman for the illumining of wisdom. With a sincere mind and a lofty determination this complex of sorrow and joy set his face to the duty. My chief reliance was in this, that by the grace of the divine favour, having diligently collected the necessary facts and given material embodiment to their spiritualized form, the eulogist of the court of the Caliphate, the erudite scholar of the Imperial House, the first writer of his age, the laureate among accomplished poets, Shaykh Abu'l Fayz-i-Fayzi my elder brother and superior, would graciously supervise it, and under the correction of that master of style, a fresh texture would be hand-woven into a fabric of beauty.

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[1] The influence of the Sanskrit Schools of Philosophy is here very distinct. This passage breathes the spirit of the Vedanta.

[2] These figures of speech may remind the reader of Praed's lines on Macaulay's appearance at the debating union at Cambridge.

"The favourite comes with his trumpets and drums,
And his arms and his metaphors crossed."

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[1] As a euphemistic, circumlocutory and unconsciously humorous description of an application for salary, this passage is, perhaps, unequalled in any literature.

[2] He required a large provision. His enormous appetite needed for its gratification or surfeit twenty-two *sérs* of solid food daily. See Vol. I. Biography, xxviii.

[3] Both Abul Fazl and his brother Faizí entered the military service, then the only profession. See Vol. I. Biography, xv.

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[1] The cup or mirror of Jamshíd, as well as of Solomon, Cyrus, and of Alexander, which mirrored the universe, according to Oriental tradition. See p. 330.

[2] He received in 1585, the command of a thousand horse. In 1592 he was promoted to be commander of two thousand horse, and about 1595 to the command of two thousand five hundred horse, and became one of the grandees of the empire. See Vol. I. xv, xviii, and xxi.

[3] For the names of these see Vol. I., xxxiii.

[4] His brother Fayzí.

Scarce half of the first book had been written, when destiny worked its spell, and that free spirit in the fulness of its knowledge, took its last journey and afflicted my heart with an exceeding grief. When, by the talisman of the royal sympathies, I was recalled from the desire of aimless wandering to the city of service, manifold kindnesses were as a balm to the open wound of my soul, and I applied myself zealously to my great task. A light dawned on me as to the object of the royal command and the aim of its lofty view. I brought my mind to that consideration and with a prayer to the Almighty, I set out on the road. On the one hand lay the painful feeling of incompetency and a heart overwhelmed with affliction and stress of occupation which no material successes however numerous could remedy, and the ulcers of which no profusion of outward gratifications could salve,—on the other was the ebb and flow of the sea of my heart wherein human efforts were of no avail, nor could the door of its secret retirement be closed and the busy world kept out! How can I describe the violent conflict of these two unusual states of mind, or with what capability express the intercurrency of this strange dual operation. The first conjured up in the clear recesses of my mind, a fanciful play of wave and leap of fountain with swirl of rain and fall of dew; it wove a thousand fictions and suggested frequent supernatural interventions and seemed to assure him who chose it, of the attainment of the truth and the honour of presidency in the state-council of wisdom. From the second, a vision of flinty stones, of strewn fragments of brick and as of clod-heaps and scatterings of blackened soil appearing from the same source of discernment, arose with a warning aspect. Coarseness of speech, scurrility, vauntings and vain babble of which the characteristics are a moral decadence and a desire of associating with the base, time after time, in a novel guise came flaunting by. Accompanying this miserable condition and disorder of mind, the stress of helplessness and isolation now and again received a fresh impulse. Although it is the way of the world seldom to form bonds of attachment, but rather the more constantly to sever the ties of friendship, my plain speaking and discernment of hypocrisy co-operated with this worldly tendency. Some friends of Baber's household and intimates of long standing withdrew from association with me. With the burden of affairs on my shoulders and journeying over inequalities of ground and moving through perilous paths, how could I in utter loneliness, reach half way on the road, or when arrive at my destination? But by the advent to the gardens of blessedness of one or two godly friends who in this dearth of manhood were obtained by me, I triumphed over all my difficulties.

Strangely enough, with all this apparatus that inspired fear and this struggle within and without, I did not withold my hand from writing nor did my resolution flag, nay rather, every moment fresh vigour was aroused in me and this momentous conflict grew stronger and the strife of the flesh and the spirit increased until the light of truth shone forth and my difficulties were solved, the wondrous effects of the holy spirit of Majesty were again evidenced in me, and my heart and vision were flooded with an extraordinary light. The writings of the wise of ancient times to some extent corroborated the accuracy of my own course and exculpated my sorry conscience with its ignoble tendencies. What the sages of old affirm is this, that the leader of the caravans of hallowed sovereignty is supreme over high and low, and that the pleasant mead of spiritual and temporal concerns blooms fair under the beneficent lustre of such unique wonder of the world of wisdom: moreover that the visible ruler who is the chosen among thousands of mankind to reduce to order the scattered elements of social organisation holds sway over all men, but his power extends only to their bodies and finds no access to their souls. The lords of spiritual dominion, on the other hand, have no authority save over pure consciences, as the practice of the saints in general and of all holy men illustrates. The ordinary class of professors of learning and the shallow sciolists of the world influence solely the minds of the vulgar, and the effect of their instruction is to be found only in such waste ground. But as the monarch of our time has been appointed sovereign likewise over the invisible world, his sacred inspiration has wrought these extraordinary effects in me who am rude of speech, ignorant and helpless, and raised me from the deeps of ignorance to the heights of knowledge.

With joyful omens blest, my strain
Shall celebrate his glorious reign;
His praises shall my pen proclaim,
And here enshrine his royal name.

My first care was to collect by the aid of heaven, all the transactions of his enduring reign, and I used exceptional and unprecedented diligence in order to record the chief events of my own time. In many of these occurrences I bore a personal share, and I had a perfect knowledge of the under-currents and secret intrigues of State, to say nothing of the ordinary drift of public affairs. And since the insinuations of rumour had prejudiced me and I was not sure of my own memory, I made various inquiries of the principal officers of State and of the grandees and other well-informed dignitaries; and not content with numerous oral statements, I asked permission to put them into writing, and for each event I took the written testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons. The flagrant contradictory statements of eye-witnesses had reached my ears and amazed me, and my difficulties increased. Here was date of an event not far distant—the actors in the scenes and transactions actually present—their directing spirit exalted on the throne of actual experience—and I with my eyes open observing these manifold discrepancies. By the blessing of daily-increasing favour I determined to remedy this, and set my mind to work out a solution. The perplexity disentangled itself and my bewildered state of mind began to grow calm. By deep reflection and a careful scrutiny, taking up the principal points in which there was general agreement, my satisfaction increased, and where the narrators differed from each other I based my presentation of facts on a footing of discriminate investigation of exact and cautious statements, and this somewhat set my mind at ease. Where an event had equal weight of testimony on both sides, or anything reached me opposed to my own view of the question, I submitted it to His Majesty and freed myself from responsibility. By the blessing of the rising fortunes of the State and the sublimity of the royal wisdom, together with the perfect sincerity of the inquirer and his wakeful destiny, I was completely successful and arrived at the summit of my wishes.

When I had safely traversed these difficult defiles, a work of considerable magnitude was the result. But since at this formidable stage, in the arrangement of these events no minute regard to details had taken place, and their chronological sequence had not been satisfactorily adjusted, I commenced the methodizing of my materials anew, and began to rewrite the whole, and I took infinite pains especially bestowing much attention on the chronology of the Divine Era. And since I had the assistance of the highest scientific experts, this task also was with facility completed and a separate table was drawn out. When through supernatural illumination, the announcement of a new basis of computation entered the ear of intelligence, that old and tattered garment was cast aside and a robe of honour newly woven of grace, was substituted, and by the power of the Being who created speech, this great work, with all the difficulties it presented, was brought to a conclusion, and numerous expressions of satisfaction were felicitously evoked.

As this world of tribulation is not a home for the wise of heart, the more so that friends who live for the happiness to come are covered by the veil of concealment and on account of the ingratitude of the incapable, have withdrawn their hearts from participation in the false shows of its delusive scene, I looked upon each of my days as though it were to be my last, and employed myself only in the preparations for my final journey. In this sorrowful condition I hastened along my road, and the labours on the fulfiment of which I had counted were not ordered according to my desire. As by the decree of destiny my life was still prolonged, for the fourth time I renewed the task and gave it all my solicitude. Although my first efforts were now directed to remove all superfluous repetitions, and give continuity to the easy flow of my exposition, I perceived the incomplete arrangement of my fresh materials, and the due ordering of this was undertaken. And since I was new to the road and stricken with grief and friendless, an exceeding depression of spirit came upon me, in that, with all my toil and with such excessive care these many lapses had occurred and such frequent errors had appeared. What would be the result, and where would it all end? I began a fifth revision and went over the work from the beginning. Although all my acknowledged endeavours were directed to immortalize these events and to place their issues in due order, yet as sagacious writers consider that verse is as the savour of salt to prose, I took much pains in the introduction of a few stanzas which should be in harmonious accord with the composition, and many a correction and emendation was made, independently of any consideration of the cavils of numberless critics. The truth is that men close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring. However much they may oppose the feeling, these defects are approved as merits. I who have made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others, could employ no collyrium regarding this question, nor devise any remedy for this defect of vision, but on this five-fold revision a rumour of this new development spread abroad. Some of my acquaintances joined in supporting me; others were as unanimous in an underhand depreciation. I formed a resolution, for the sixth time, to set my mind free of its waverings of suggestions, and to exercise the most minute and fastidious criticism; but the frequent calls upon me made by His Majesty left me no time.

I was compelled-therefore to present him with this fifth revision, and was rewarded with a perpetual satisfaction.

What mine hath ever yielded gem so fair?
What tongue-born treasure can with this compare?
Beneath each letter is a world concealed,
Each word's expanse shows worlds on worlds revealed.
Its every pearl bedecks the earth and sky,
And if ye see it not—be yours the penalty.

It is my hope that by the blessings of a sincere intention and its own merits, the task which was set before my grateful heart may be happily concluded, and my mind be disburdened in some measure from the distress of its many anxieties. Within the space of seven years, by the aid of a resolute will and a lofty purpose; a compendious survey covering a period from Adam down to the sacred person of the prince regnant, has been concluded, and from the birth of His Imperial Majesty to this day, which is the 42nd of the Divine Era,[1] and according to the lunar computation 1006, the occurrences of fifty-five years of that nursling of grace have been felicitously recorded, and my mind has been lightened in some degree of its stupendous burden.

The princely heart that virtue dowers,
For him gems bloom instead of flowers,
And hill and dale his kingdom round
Shall with their monarch's praise resound.

It is my expectation to write in four volumes[2] a record of the transactions of the royal house during one hundred and twenty years, which are four generations, that it may stand as a memorial for those who seek knowledge in justice, and with the Institutions of His Majesty as the concluding book, I purposed the completion of the Akbarnámah in these five volumes. By the aid of the Almighty three have been written, and many a secret of wisdom has been revealed and a treasure of truth weighed in the balance.

I bear from wisdom's inmost store
The royal House this treasured lore,
And pray its justice and its grace
May ne'er my memory efface.
And let this loyal offering be
Accepted of its Majesty.
May God His favour grant benign,
And His acceptance deign with thine,
And raise its dignity on high
With thy name's glorious currency,
That it from thee may win renown
And link my fortunes with the throne.

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[1] The epoch of the Divine Era was Friday, the 5th of Rabii' II. A.H. 963. (19th February 1556.)

[2] See Vol. I. Preface.

If destiny in its wondrous workings gives me leisure and capricious fortune, opportunity, the remaining two books shall be satisfactorily terminated and form a history of deeds replete with attraction. If not, let others, guided by grace and a propitious fate, set down, year by year, the events of this enduring reign, with a lofty resolution and unremitting industry, in right understanding, with a noble purpose and in a spirit of freedom, rendering populous the habitations of Church and State and fertilizing the gardens of grace and nature with refreshing waters. Let them not forget this obscure wanderer in the desert of aberration and in their glad work acknowledge their obligations to me who first displayed the continuous succession of this series, and suggested to them the manner of its record. But if this be not approved and they desire by recommencing on a new method or fashion of language of the day to compile the transactions of this never-fading dominion,

Be it unto thy peoples' welfare, Lord,
Beneath the shadow of King Akbar's sway.

REGARDING SOME ACCOUNTS OF THE AUTHOR.

The writer of this important work had it in his mind to draw up a memoir of his venerable ancestors and some particulars of strange incidents in his own life, and form of them a separate volume which should be a source of instruction to the intelligent who look afar; but various occupations, especially the composition of this work, absorbed his attention to the exclusion of all else. At this juncture a secret inspiration prompted the thought that the world would not welcome the detailed journals of personal biography in an isolated form, and that it would be more opportune to append an account thereof to this work and to intersperse here and there some practical and didactic comments. Accepting this happy suggestion, I have thrown off this sketch and liberated my soul.

Since to vaunt of lineage is to traffic from empty-handedness with the bones of one's ancestors and to bring the wares of ignorance to market, and is to be foolishly vain of the merits of others while blind to one's own defects, I was unwilling to touch the subject or indulge in such idle vapouring. In this demon-haunted wilderness, to be linked by any chain deters advance and the irrigation of the genealogy of the outer world is of no profit to the interior spirit.

Be not, as fools, alone thy father's son ;
Forget thy sire ; choose merit for thine own.
What though should fire beget a scion as bright,
Smoke can be ne'er the progeny of light.

In ordinary parlance genealogy signifies seed, race, tribe and the like, and the term embraces the distinctions of high and low. Any rational man recognises that the one reverts to the other, inasmuch as among intermediaries in the line of descent some one individual has become distinguished for material wealth or spiritual eminence, and thus become celebrated by name or title or profession or place of birth; whereas the vulgar who, though accounting mankind to be the sons of Adam their primitive father, yet by attending to romantic fictions accept only these assumptions, are evidently[1] led astray in this matter by the remoteness of the line and do not realize the actuality of that patriarch. Why then should any upright and discerning man be deluded by these fables and trusting to them, withdraw from the pursuit of truth? What availed the son of Noah his father's communion with the Almighty, and how did the idolatry of his race injure Abraham the friend of God?

Jámí! serve God through love, nor lineage heed,
For such road knows no son of this or that.

Nevertheless through the decrees of fate I am linked to worldlings and associated with those who give priority to birth above worth. Thus I am compelled to alude to it, and to furnish a table for such as them.

The count of honourable ancestry is a long history. How may I retail their holy lives for the unworthy inquisitiveness of the moment? Some wore the garb of saints, some were immersed in secular studies, some were clothed in authority,[2] some engaged in commerce and others led lives of solitude and retirement. For a long period the land of Yemen was the home of these high born and virtuous men. Shaykh Músa,[3] my fifth ancestor, in his early manhood, withdrew from association with his fellows. Abandoning his home he set out on travel, and accompanied only by his knowledge and his deeds he traversed the habitable globe with a step that profited by what he saw. In the ninth century by the decrees of heaven, he settled in quiet retirement at Rél, a pleasant village of Sewistán, and married into a family of God-fearing and pious people. Although he had come from the desert to a civilized town, he did not exchange his retired habits for the occupations of the world. Ever contemplative on his prayer-carpet of introspection, he wrestled in prayer with himself and spent his precious days in the ordering of the wayward spirit.

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[1] The punctuation is faulty, and the stop after ندهند should be omitted.

[2] The text has عمارت which I think must be an error for امارت. The former word coupled with زی has no meaning.

[3] Cf. Vol. I. Biography of Abul Fazl.

His virtuous sons and grandchildren following his example lived happily, and were instructed in the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of philosophy. In the beginning of the tenth century Shaykh Khiẓr set out impelled with the desire of visiting the saints of India and of seeing Ḥijáz and the people of his own tribe.. Accompanied by a few of his relatives and friends he came to India. At the city of Nágor, Mír Sayyid Yaḥyá Bokhárí of Uch, who was successor to Makhdúm-i-Jahániyán[1] and had a large portion of the spirit of sanctity, Shaykh Ạbdúr Razzáḳ Ḳádirí of Baghdaḍ (who was one of the distinguished descendants of that paragon among eminent saints, Sayyid Ạbdu'l Ḳádir Jílí,[2] and Shaykh Yúsuf Sindí who had traversed the fields of secular and mystic lore and had acquired many perfections of the religious life, were engaged in the instruction and guidance of the people, and multitudes were profiting by their direction. In his zeal and affection for these eminent teachers and under the attractive influence of the soil of this ancient country, that wandering exile there took up his abode.

In the year A. H. 911 (A. D. 1505), Shaykh Mubárak (my father) came forth from the realm of conception into visible personality and was clothed in the mantle of existence. Through a miraculous efficacy of will, at the age of four he displayed the light of his intelligence and a daily-increasing illumination shone from his auspicious countenance. When nine years old he was already considerably well-informed, and at fourteen had run through the usual course of the studies and had by heart the text-books of every science. Although the grace of God guided the caravan of his wakeful fortune and he had received alms from the street of many a learned mystic, he principally attended Shaykh Ạtan through whose instruction he increased his interior thirst. This Shaykh was of Turkish extraction and lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. In the reign of Sikandar Lodi he had taken up his residence in that city and had attained to an eminent degree of knowledge under Shaykh Sálár of Nágor who had studied in Írán and Túrán.

Briefly to resume, Shaykh Khiẓr returned to Sind, his whole object being to bring some of his relations back with him to this country. He died on his journey. Meanwhile a severe famine had befallen Nágor, and an epidemic plague added to the disaster. Except his mother, all other members of his family perished. A resolution to travel had always been uppermost in the enlightened mind of my venerable father, and the desire of seeing the eminent doctors of every land and of soliciting their godly assistance was vehement within him; but that queen of virtue, his lady mother, suffered him not, and no thought of disobeying her entered his righteous mind. In this hesitancy of spirit, he came under Shaykh Fayyází of Bokhárá—may God sanctify his soul:—and his agitation of mind increased. In his early days of study the peerless eyes of that discerning sage had fallen upon a certain servant of God with whom it was his daily fortune to receive interior enlightenment and (guidance to) eternal salvation. He solicited his direction in the choice of a settled course of life. He received the following answer: "About this time a certain person will become an acknowledged master of instruction and will be established as a guide to those who seek knowledge; his name is U'baydu'llah and his distinguishing epithet *Khwájah-i-Aḥrár*,[1] (master of the free of spirit): attend his lectures and follow the course he points out." The Khwájah at that time was footsore from his long investigations and assiduously sought the great theriac of truth. In due time he attained this eminent rank and Fayyází learnt from him how to seek God. His seclusion was directed to be in absolute obscurity and his (spiritual) office was determined without formal delegation. Wherever the Khwájah in his allusions refers to "the dervish," he means this wonder of the world (Fayyází).[2] For forty years he resided in Turkistán, and in deserts and mountains enjoyed the ecstasy of solitude. He had attained the age of one hundred and twenty years and the fire of his soul was burning with undiminished intensity. One night my father, in the city of my birth, was discussing the subject of religion with some godly and pious persons and many edifying matters had been brought forward, when suddenly the sound of a sigh was heard and a flash of heavenly light shone. However much they attempted to account for this, they could find nothing. The next day after much investigation and a diligent search, it was discovered that this mystic personage was in retirement in a potter's house. My father now for a space reposed in the light of his direction and his own distracted mind ceased to wander. For four months consecutively he enjoyed this happiness and was daily tested by the alchemy of his glance. Within a short period, the time of the Shaykh's departure to heaven drew nigh, and with his mind filled with divine truths, he gave forth his counsels of guidance for those who were seeking revelation, and in ecstasy of spirit and with a serene mind he passed away.

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[1] See pages 372-4.

[2] See page 357.

About this time that pattern of pure womanhood who had given my father his earliest instruction, departed this fleeting life. The affair of

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[1] See Vol. I. Biog. p. ii.

[2] This passage is so obscure from the confusion and omission of pronouns that it is with great difficulty I have been able to disentangle and determine what I conceive is its sense.

Maldeo,[1] caused an interregnum; my venerable father withdrew towards the seacoast with a view to greater seclusion. His sole purpose was to travel over the country and to derive some profit from intercourse with various classes of men. At Aḥmadábád he fell in with distinguished doctors and further improved his knowledge, and received a high diploma for every important branch of learning. He acquired a various acquaintance with the doctrines of Málik, of Sháfiạí, of Abú Ḥanífah, of Ḥanbal, and of the Imámíyáh[2] school, both in the principles of law and the law itself, and by strenuous application acquired the dignity of a *mujtahid.* Although traditionally from his ancestors he belonged to the theological school of Abú Ḥanífah yet he had always adorned his conduct with discretion, and avoiding a servile following of opinion, submitted only to demonstration and took upon himself the things which the flesh resisted. Thus by his greatness of soul and fortunate destiny he passed from the knowledge of the visible to the understanding of the invisible, and the pleasure-ground of the material world led the way to the kingdom of truth. He had read treatises on Sufism and transcendental theology, and had perused many works on contemplation and worship, especially the verities of Shaykh-b-Ạrabí, of Shaykh-b-Fáridḥ and of Shaykh Ṣadru'ddín of Iconium. Many doctors of physics and ontology honoured him with their countenance, and many successes attended him and uncommon precepts of direction added to his fame. Among the chief divine graces vouchsafed to him was that he became a disciple of the Khaṭíb Abu'l Faẓl Kázarún.[3] This personage from his appreciation of merit and knowledge of men, adopted him as a son and deligently instructed him in various knowledge, and made him commit to memory the subtleties of the Shifá,[4] the Ishárát, the Tazkirah and Ptolemy's

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[1] See Biog. Vol. I. ii. Blochmann refers to this as "the Maldeo disturbances" without further comment. I think he misapprehends the sense. Abul Fazl must refer to the affair subsequent to the final defeat of Humáyún by Shér Sháh, near Kanauj, in A. H. 947 (A. D. 1540). Humáyún fled to Sind, and failing in his attempts there marched by way of Jesalmér to Nágor and Ajmér then ruled by Maldeo the most powerful of Hindu Rájahs. This prince determined to seize him and make him over to Shér Sháh. Warned in time Humáyún fled at midnight to Amarkot. The horrors of that flight are described by Ferishta and copied by Elphinstone. At Amarkot in 1542, Akbar was born. Shér Sháh became now ruler of India till his death in 1545.

[2] *i e.*, Shíạh.

[3] Kázarún is in Persia, between the seacoast and Shíráz, called, according to Yáḳút, the Persian Damietta, from its manufacture of linen cloths. From Damietta, as is well-known, the stuff called dimity, takes its name.

[4] The *Shifá* and *Ishárah* are two works of Ḥusayn-b-Ạbdu'llah; the former on logic according to Ḥájí Khalífah, but Ibn i Khallakán states its subject to be philosophy (حكمة), a term wide enough

Almagest. Thus the garden of learning was refreshed with irrigation and the penetration of his vision was further increased. That learned man at the instance of the princes of Gujarát, had come from Shíráz to the country, and the groves of wisdom received a renewal of bloom. He had acquired learning under divers theologians of the time, but in the great branch of mystical contemplation he was the disciple of Mauláná Jalálu'ddín Dawwání.[1] That learned doctor had first received the leading principles of science from his own father, and subsequently, in Shíráz had attended as a pupil the lectures of Mauláná Muḥyi'ddín *Ashkbár*, or the Weeper, and Khwájah Ḥasan Sháh Baḳḳál, these two theologians being among the principal pupils of Sayyid Sharíf Jurjání. He for a time also frequented the school of Mauláná Humámu'ddín Gulbárí who was proficient in drawing horoscopes and there lit the lamp of erudition, and through good fortune thus acquired a wonderful extent of knowledge. He had also made a thorough study of philosophical works the principles of which he explained with much elegance, as his treatises on that subject evidence and commendably illustrate. In the same city of grace, my venerable father had the good fortune to attend upon Shaykh U'mar of Tattah, who was one of the greatest saints of the time, and that night-illumining jewel possessing the power of an exquisite discernment, inspired him transcendentally with elevation of soul and sublime knowledge. He also fell in with many doctors of the Shaṭṭárí, Ṭayfúrí, Chishtí and Suhrawardí orders, and profited by their instruction. In the city likewise, he made the acquaintance of Shaykh Yúsuf, who was one of the most ecstatic and inspired of mystics, and through him was filled with new wisdom. He was ever absorbed in the ocean of the divine presence, and omitted no minute particular of ceremonial worship. From the holy influence by which he was surrounded, his desire was to erase altogether from the expanse of his mind the impressions of knowledge, and with-

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in application among Orientals to include medicine, and may signify science in general. The *Ishárat i'la i'lm 'il Manṭiḳ* (indicium ad scientiam logicæ), is on the same subject and by the same author commonly known as Ibn Síná or Avicenna, who died in 1036. Naṣíru'ddín Ṭúsí's Commentary on it is still extant. Avicenna's great work the 'Canon of Medicine,' is well-known, and he is the reputed author of the division of substances from their chemical relations into salts and earth, inflammables and metals, which, according to Murray's Chemist, has been the basis of chemical classification to the present time. There are many works under the title of Tazkirah. The reference is probably to the great work of the grammarian Abú Ali Ḥasan-b-Aḥmad al-Fárisí, who died in A. H. 989 or 1581 A. D.

[1] Dawwán is a district in Persia celebrated for its excellent wine. *Yáḳút.*

drawing entirely from the conventional obligations of intercourse, to become absorbed in the contemplation of the divine perfections. But that reader of the secrets of the heart's recesses discovering his intention dissuaded him therefrom, and he courteously communicated to him that a ship was about to sail, and that he should visit Agra, and if his difficulties were not there overcome, he should proceed to Irán and Túrán, and wherever the spirit led him or a call directed him, thither should he go and occupy himself with secular teaching.

Conformably to this direction in the first of the (Persian) month of the Urdibihisht (April), in the Jalálí year[1] 465, corresponding to Saturday, the 6th of Muḥarram 950 A. H. (A. D. 10th April 1543), he happily alighted in that prosperous seat of empire which may God guard from all adversity! In that delightful residence he happened to become acquainted with Shaykh Aláu'ddín Majzúb or the ecstatic, who could read the tablets of the heart and the secrets of the tomb. This saint, in one of his returns to consciousness from an ecstatic trance, informed him that it was God's will that he should remain in that city and abandon further wanderings, and he announced to him good tidings and comforted his roving spirit. He took up his residence on the banks of the Jumna, in the vicinity of Mír Rafíi'u'ddín Ṣafawí of Íj.[2] He here married into a Ḳuraysh family distinguished for wisdom and virtue, and lived on terms of intimacy with its head, the chief of the quarter; and this upright personage, looking upon the arrival of that nursling of wisdom as a rare distinction, received him with warmth of affection and cordiality. Since he was a man of much wealth, he wished my father to share his mode of life; but by the guidance of fortune and grace, he did not consent, and preferring the threshold of reliance and an independent mind, he pursued a life of interior recollection combined with worldly pursuits. The Mír was one of the Ḥasaní and Ḥusayní Sayyids. Some account of his ancestors is given in the works of Shaykh

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[1] See Vol. II. pp. 28-29.

[2] Blochmann has "Injú (Shíráz)," but Yáḳút gives no such name. The text has distinctly ایج and Yáḳút locates Íj (ایجُ, the final ḍamma being the Arabic nominative case-ending is not pronounced in Persian) at the extremity of Persia فی اقصی بلاد فارس in the district of Dárábjird, and states that the Persians pronounce it "Eek." He does not define the limits of the district or its position. One Dárábjird he places in the district of Iṣṭakhr adjacent therefore to Shíráz, another in Níshapúr which is more conformable to the stated remoteness of Íj, but Abul Fazl intends the former, as he shows lower down. The present ruins of Dárábjird formed the ancient citadel of Pasargadae which contained the tomb of Cyrus.

Sakháwí. Although their birthplace was originally the village of Íj of Shíráz, yet for a long time past they preferred to live at Ḥijáz, and some members of the family have been continually settled in both places where they have been the givers and recipients of benefit. Although he had studied philosophy and theology under the direction of his own parents, he nevertheless, as a pupil of Mauláná Jalálu'ddín Dawwání, reached a higher distinction therein. In Arabia he studied the various branches of traditional lore under Shaykh Sakháwí of Cairo in Egypt, who was a disciple of Shaykh Ibn-i-Ḥajr al-Ạskaláni,[1] and when he died in A. H. 954 (A. D. 1547), my father retired to his own seclusion. He continued his efforts in the regeneration of his soul while attending to the perfect propriety of his exterior conduct, and was assiduous in his worship of God. He employed himself in teaching various sciences and made the expounding of the opinions of the ancients an occasion for withholding his own, and gave no tongue—that fatal member—to the expression of desire. Some few prudent and virtuous persons of whose sincerity he was assured, he admitted to his society and appreciated their merits, but from the rest he held himself excused and avoided association with them. In a short time his house became the resort of the learned where high and low were honourably received. Among gatherings of friends, there were also conclaves of the envious, but these did not depress him, nor those elate. Sher Khán, Salím Khán and other grandees proposed for him a stipend from the State revenues and to settle on him a suitable freehold, but as he possessed a high spirit and lofty views he declined and thus raised his own reputation.

As he was gifted with an innate aptitude for the direction of men, and held a divine commission for the enunciation of truth, while at the same time he had the concurrence of the saints of his time and the affection of his well-wishers daily increased, he undertook the guidance of those who frequented his lectures and sought enlightenment, and he denounced all evil habits. Self-interested worldlings took offence and entertained unseemly intentions. As he had no desire to oppose any hostile discussion and allowed no thought of acrimony or servility to enter his mind, he did not the less continue to speak the truth boldly and to reprove evil doers, and did not attempt to win over quarrelsome seceders. And this occasioned that the Almighty miraculously blessed him with true friends and spiritually-minded sons. Although he employed his hours in teaching philosophy, during the time of the Afgháns[1] he lectured little on theology. When the lofty crescent-bearing standards of Humáyún shed a new splendour over Hindustan, some students from Irán and Túrán attended the school of that knower of the mysteries of the spirit and of the world, and his lectures grew in repute, and the field of the thirsty in the drought-year of discernment overflowed with water, while timid travellers encamped in the pleasure-ground of repose. Affairs had now scarcely got into train when the evil-eye fell on them, and Hemú[2] now rose in the ascendant. The well-disposed withdrew into obscurity and retired in disappointment. My venerable father with a stout heart, continued firm in his own seclusion, and by the favour of God, Hemú sent messengers with expressions of apology, and through the interposition of a man of my father's excellent character many were released from the oppression of anxiety and entered the meads of joy.

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[1] Shihábu'ddín Abu'l Fazl Aḥmad-b-Ạlí-b Ḥajr al Ạskaláni, the well-known author of the Iṣábah fí tamyíz iṣ-Ṣiḥábah (recta institutio de distinctione inter socios prophetæ). He died in A. H. 852 (A. D. 1448).

In the beginning of the year of the accession of His Majesty to the Imperial throne, as though wild rue[3] were set on fire upon the State with the view of arresting the evil-eye, a great famine occurred, which raised the dust of dispersion. The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses. In addition to this and other immeasurable disasters, a plague became epidemical. This calamity and destruction of life extended throughout most of the cities of Hindustan. Still that enlightened sage remained in his seclusion and the dust of tepidity settled not in the serene chamber of his mind. The writer of this work was then five years old,[1] and the luminary of discernment so blazed before the arch of his vision that its expression cannot enter the mould of language, nor, if expressed, would it find access to the narrow hearing of mankind. He has a perfect recollection of this event, and the evidence of eye-witnesses confirms his testimony. The distress of the times ruined many families and multitudes died. In that habitation[2] about 70 people, in all, male and female, high and low, may have survived. Contemporaries marvelled at the easy circumstances and general cheerfulness of the dervishes and attributed it to magic and incantation. Sometimes a *ser* of grain would be obtained, which was set to boil in earthenware vessels, and the warm water distributed amongst these people. Most strange of all was that there occurred no difficulty of provision in my father's house, and except the worship of God no other thought disturbed his mind, and save an examination of his own conscience and a perusal of the travels of the spirit no other occupation employed him, until the mercy of God was vouchsafed unto all and a universal affluence lit the countenance of joy. The royal standards shone again with splendour and by a daily increasing justice filled the world with a new radiance. The palace of wisdom grew in amplitude and the wares of knowledge rose to a high price. Science in its many branches and learning of every kind were now diffused. New elucidations, high and lofty views and important discoveries were published abroad and all classes of men received countless benefits from the treasury of intellect. The quiet retirement of that discerning nature became the resort of the learned of the universe, and the highest topics were matters of discussion. But the envy that had been chilled now warmed to life, and the malevolence of the wicked increased. My father steadily followed his own course dis-regarding the fashion of the times and sitting at the gate of independence pursued not the road of prescribed conventionality. Men of little influence and envious, losing patience followed the path of detraction. Most of them accused him of attachment to the Mahdawí doctrines,[1] and uttered the most absurd fictions. They stirred up the simple and ignorant, and did their best to produce keen annoyance by their evil intrigues. The chief instrument in their hands was the affair of Shaykh Aláí.

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[1] Sher Khán was the son of Ibráhím Khán, a native of Afghanistan who claimed descent from the Ghorian dynasty.

[2] Hemú was a shop-keeper whom Salím Sháh had made Superintendent of the markets, and who was raised by Muḥammad Sháh Ạádilí to the highest honours and entrusted with the whole administration. He certainly proved his great capacity, for he suppressed the revolt of Sikandar Súr in the Punjab, crushed Muḥammad Súr in Bengal, captured Agra from the Mughal troops, and defeated Akbar's general Tardi Beg at Delhi. He was, however, eventually beaten at Panipat by Bayrám Khán on the 5th November 1556, after a desperate battle in which he fought with the greatest bravery. He had been shot in the eye by an arrow in his howdah, and though in great agony, he drew the arrow with the eye-ball out of its socket and wrapt it in his handkerchief, and continued the fight to encourage his troops. He was taken prisoner and carried before Akbar. Bayrám recommended the king to slay him with his own hand and fulfil a meritorious act. Akbar lightly touched him with his sabre and became entitled to the honours of a Gházi—a slayer of infidels. The deed itself he suffered Bayrám to execute, who decapitated Hemú at a single blow. Saladin, a true Gházi, would have spared so gallant a foe.

[3] It is popularly supposed that a fumigation with wild rue and its seeds which are set alight, arrest the malignant effects of the evil-eye. The term used is "the eye of perfection." The praise of any object in the possession of an Oriental is regarded as ominous by him and as bringing a nemesis with it, for all perfect things decline after reaching their zenith.

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[1] He was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram 958 (14 January 1551).

[2] I presume this means the quarter in which his family resided. There is no mention of these distresses in Ferishta. Abul Fazl makes a brief allusion to it in the Akbarnámah. He says that there was great scarcity throughout Hindustan, and especially in Delhi where the famine was extreme, and although money might be obtained, food-grain was not to be had; men were driven to feed on human flesh, and parties were formed to carry off any solitary person in order to eat him. Text, Vol. II. 35. Similar stories are told of the great famine in Egypt in A. H. 596 (A. D. 1199) in the Caliphate of Náṣirli dín illáh. See Suyúṭí's History of the Caliphs. Transl. Jarrett, p. 480. In Abd'ul Laṭíf's History of Egypt, the fact is recorded of parties of men capturing solitary individuals to kill and eat them.

There is a sect in India who regard Mír Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpúr as the predicted Mahdí and go to extreme lengths in this assertion, and forgetting the other demonstrations[2] of this mission besides doctrine, works, and blameless moral conduct, adopt this movement. In the reign of Salím Khán, a youth called Shaykh Aláí, irreproachable in his character and conduct, fell into this whirlpool, and came into that auspicious city (of Agra),[3] originally for the purpose of seeing my venerable father with a view to a life of seclusion and retirement. Certain seditious men who sought but a pretext, were loud in their frivolous accusations and gave occasion to scandal. The learned of the day who are ignorant pretenders and sell poisonous herbs under show of antidotes, rose up in malice against him and conspired to put him to death, and even obtained judicial decrees. My father did not concur with them and found neither reason nor tradition on their side. They sought to bring the dispute before the Emperor of Hindustan, and strove for their own undoing. The king assembled a council of the learned of the time, and great efforts were made to obtain a legal sentence. My venerable father was also summoned to attend. When his opinion was asked, he gave it against the crafty pretenders who sought but their own advancement. From that day, they maliciously imputed to him an attachment to that cause, and on so trifling a point as to whether the mission of the Mahdí is a tradition of authority or otherwise,[1] out of sheer malignity, they proceeded to such lengths that he was ruined. Some evil-minded men reviled him for the Shiạh tendencies which they presumed he held, not understanding that knowledge is one thing and profession is another.

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[1] See Vol. I. Biog. iii, iv. ff. for the Mahdawí movement and the history of Shaykh Aláí.

[2] Amongst these are that he must be of the tribe of Ḳuraysh and of the family of Fáṭima. His countenance will be open and his nose aquiline, and he will fill the earth with equity and justice as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression. A rival, also of the Ḳuraysh, will be raised up to oppose him, who will levy war against him and obtain aid of his uncles of the tribe of Kalb. During the reign of the Mahdí, heaven and earth will be pleased with him and there shall be abundant rains, and the earth will give forth her fruits and men's lives will pass pleasantly, and he will continue on the earth seven, eight or nine years, and dying, will be prayed over by the Muslims. Other tokens have been predicted, such as the black ensigns coming from the direction of Khorásán; but these were additions made in the interest of the Abbasides and for the glory of that house. See also Blochmann's extract from the Rauzat u'l Aimmah. Vol I. Biog. iii.

[3] He first promulgated his own pretensions to the office of Mahdí at Biánah, S. W. of Agra. Blochmann, *ibid* v.

At this very time they also made a suspect of one of the Sayyids of I'ráḳ[2] who was among the choicest souls of the age, whose character and conduct were alike virtuous and his precepts harmonized with his actions; but by the royal favour their arm was shortened from reaching him. One day in the royal presence, they represented that no religious authority should be accorded to the Mír, and that since his views were repudiated, it would be inconsistent to recognize his leadership in religious functions. They adduced some cases in point from ancient Ḥanafí treatises in support of their contention that the teaching of I'ráḳ dignitaries (*ashráf*), ought not to be accepted. The prospects of the Mír were gloomy. As he was on terms of fraternal religious intimacy with my father, he laid the whole truth before him, and my father comforted him with judicious counsel and encouraged him to confront more boldly the suggestions of the wicked, and in refutation of the traditionary authority that had been cited against him, he stated that they had not understood its drift. What had been brought forward from the Ḥanafí works referred not to Persian but to Arabian I'ráḳ, and many passages he quoted in confirmation thereof; and further that they had not distinguished between dignitaries κατ' ἐξοχήν (*ashraf i ashráf*) and the nobles (*ashráf*), for the degrees of royal rewards and punishments are assigned distributively to four classes. The *first* is the pre eminent (*ashraf i asháf*), such as doctors, divines, Sayyids, and holy men. The *second* is termed *ashráf*, the noble, that is the officials and land proprietors and the like. The *third* is styled *awsáṭ*, or the intermediate, which is understood as comprising the industrial and commercial professions. The *fourth* comprises the inferior orders who do not rise to the preceding degree, such as the mob and the low rabble. Each of these orders is subject to a separate code of sanctions regulating the acknowledgment of honourable service and the penalties of misconduct. And, indeed, if every evil-doer was to receive the same punishment, this would be a deviation from justice. The Mir was emboldened by this assurance and much rejoiced, and in order to clear himself and expose the ignorance of his traducers, he submitted the opinion of the Shaykh for the royal consideration. Those wicked men with their evil machinations were confounded. When they discovered the source of their confusion, they were inflamed with jealousy. Similar instances of assistance such as this were divulged and contributed to the turbulence of the ignorant. Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no creed that may not in some one particular be in error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a doctrine which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him. After a long controversy, this point was abandoned and they reverted to the accusation of his Shiąh tendencies; but by the protection of God the detractor was covered with shame, his infamy exposed and he was overwhelmed with confusion: nevertheless, in his recusancy and blindness he took no admonition and continued to seek his occasion, confirmed in his malice, until the wondrous ways of destiny and the caprice of fortune were manifested, and a vast dispersion came as an exemplary warning.

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[1] I accept the variant reading in the note. By خبر احاد is signified traditions related only on one authority, in contradistinction to خبر متواتر, traditions supported by several contemporary and concurrent narrators.

[2] This was probably Miyán Ạbdu'llah, a Niyází Afghán and a disciple of Mír Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpúr. See Vol. I. Biog. v.

In the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to A. H. 977 (A. D. 1569-70), my father came forth from his retirement, and great troubles presented themselves, of which I shall briefly make mention as a hortatory instruction. Although the hornet's-nest of envy was still in commotion, and the viper's hole alive with the brood, the night-lamp of friendship dim and even the good intent on molestation had closed the door of estrangement, as has been already alluded to, at this time I say, when learning was regarded with honour and the distinguished of the day were his disciples and the numbers at his lectures were in full attendance and my father, according to his custom, denounced all evil habits and exhorted his friends and well-wishers to avoid them, the learned doctors and divines of the time who regarded his beautiful soul as a mirror to their own defects, maliciously conspired to restore their position. Labouring under the convulsions of their tortuous purposes, they represented to themselves that if they could but adduce some particular instance to convince His Majesty who loved justice, it would signally re-establish their former titles to esteem and result in a condition disastrous (to my father). Oppressed by grief and vexation, they continued their intrigues and boldly advanced in a course of detraction and by their sophistries and crafty insinuations they led astray many of the courtiers with their show of affected regrets. Some amongst the evil-disposed they roused by an appeal to their bigotry.

Although for a considerable period this unseemly conduct had continued, yet by the aid of virtuous and truthful individuals, the conspiracies of the wicked had always been defeated. At this juncture, however, this honest and trusty band were remote, and the chief of these intriguers at court set himself to gratify his malice. These shameless wretches and unclean spirits of evil found their opportunity. My venerable father had gone to the house of a servant of God and I had the happiness of accompanying him. That overweening braggart with his affected haughtiness[1] was also present at the visit and began his crafty discourse. The conceit of learning and exuberant youth possessed me. I had never before set foot outside of college to be present at any public functions, but his vain words drove me to open my lips and I spoke so much to the point that he was ashamed and the spectators were amazed. From that day, he vowed to avenge his being convicted of ignorance, and emboldened those who had lost heart. My venerable father was unconscious of their designs and I in my pride of knowledge, gave no heed. At first those worldlings without religion, like crafty schemers, convened assemblies ostensibly in the interests of truth and religion, and by persecuting assaults on those who sought but quiet, many were hunted to death. Whenever a monarch, well meaning and with every good intention, leaves the direction of religion, education and justice entirely to a body who are outwardly respectable, and himself assumes in their regard the mantle of indifference, the influence of the truthful and righteous wanes and the crooked-moving white-ants of learning and the courtiers unite in intrigue against these few and bigotry has full sway. And it comes to pass that families are subverted and reputations totally ruined. At such a time when these wretches had gained credit for virtue, like a bride that is falsely passed off for a virgin and proves a harlot, and when graceless worldlings were triumphant, and the sordid and blind of heart were united in purpose, sympathetic friends remote, the honest of speech secluded, and the gatherings of contention of the profane frequent, these conspiracies were hatched and compacts of persecution made. One of the double-faced and fickle, a fallen angel of malevolent cunning who had insidiously crept into the lecture-rooms of my venerable father under a show of sincerity and was in collusion and understanding with that body, was found and despatched at mid-night inspired with impious deceits and spells to infatuate. That clever imposter at dead of night with a trembling heart and tearful eyes, a pallid colour and dejected countenance, hastened to my elder brother's chamber and his evil spells disturbed that simple soul and seduced one ignorant of guile and deceit. The purport of his information was this: "The principal men of the day have been for a long time hostile, and the faithless and ungrateful without shame. They have now found this opportunity and mean persecution. Many of these turbaned divines are witnesses and having appointed a prosecutor, have incited him to procure an investigation on colourable pretexts into their slanders. Every one knows the influence these men have at court and how many eminent men for their own aggrandizement they have had put out of their way, and what high-handed persecutions they have enforced. I have a friend in their secret counsels. Even now at midnight he informed me of this, and I have in trepidation come to you lest when day breaks it may be too late to mend matters. Now my advice is that they should convey the Shaykh to some concealment without any one's knowledge and let him for a few days live retired until his friends can assemble and he can represent his case fully to His Majesty." That good soul[1] took alarm and with much agitation went to the Shaykh's chamber and informed him of the case. He answered: "Though my enemies may be powerful, the Almighty is vigilant and a just monarch now rules the world. If a handful of godless unprincipled men are unrighteously filled with envy, the obligation of pledges is still binding and the door of investigation is not closed. Moreover, if the decrees of God for my injury have not been issued, though all are united against me they can avail nothing and can do no evil nor inflict harm upon me; but if the will of the Creator be this, I will cheerfully and gladly give my life and withdraw from the possession of this fleeting existence." As my brother was scarce master of himself and afflicted with grief, mistaking truth for self-deception as he had mistaken a false pretext for condolence he drew his dagger and said, "Practical business is one thing and religious mysticism is another; if you do not go I will at once kill myself; for the rest, look you to it. I shall not await here the day of ruin." The paternal bond and fatherly affection induced compliance with his wish. At the command of that serene sage I was also awoke.

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[1] This must refer to Makhdúm u'l Mulk, whose bold opposition to Akbar's religious pretensions caused his dismissal from court, his banishment from the kingdom and finally his removal by poison at the instigation of Akbar, if the Sunnis are to be believed. See the notice of his life in Vol. I. Biog. vii.

Under compulsion, then, in the darkness of that night, three persons set out, having no appointed guide and unequal to the fatigues of travel My venerable sire, reflecting on the accidents of fortune, maintained silence, while between myself and my brother than whom one more inexpert at the time in political dealings or worldly business one could not imagine, a conversation continued and we spoke of our place of retreat. Whomsoever he mentioned I objected to and whom I named he disapproved.

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[1] This is of course Fayẓi, his elder brother.

With outstretched arm against me comes the foe;
No trusty friend averts the threatened blow.
Throughout the world man and his works I see,
But not a trace bespeaks humanity.

Driven to extremity, after a thousand difficulties we arrived at the house of a person regarding whose fidelity my brother was assured and of whom I, fasting in the morn of existence and of little account in the market of this elemental frame, had not the least suspicion. At the sight of his peaceful and dignified visitors, the man was surprised and regretted our coming and was in hesitancy how to act. At last he found a place for our lodging. When we entered the house it was more forbidding than his own heart. A strange scene took place and an exceeding sorrow filled our minds. My elder brother hung round me saying, "Notwithstanding my greater experience, I have been mistaken, and thou with little knowledge of men hast judged aright. Now what is to be done and what is the course proposed, and where may we take refuge?" I replied, "Nothing has as yet happened; let us return to our own home and let me be the spokesman, and perhaps the badges of office of these worldlings will be removed and the trouble that threatens be overcome." My father applauded and approved the counsel, but my brother would not consent and said, "Thou hast no knowledge of this business nor perceive the fraud and diabolical malignity of these men. Let us leave this place and discuss as we go along." Although I had not traversed the desert of experience nor the good and evil ways of men, a divine inspiration suggested a person to my mind and I said, "It has occurred to me that if things go fairly well, such a one will help, but in a time of serious trouble it will be difficult for him to join us." As time was pressing and our minds in perplexity we set out in his direction. Footsore we proceeded through ways clogged with mud and reflected on the vicissitudes of fortune. Loosing hold of the "strong handle"[1] of reliance in God, trudging onwards dispirited and thinking the world in pursuit, we advanced each step with difficulty, breathing with effort, oppressed with exceeding sorrow and believing the day of the resurrection of the wicked at hand.

At dawn we reached his house. At the news he met us with cordiality and found us a suitable lodging and our many cares were somewhat abated. In this retreat after two days, we learnt that these envious agitators had lifted the veil of shame and openly divulged the intentions of their foul minds and like crafty intriguers on the morning of that night they represented their case to His Majesty and perplexed his august mind. An order was issued from the imperial palace that affairs of state should not be transacted without consultation with them, that this was a question of faith and religion the issue of which lay entirely in their hands, that the fugitives should be summoned before the judicial tribunal and whatever the illustrious law decided and the heads of the government determined should be carried out. The royal pursuivants were set on and despatched in search, and when they learnt what had happened they made every effort at discovery. Some evil-doers, "plotters of villainy, accompanied them and not finding us in our dwelling and believing a vain report, they surrounded the house and finding my brother Abu'l Khayr in the house they took him to the court and reported our flight with a hundred embellishments, and made it an occasion of shameless accusations. By an extraordinary favour of heaven His sagacious Majesty was apprised of this gathering of interested detractors and their manner of insinuation, and replied, " Why is all this hostility shown against an obscure dervish and learned ascetic, and what is the object of this senseless clamour? The Shaykh constantly travels and has now probably gone abroad for recreation. Why have they brought this boy? and why interdicted the house?" The boy was at once released and the prohibition against the house removed. The breeze of favour now blew upon that dwelling. Since some difficulties were in the way and apprehension was uppermost and various rumours contradicted the above, we fugitives disbelieving it remained in concealment. The base villains covered with confusion now thought that as their victims were without house and home, this was the time to carry out their designs and that some dark-minded miscreants should be engaged to kill them wherever they met them, lest they should learn what had happened and introduce themselves to the royal court and secure justice by the lustre of their talents. Concealing, therefore, the answer of the King, they put forth some alarming and awe-inspiring language as though uttered by his august lips and thus terrified unsuspecting and time-serving friends. And they issued some plausible documents misleading men into wrong conclusions and thus held them back from intended assistance. After a week, the master of the house too becoming discouraged, began to be vexatious and his servants discontinued their former civility. The minds of the fugitives were under apprehension, and their agitated hearts were convinced that the first report had no foundation, that the King was investigating and the world in pursuit, and that the master of the house would undoubtedly surrender them. An exceeding grief overwhelmed them and a great fear entered their hearts. I said: "Judging for myself, of this much I am assured that the original rumour is correct, otherwise they would not have released my brother nor would the guards over our house have been removed. May not this supposed incivility be only outward? In a time of security whenever an ill rumour was heard, even good men, led away by it, rose against us; now if a man like the master of the house, is afraid, what is there to wonder at? and if he intended to apprehend us, there would have been no change in his outward demeanour and he would not have delayed. The fabrications of malevolent reprobates have undoubtedly bewildered him and have induced his men to this, so that seeing this discourtesy we should leave the house and relieve his mind of anxiety." Thus reflecting we were somewhat recovered and set ourselves to devise some plan, and a dark day dawned more distressful than the first night, and gloomy was the prospect before us. They applauded both my first opinion and this statement of my views and recognized me as a counseller and trusted adviser and overlooking my youth, they promised not to oppose my advice in future.

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[1] An expression taken from the Ḳurán.

When evening drew on, with hearts filled with a thousand anxieties and wounded bosoms and minds oppressed with sorrow, we went forth from that dreadful abode of woe, without a helper in sight, with fainting limbs, no place of refuge visible nor any prospect of peace. On a sudden in that gloomy haunt of demons, a flash shone and gladness smiled again. The house of one of the disciples appeared in sight and there for a while we rested. Although his abode was darker than his heart and his heart blacker than our first night, we reposed a while and recovered from bewilderment, but though at the end of our resources and in the depths of depression, our minds continued active and our thoughts were roused to reflection. As we found no place of rest and nothing to comfort us I remarked that we had of late seen all that our best friends and oldest pupils and most steadfast disciples would do for us. The most advisable course to pursue was now to take ourselves away from this city of hypocrisy which was a dungeon inimical to learning and injurious to perfection, and to withdraw from these double-faced friends and unstable acquaintances whose loyalty rests on the breeze of spring and their permanence on a rushing torrent. Perhaps a corner of privacy might be obtained and a stranger take us under his protection. There we might learn somewhat of the condition of His Majesty and discover the measure of his anger or clemency. It was possible to fall in with some kindly and upright friends and get a savour of the state of the times. If the occasion be favourable and fortune propitious we may again see better days, and if not, why the expanse of the world has not been contracted. Every bird has its perch and the corner of its nest and there is no commission of perpetual residence in this region of penalty. A certain noble, having obtained an assignment of land in the neighbourhood of the city had here settled; we might decipher the impressions of truth from the daily journal of his circumstances and the odour of his friendship be inhaled by the sense of a penetrating brain. Let us therefore abandoning all else, betake ourselves to him that we may repose somewhat in that inaccessible spot. Although the amity of worldlings has no fixed centre or constancy, there is this much at least that he has no further intercourse with those people. My good brother, changing his garments, set out at once on the road and hastened in that direction. Our friend was delighted at the news and cordially welcomed our advent as a piece of good fortune. And since it was a time of insecurity, he brought some soldiers[1] with him so that no harm could come to us on the road and we should not be at the mercy of evil-disposed pursuers. In the midnight of despair that ready and vigilant friend arrived and conveyed the good tidings of comfort and brought the message of repose. On the instant we changed our garments and started on our journey and by divers roads arrived at his dwelling. He displayed great geniality and did us the highest service and an exceeding contentment was the harbinger of our happiness. For ten days we rested in his house and were safe from the warfare of the world, when suddenly a disaster more overwhelming than the preceding fell upon us from the firmament of fate. For, verily, the man was summoned to the royal court, and with the same strong potation with which the second man had been intoxicated, they finished this one's business and he became more hopelessly drunk than the former. He straightway rolled up the parchment of acquaintance.

One night, leaving that place we came to another friend. He welcomed our auspicious arrival as a privilege. But as he lived in the vicinity of an evil-disposed and turbulent person, he fell into great bewilderment and exceeding anxiety nearly drove him distracted. When the house was all asleep, we set forth without any definite destination in prospect and however much we thought and pondered we found no resting place and therefore with an agitated heart and minds oppressed with sorrow, we returned to his house. Strangely enough the men of the house were not aware that we had left it. For a short space we who had severed the cord of reliance on God, took repose and thus forgot our troubles. My brother expressed his opinion that our leaving the place was an impulse of fear not a counsel of wisdom. However much I represented to him that the man's vacillation was a sufficient guide and the change of manner in his servants a clear proof, it was of no avail and as the signs of dissatisfaction in our host increased, no other remedy was at hand. When that light-headed, improvident and overreaching individual reflected in his mind that these people ignorant of the inconvenience they cause, will take no hint and will not vacate the house, at daybreak without taking counsel with us or saying a kind word, he marched off and his venal servitors loading their tents took their departure. Here were we three left stranded in the wilds, in the neighbourhood of which a cattle-market had been established. A strange predicament it was—no place to abide in—no idea of whither to go—and no veil to conceal us. On every side were double-faced friends, determined enemies, base and cruel men, and time-servers banded together in pursuit, and we sitting in the dust of helplessness, in a wilderness without shelter, with gloomy prospects, in present distress and sunk in prolonged grief. However, in any case it was necessary to rise and proceed. Through that concourse of miscreants we passed on; the protection of God hung a veil before the eyes of men, and under the divine assistance and guard we went forth from that place of terror, and abandoning the fears of companionship and all trust in men, we escaped from the reproach of strangers and the God-speed of friends. We happened to come upon a garden where some kind of refuge offered itself. Our lost vigour returned and our hearts were greatly strengthened. And now it suddenly became manifest that some of our graceless pursuers frequented the place. Wearied with our search we rested for a while. Then with minds distracted and outwardly woebegone we came forth. In whatever direction we went, some unforeseen calamity filled us with gloom and our places were scarcely warm ere we set forth again in the wilderness of danger, until at length in this restless wandering and blind vagrancy the gardener recognised us and our condition became desperate. We were nigh expiring and resigning the bond of life. That good man with many expressions of good will restored our drooping spirits and charitably took us to his house and endeavoured to console us. Although my dear brother was still in the same wretched state and every moment grew paler, my spirits on the contrary rose. I read the signs of probity in the countenance of that genial person. My venerable father himself in communion with God was on the prayer-carpet of prudence and watched the course of events. Some part of the night had passed when the master of the gardener came forward with great cordiality and lengthened the tongue of reproval saying, "What! with such a friend as I am here, do you alight in this place of confusion! Why have you plucked your skirts from me?" and he acted in a manner which we could not have anticipated. I answered: "In this storm, which is according to an enemy's desire, we sought withdrawal from all our sincere friends and loyal well-wishers lest any injury befall them on this account." He was somewhat confused and said: "If you are not contented to stay in my house, let us see what can be done." He indicated to us a place of safety; the appearances of sincerity were evident from his language and following his wish, we chose a quiet nook and there alighted. We found here a retreat such as we desired, and from that place we despatched truthful accounts to people of just and commendable dispositions and to faithful friends, and each one became cognizant of our condition and set about remedying it and thus our pulses were quieted.

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[1] Lit. Turks, but I apprehend the meaning is any guard of armed men. They were probably Mughals.

We remained a little more than a month in that restful place and my good brother went from Agra to Fatḥpúr,[1] meaning when he reached the royal camp, to make our devoted partisans more zealous in our behalf. One morning that all-loving and circumspect soul returned with a thousand anxieties and troubles, bringing distressing news. It seems that one of the chief nobles and grey-beard elders of the imperial court on the information of these envious wretches, became furious, and without soliciting the usual permission or paying his submissive respects, entered the presence of Majesty with brusqueness and roughly said, "Has the world come to an end or is the day of resurrection at hand that in this court malicious fanatics have their way and good men are confounded? What ordinance is this that we have; and what ingratitude is this now shown?" My brother who loved peace, acknowledging his good intentions said "To whom dost thou allude and what dost thou want of this person? Hast thou seen a vision? or is thy brain distracted?" When he mentioned the name, His Majesty was surprised at his wrong impression and said: "All the chief men of the day seem determined to persecute and do him to death and have passed judicial decrees against him. They give me no peace for a moment. Although I know that the Shaykh is in such and such a place (mentioning our retreat), I purposely take no notice of it, and I answer each one of them with a rebuke. Thou art clamorous without knowing and dost overstep due limits. Let some one go to-morrow morning and summon the Shaykh to the presence and an assembly of the divines shall be held." My good brother as soon as he heard of this disturbance came post-haste, and without any one's knowing, as before, we changed our clothes and set out and an anxiety more painful than on any previous occasion of disappointment, filled our minds with misgiving. Although it was in some degree evident how far people were in accord with us and what representations had been made by them to His Majesty and the extent of his knowledge of our circumstances,—knowledge that could read the invisible—nevertheless a greater apprehension disquieted us. Without our host's being aware, that very morning we began our journey. The blazing light of the sun, the dark plots of the wicked, the crush in the streets of the city, the movements of the spies, the absence of friends, the lack of these to share our burdens—what power has a pen of wood to tell but a fraction of this situation? and where even eloquent lips would stammer, what craft can lie in its divided tongue? At last with many heart-sinkings we turned into unbeaten tracks and escaped in some measure the turmoil of the city and the eyes of enemies.

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[1] This was Fatḥpúr Síkri. See Vol I. Biog. x.

Since the condescension of His Majesty had newly become manifest, we now proposed to get together some horses and from those wilds to hasten on to the city of auspiciousness and alight at the residence of a certain person of whose integrity we had had long experience. Then perchance this turmoil might abate and the King put forth the hand of clemency. Of necessity, then, like prudent men, we prepared the requisites of travel and on a night darker than the minds of the envious and more protracted than the machinations of the vain of speech, we set out on the road. Withal the inexperience of the guide and his crooked proceedings, in the dawn of morning we arrived at that gloomy place. Our not very cordial host though he did not deny us, yet told such a tale of discomfiture as cannot be expressed, and by way of consideration for us said that the occasion had now passed and that His Majesty's august mind was somewhat irritated; had we come before, there would have been no detriment and our difficulties would easily have been overcome: that he could point out a village, in the neighbourhood, in the obscurity of which we might pass a few days until the hallowed pleasure of the King might incline to favour. Putting us into a conveyance he sent us off in that direction. We became a prey to a variety of sorrows. When we reached the spot, the land-proprietor in dependence on whom we had been sent, was absent. We alighted without a shelter in that ruin in the midst of civilization. The overseer had occasion to read a document and discovering the signs of intelligence in our appearance, he sent for us. As we were pressed for time we hurried along the road of refusal and it shortly appeared that this village belonged to one of those said stony-hearted miscreants. The man in his stupidity had sent us here. With much disquietude and full of anxiety we flung ourselves out of the place and taking an unknown guide we made for a village in the dependency of the capital city of Agra whence some savour of friendliness had reached us. Travelling for three *kos*, on the same day by devious paths we reached our destination. That good man shewed us every courtesy, but it was discovered that there also one of those vain schemers had a farm and that at times he visited the place. Retiring thence, at midnight with downcast hearts we set out for the city and reaching Agra, the capital, at daybreak we discovered the abode of a (supposed) friend. Here for a space in this dust-heap of disappointment and dormitory of oblivion, this place of depravity abounding in demons, this defile of ignorance, we reposed, but it was not long before he began to speak of those malevolent[1] enemies of God and shameless intriguers. In the companionship as we were, of such a lying, crazed and quarrelsome fanatic,[2] our minds were verily oppressed by a now grief and exceeding bewilderment. And since our feet were worn with tramping, our heads with thoughts of night-travel, our ears with the sound of "come in," and our eyes with the pricking of sleeplessness, an extraordinary anguish filled our spirits and a weight of grief was in stewardship of our hearts. Of necessity we thought of other plans and the master of the house also, occupied himself in finding a place for us.

Two days we spent in this interior agitation, and passed the hours in thinking each moment was our last until the recollection of a certain well-disposed person occurred to the saintly mind of that serene sage (my father), and by the aid of the master of the house and his assiduous search he was discovered and a thousand happy announcements brought us security. Straightway we went to that abode of peace and received comfort from the cordiality and genial reception of its master. The breeze of prosperity now blew upon the garden of our hopes and the face of our circumstances was newly refreshed. Although he was not one of the infallible guides to truth, he possessed a large share of virtue. In obscurity he lived with good repute; he was rich though possessing little, cheerful in his poverty, and though old in years, youth shone from his aspect. We here had a delightful retreat and we again began our correspondence and sought to repair our fortunes.

For two months we continued to abide in this home of comfort and the door of our desire was unclosed. Well-wishers seeking justice came to our rescue and men of experience and high position girt themselves in our aid. With speech of persuasive friendliness and sweet words of reconciliation they won over the seditious intriguers and ignoble wrong-doers, and next they brought before His Majesty the exemplary conduct of the Shaykh and made their representations in an engaging and conciliatory spirit. His Majesty in his foresight and knowledge of character, vouchsafed the most gracious answers and in his generous impulse and magnanimity desired his attendance. As I was inexperienced in worldly affairs, I did not accompany him and that illumined sage with my elder brother set the face of supplication to the royal court. At once the hornets' nest of the ungrateful was quiet. The disturbed world was at peace. The courses of instruction and the quiet sanctuary of holy recollection were established as before, and the age again displayed the ways of the just.

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[1] The text has خیره روایان for خیره رویان.

[2] The stop after میباشد should be omitted.

Love's quarrels of the past, O night, bring never back their pain,
Nor secrets of the heart reveal as yesterday again,
For wearily the hours crept by, thou knowest, with lagging feet,
But give, O, give me back the days of love and union sweet.

About this time my venerable father went on a pilgrimage to holy Delhi and took me with him accompanied by some of the disciples of his saintly conferences. Since the time he had taken up his abode in the metropolis he was so much absorbed in spiritual contemplation in that hermitage of light that he had had no leisure to observe the marvels of earth. Suddenly this desire took possession of his heart and he loosened the skirt of resolve, and honouring me with unique consideration, he made me, who over and above the earthly bonds of sonship was attached by spiritual ties, a partaker of his secret.

To recount briefly; once at early dawn, when his heart was lifted up to heaven and he was upon the carpet of praise and supplication, between sleeping and waking, Khawájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín U'shí and Niẓám u'ddín Awliyá appeared to him, and upon this a conference of numerous divines met and a feast of reconciliation was celebrated, and it was proposed to visit their tombs by way of propitiation and there perform a religious ceremonial after their ordinances. My venerable father after the manner of his saintly ancestors, preserved an exact outward decorum and indulged not in the hearing of songs nor the vanity of silk attire[1] and did not approve of the ecstasies of music and dance affected by the Ṣúfís. He spoke against the followers of this practice and he used constantly to say that on the assumption of the indifference between rich and poor, praise and blame, earth and gold, which was one of the principles on which this system proceeded, it contained within itself the volatility of unrest and he regarded it as a place of backsliding unto the wise. He commanded a rigid abstention therefrom, withdrew from it himself and restrained his friends. But, in truth, on this night, these slumberers on the couch of vigilance who looked on this ceremony as they would on their last journey, went into such exhaustive proof of the innocence of their intention and the morality of the act that they carried away the concurrence of my father. In that happy journey many of the tombs of those who sleep in that land of roses were passed, and hearts were filled with light, and blessings were vouchsafed (whereof if the narrative were detailed, men would regard it as an idle fiction and in suspicion might impute the stain of sin), until I was carried from the hermitage of seclusion to the court of worldly intercourse and the gate of prosperity was opened and I obtained the summit of distinction. The condition of the inebriate with greed and those who were a prey to envy became gloomy and my heart was pained and compassionated their confusion. I made a steadfast vow to the Almighty and I promised myself that the wronging of these blind souls who are as a lamp without light and an invisible sign, should be effaced from the path of my upright heart and I would allow no feeling but kindness to enter therein. By the aid of the grace of God I enforced this resolve and gained new satisfaction and my mind new vigour. Men abandoning evil-doing took to sociability and drew the breath of repose. My venerable father occupied himself in admonition and exposed the quarrelsomeness, the crooked ways, the untruth and the unworthiness of men and enjoined the chastisement of evil-doers. I was inclined to be reticent about speaking of these close secrets and was ashamed to reply to my venerable father. Eventually I was compelled to represent what had happened to him to His Majesty and relieved the ebullition of my father's spirit. Many of his anxieties were now relieved and his long open wounds were healed.

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[1] See his change of opinion in this respect in the character of him drawn by Badáoní. Vol. I. xix.

To make a long story short, when the imperial standards advanced to the capital of Lahore for reasons of state, and my heart was sore at parting from that preceptor of truth, in the thirty-second year of the reign, corresponding with the lunar year 995 (A. D. 1586-87), I invited his gracious visit. On the 23rd of the 3rd month (Khurdád)[1] of the Divine Era and the thirty-second year of the reign, coinciding with Saturday, the 6th of Rajab of the above lunar year (31st May, 1586), that knower of all things material and spiritual fulfilling my desire, cast the shadow of his beneficence on me who though engaged in the world preferred solitude, and honoured me by special kindnesses. He ever found delight in seclusion, and renouncing all else passed his days in self introspection and in the renovation of the ever-capricious spirit.

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[1] See Vol. II. p. 30, 31.

Inasmuch as he troubled himself little about worldly knowledge, his conversation was always regarding the essence and attributes of God and he took heedful warning and led an independent life apart and gathered the skirts of liberation of spirit until his august health lost its elementary equilibrium. Although he had often suffered in the same way before, he learnt on this occasion, that it was his last journey and summoning this bewildered creature addressed me in words of salutary advice and went through the last obligations of farewell. As all that he said was between us alone and he shared with me in confidence his inmost thoughts, I kept down my anguish of heart and with many efforts commanded some self-restraint and by the miraculous efficacy of that leader in the world of sanctity, to some extent was calm. After seven days, in full consciousness and at the very dawn of the 24th of the 5th month (*Amurdád*) of the Divine Era, on the 17th of Zí'lkaadah, A. H. 1001. (Tuesday 4th August,[1] 1593) he passed into the gardens of paradise. The luminary of the firmament of knowledge became obscured and the light of an understanding that knew God grew dim. The back of Learning was bowed and the days of Wisdom itself passed away. Jupiter withdrew his robe from his head and Mercury destroyed his pen.[2]

Gone from the world is he its peerless sage
That to its gaze oped Wisdom's heavenly page.
Where shall his orphaned kin such marvel find,
The Adam and Messiah of his kind!

This has been to some extent evidenced in what has gone before.

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[1] In the Biography of Abul Fazl (Vol. I. xviii) Blochmann gives the date as the 4th September, but this cannot be, as the year 1001 began on Monday, 28th September 1592, and Zi'l Ḥijjah follows Zi'lkaadah.

[2] The office of Jupiter in the Oriental planetary system is supposed to be that of a Ḳázi, and the robe represents his official dignity. Mercury is the heavenly scribe.

As I have now recounted somewhat of my ancestors, I proceed to say a few words regarding myself and thus unburden my mind, in order to refresh this narrative and loosen the bonds of my tongue. In the year 473 of the Jaláli era, corresponding to the night of Sunday, the 6th of Muḥarram 958 of the lunar reckoning (14th January 1551), my pure spirit joined to this elemental body came forth from the womb into this fair expanse of the world. At a little over one year I had the miraculous gift of fluent speech and at five years of age I had acquired an unusual stock of information and could both read and write. At the age of seven I became the treasurer of my father's stores of knowledge and a trusty keeper of the jewels of hidden meaning and as a serpent,[1] guarded the treasure. And it was strange that by a freak of fortune my heart was disinclined, my will ever averse, and my disposition repugnant to conventional learning and the ordinary courses of instruction. Generally I could not understand them. My father in his way conjured with the spell of knowledge and taught me a little of every branch of science, and although my intelligence grew, I gained no deep impressions from the school of learning. Sometimes I understood nothing at all, at others doubts suggested themselves which my tongue was incapable of explaining. Either shame made me hesitate or I had not the power of expression. I used to weep in public and put all the blame upon myself. In this state of things I came into fellowship of mind with a congenial helper and my spirit recovered from that ignorance and incomprehension. Not many days had elapsed before his conversation and society induced me to go to college and there they restored to rest my bewildered and dissipated mind and by the wondrous working of destiny they took me away and brought another back.

The temple as I entered, drew they nigh
And brought their gift, a wine-cup brimming high.
Its strength snatched all my senses, self from self,
Wherein some other entered and not I.

The truths of philosophy and the subtleties of the schools now appeared plain, and a book which I had never before seen gave me a clearer insight than any thing I could read. Although I had a special gift which came down upon me from the throne of holiness, yet the inspirations of my venerable father and his making me commit to memory the essential elements of every branch of science, together with the unbroken continuity of this chain, was of immense help, and became one of the most important causes of my enlightenment. For ten years longer I made no distinction between night and day, teaching and learning, and recognized no difference between satiety and hunger, nor discriminated between privacy and society, nor had I the power to dissever pain from pleasure. I acknowledged nothing else but the bond of demonstration and the tie of knowledge. Those who had a regard for my constitution, from seeing that two and sometimes three days passed without my taking food, and that my studious spirit had no inclination therefor, were amazed, and stood out strongly against it. I answered that my withdrawal was now a matter of habit and custom, and how was it that no one was astonished when the natural inclination of a sick man on an attack of illness was averse from food. If therefore my love of study induced forgetfulness, where was the wonder? Most of the current arguments of the schools, frequently misquoted and misunderstood when heard, and abstruse questions from ancient works, had been presented to the fresh tablet of my mind. Before these points had been elucidated and the attribution to me of extreme ignorance had passed to that of transcendent knowledge, I had taken objection to ancient writers, and men learning my youth, dissented, and my mind was troubled and my inexperienced heart was in agitation. Once in the early part of my career they brought the gloss of Khwájah Abu'l Ḳásim, on the *Muṭawwal.*[1] All that I had stated before learned doctors and divines of which some of my friends had taken notes, was there found, and those present were astounded and withdrew their dissent, and began to regard me with other eyes and to raise the wicket of misunderstanding and to open the gate of comprehension. In my early days of study, the gloss of Iṣfahání more than half of which had been eaten by white ants, came under my observation. The public being in despair at profiting by it, I removed the parts that had been eaten and joined blank paper to the rest. In the serene hours of morning, with a little reflection, I discovered the beginnings and endings of each fragment and conjecturally penned a draft text which I transcribed on the paper. In the meanwhile the entire work was discovered, and when both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning; and in three or four others, (differing) citations but approximate in sense. All were astounded.

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[1] This Oriental legend of the fabulous guardianship of treasure by a serpent has its parallel in the myth of the Hesperides.

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[1] *Commentarius longior*, the name of a celebrated commentary of Saạdu'ddín Masạúd-b-U'marat-Taftázání (died A. H. 792, A. D. 1389) on the *Talkhíṣu'l Miftáḥ* of Shaykh and Imam Jalálu'ddín Maḥmúd-b-Ạbdu'r Raḥmán al-Ḳazwiní ash-Sháfiạí (died A. H. 739, A. D. 1338). The latter work is on the analysis of grammatical signification and the explanatory science, *i. e.*, rhetoric. Ḥáji Khalífah devotes several pages to its detail and the glosses that have been written on it and on its commentary the Muṭawwal. That referred to in the text is by Abu'l Ḳásim-b-Abí Bakr al-Laithi as-Samarḳandí.

The more my will was engaged, the more my mind was illumined. At the age of twenty the good tidings of my independence reached me. My mind cast off its former bonds and my early bewilderment recurred. With a parade of much learning, the intoxication of youth effervescing, the skirts of pretension spread wide, and the world-displaying cup of wisdom in my hand, the ringings of delirium began to sound in my ears, and suggested a total withdrawal from the world. Meanwhile the wise prince-regnant called me to mind and drew me from my obscurity, somewhat of which I have in its entirety and somewhat but approximately suggested and acknowledged. Here my coin has been tested and its full weight passed into currency. Men now view me with a different regard, and many effusive speeches have been made amid felicitous congratulations evoked.

On this day which is the last of the 42nd year of His Majesty's reign (A. D. 1598), my spirit again breaks away from its yoke and a new solicitude arises within me.

My songster heart knows not King David's strains:
Let it go free—'tis no bird for a cage.

I know not how it will all end nor in what resting-place my last journey will have to be made, but from the beginning of my existence until now the grace of God has continuously kept me under its protection. It is my firm hope that my last moments may be spent in doing His will and that I may pass unburdened to eternal rest.

As the enumeration of the benefits of God is one way of expressing gratitude therefor, I here set down a few of these and invigorate my spirit:—

The *first* blessing which I possessed was in belonging to a noble family. It may be hoped that the virtue of my ancestors may atone for my unworthiness and prove a restoration in allaying the turbulence of my spirit, as pain by medicine, fire by water, heat by cold, and a lover by the sight of his beloved.

The *second*, the prosperity of the age and the general security of the times. As eminent men of old have belauded the justice of strangers, what wonder if I glory in the puissance of the monarch of the visible and invisible worlds.

The *third*, the happy fortune that brought me from the womb of fate into so happy a time when the august shadow of majesty has fallen upon me.

The *fourth*, my noble birth on both sides. Somewhat of my father has already been said. What shall I write of her, (my mother), the fragrance of chastity? She possessed all the noble qualities of men and always adorned her precious hours with good works. She united modesty with strength of character, and her words were in accord with her deeds.

The *fifth*, soundness of limbs, proportionate balance of powers and their conformity.

The *sixth*, a long ministering unto those two blessed personages. It was a fortress against outward and inward disasters, and a fence against material and spiritual calamities.

The *seventh*, excellent health, and the antidote of bodily vigour.

The *eighth*, a good house.

The *ninth*, freedom from care as to means, and happy circumstances.

The *tenth*, a daily increasing delight in doing the will of my parents.

The *eleventh*, the kindness of a father which beyond the ambition of the times loaded me with many bounties and distinguished me as the true patriarch of his house.

The *twelfth*, prayerfulness at the throne of God.

The *thirteenth*, imploring the favours of pious ascetics and true seekers of wisdom.

The *fourteenth*, a perpetual guiding grace.

The *fifteenth*, the collection of books on sciences. Without dishonourable curiosity I became acquainted with the tenets of all creeds, and my spirit was weary of their multitude.

The *sixteenth*, the constant incitement to study on the part of my father and his restraining me from dissipating thoughts.

The *seventeenth*, virtuous companions.

The *eighteenth*, a material love, ordinarily the disturber of households and an earthquake of moral obligations, guided me to the goal of perfection. This wonder fills me every moment with a new astonishment and from time to time I am lost in amazement.

The *nineteenth*, the service of His Majesty which is a new birth and fresh happiness.

The *twentieth*, the recovery from my arrogant presumption through the grace of His Majesty's service.

The *twenty-first*, attaining to a perfect peace through blessings of his august condescension. For some turned from speech to silence; others joined in harmony with the upright of all sects, and for the remaining evil-doers, their penitence being accepted, a reconciliation was brought about. May Almighty God remove the impressions of evil by the rays of knowledge.

The *twenty-second*, my spiritual intercourse with the King of all those that know God.

The *twenty-third*, the raising of me up by His wise Majesty and the bestowal upon me of his confidence without the recommendation of men or my own seeking.

The *twenty-fourth*, the possession of brethren wise, virtuous, and seeking the pleasure of others.

Of my eldest brother what shall I say? who notwithstanding his spiritual and worldly perfections, took no step without my concurrence, indiscreet as I am, and devoting himself to my interests, advanced my promotion and was an aid to good intentions. In his poems he speaks of me in a manner which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, as he says in his Eulogium:

My verse may share both great and little worth,
Its theme sublime—I lowlier than the earth.
A father's virtues shall it far proclaim
And vaunt the glory of a brother's fame;
He, touchstone of all wisdom, who inspires
My strain with sweetness that a world admires;
If through a riper age, I pass him by,
In merit, centuries between us lie.
What though the branching savin taller grows,
What gardener mates its beauty with the rose?

He was born in the Jalálí year 469, corresponding to A. H. 954 (A. D. 1547). In what tongue shall I indite his praise? In this work I have already written of him[1] and poured forth the anguish of my heart, and quenched its furnace with the water of narration and broken the dam of its torrents and alleviated my want of resignation. His works which are the scales of eloquence and penetration and the lawns of the birds of song, praise him[2] and speak his perfections and recall his virtues.

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Barakát. He was born on the night of the 6th of *Mihr Máh* (September) of the Jalálí year 475, corresponding to the night of the 17th Shawwál, A. H. 960 (25th September 1553). Although he has not attained to any high distinction in learning, he has nevertheless a considerable share of erudition, and in knowledge of affairs and as a military tactician[3] and for his practical sagacity he is considered one of the foremost. He is especially distinguished for his goodness of disposition, his reverence for holy men, and his benevolence.

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[1] See Vol. I. p. 548.

[2] The pronoun او must be understood here.

[3] Blochmann translates 'well versed in fencing.' I do not think this is the signification of شمشیر آرای It would

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Khayr. He was born on the 10th of *Isfandármuz* (February) in the fourth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd of Jumáda I., A. H. 967 (18th February 1560). The highest morals and most excellent qualities distinguished his disposition. He understood the temper of the times and kept his tongue like all his other members under the command of reason.

The next was Shaykh Abu'l Makárim. His birth took place on the night of the 1st of *Urdibihisht* (April) in the 14th year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd of Shawwál, A. H. 976 (9th April 1569). Although at first he was a little unruly, the miraculous efficacy of my venerable father's will brought him back to the path of duty and rectitude and he read much of philosphy and tradition under that discerner of the mysteries of the spiritual and material worlds. Somewhat before his study of the ancient philosophers he read with Amír Fatḥ u'llah Shírází.[1] He walks with circumspection and I trust he may reach the goal of his desire.

The next was Shaykh Abú Turáb. He was born on the 1st of *Bahman Máh* (January), in the 29th year of the reign corresponding to Friday, 23rd of Zi'l Ḥijjah A. H. 988 (27th January 1581). Although he was by another mother, he has the happiness of being admitted to court and occupies himself in the acquisition of all perfections.

The next was Shaykh Abu'l Ḥámid. He was born on the 6th of *Day Máh* (December) the 30th of the reign, corresponding to Monday the 3rd Rabíi' II., A. H. 1002 (17th December 1593).

The next was Shaykh Abú Ráshid. He was born on the 5th of *Bahman Máh i Iláhi* (January), the 23rd year of the reign corresponding with Monday, 1st of Jumáda I of the same year (12th January 1594).

Although these (last) two scions of the house of prosperity are of concubines, they bear on their countenances the marks of good breeding. That illustrious sage when informed of their coming birth, fixed the names they were to bear. Before they were born he died. I hope that through his inestimable prayers, fortune may wait on happiness and that they may become the recipients of numerous favours.

Although my elder brother is dead and has thrown the world into mourning, I pray that the other nurslings of joy may attain to long life

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apply only to شمشیر بازی. Abu'l Barakát served under his brother Abul Fazl in Khandésh where he had the opportunity if not the distinction of military command.

[1] See Vol. I. p. 33., Vol. II. p. 30.

in glad prosperity and the fruition both of this world and the next and be blessed with good things temporal and spiritual.

The *twenty-fifth*, my marriage into an honourable house and a family distinguished for learning and the respect in which it was held. This gave my outward person credit and was as a leading rein to my unruly spirit, Hindu, Kashmírí and Persian wives were occasions of great joy to me.

The *twenty-sixth*, the blessing of a dear and virtuous son. He was born on the night of the 18th of *Day Máh* (December) in the 16th year of the reign, corresponding to Monday night, the 12th Sẖabán 979 (29th December 1571.) My father named him Ạbdu'r Raḥmán. Although he is of Hindustani extraction, he has the Greek temperament and is fond of study, has much experience of the good and evil of life, and his countenance displays the marks of a happy fortune. His Majesty has allied him in marriage with his foster family.[1]

The *twenty-seventh*, the sight of a grandson. On the night of the 30th of the month of *Amurdád Máh i Iláhi* in the 30th year of the reign corresponding with Friday, 3rd Zí'l Ḳaạdah 999 (13th August 1591), in an auspicious moment, this child of happy destiny appeared and the favour of God became manifest. His Majesty gave this sapling in the garden of felicity the name of Bishútan.[2] It is my hope that he may be blessed with the highest perfections of nature and grace and attain to the fruition of eternal bliss.

The *twenty-eighth*, a love for the study of moral treatises.

The *twenty-ninth*, the knowledge of the rational soul. For many years I had studied the principles of ontology and physics and had conversed much with the professors of these two sciences and all the proofs by indagation and evidence, inductive and ocular, had come under my observation. Still the path of doubt remained unclosed and my mind was not satisfied. By the blessing of faith this difficulty was solved and I became convinced that the rational soul is a subtile divine essence separate from the body, having, however, a peculiar union with this elemental form.

The *thirtieth*, that from high principle, the awe of the great in place has never withheld me from speaking the truth nor interfered with my pursuit of knowledge and light, nor the fear of ruin to property, life and reputation made me falter in this resolution; thus my course has run on like a flowing stream:

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[1] "Akbar married him to the daughter of Saạdat Yár Kokah's brother." Blochmann. Vol. I. xxxv.

[2] The name of the son of Gushtásp, and brother to Isfandiyár.

The *thirty-first*, indifference to worldly considerations.

The *thirty-second*, the grace to complete this work. Although the motive of this divine book is the praise of God which I have proclaimed with a tongue under the spell of a daily increasing felicity and gratitude for His favours expressed by the language of my pen, nevertheless it is the fountain head of various knowledge and a mine of wisdom to many. To industrious workers it is a guide, and the triflers and gay will find their portion therein. To youth it will be a source of pleasure, to manhood a cause of pride. The stricken in years will there find the experience of ages, and those who lavish the silver and the gold of this world will therein recognise the ordinances of manly fortitude. To the jewel of perspicacity it is a glad weighing-place; to the grasses of freedom, a fertile soil. It is the wicket to the laboratory of skill for the morn of felicity, the deep sea of creation's gem. The favoured who seek for fame will in it find the road thereto, and the godly who pursue truth will rejoice in the custody of the volume of their deeds. Merchants of every kind of ware will learn the ways of profit, and champions in the arena of valour will read therein the tablets of heroism. Those who mortify the flesh for the edification of the spirit will take therefrom the institutes of virtue, and the blessed and sincere of heart will gather thence treasures without end, while those who repose in the pleasant vales of truth will by its means attain to their desire.

A wondrous work herein behold
That wisdom's treasures all enfold;
So fair upon its page they show
That he who reads shall wiser grow.

These various benefits announce the good tidings which my heart hears in gladness that the conclusion of my task will make for goodness and avail me unto everlasting bliss.

Although the son of Mubárak is at the present time the object of resentment and held up as a warning to mankind, and a strife of love and hate is kindled in his regard, the worshippers of God who seek truth give him the name of Abu'l Waḥdat,[1] and account him a unique servant of the Supreme Giver. The valourous in the field of bravery style him Abu'l Himmat and deem him one of the wonders of carnal self-denial. Wisdom proclaims him Abu'l Fitrat, and considers him a choice specimen of that sublime house. In the writings of the vulgar herd which are noisy dens of ignorance, some attribute worldliness to him and hold him to be one of those plunged into this whirlpool, while others regard him as given up to scepticism and apostacy, and band together in reproof and condemnation.

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[1] The Father of Unity, *i.e.*, professing the unity of God, instead of Abu'l Fazl, the father of bounty. Abu'l Himmat signifies the father of resolution, and Abu'l Fiṭrat, the father of understanding. I would amend the فطرني of the text, to be فطرة.

Of me a hundred fictions rumoured fly,
And the world stares if I a word reply.

God be praised that I am not moved from these honorable dispositions by watching the strange vicissitudes of life, nor turn from well-wishing both to those who blame and those who commend, and defile not my tongue with reproof or praise.

The dullard's eye to sterling merit dim,
True ring of minted gold tells nought to him.
Worth must from noble souls unbidden blaze,
As from the moon her light, from Jupiter his rays.

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

ÁÍN-I-AKBARÍ.

[The numbers refer to the pages; *n.* means 'footnote.']

ẠÁNAH, 80 and *n.*
Aaron, 377.
Abádhita vishayatva, 144 and *n* 1.
Ábah, 84.
Abarḳúh, 67.
Ábaskún, 86, 343 and *n* 3.
Ạbbadán, 66.
Abbasides, The, 427 *n* 2.
Abbí Bargés, 61 *n.*
Abdáls, The, 376 and *n* 3, 377.
Ạbdu'l Ghafúr of Lár, Mauláná, 374.
Ạbdu'l Ḥaḳḳ, Shaykh Muḥd., 374.
Ạbdu'l Ḳádir, Mauláná, 375.
Ạbdu'l Ḳádir Jílí, 357, 362, 419.
Ạbdu'l Karím, 76 *n.*
Ạbdu'l Ḳuddús, Shaykh 374 and *n* 2.
Ạbdu'l Laṭíf, 75 *n.*
Ạbdu'l Laṭíf's History of Egypt, 426 *n* 2.
Ạbdu'l Malik, Caliph, 340.
Ạbdu'l Muṭí, Mḥd., 353 *n.*
Ạbdu'l Wahháb, Shaykh Ḥájí, 374.
Ạbdu'l Wáḥid-b-Zaid, 354, 357.
Ạbdu'llah Khán, 346, 387 and *n* 1.
Ạbdu'llah-ibn-u'l Muḳffạ, 340 *n.*
Ạbdu'llah-b-Ṭáhir, 85 *n.*
Ạbdu'r Raḥmán, 75 *n.*
Ạbdu'r Rashíd-b-Maḥmúd, 341.
Ạbdú'r Razzáḳ, Shaykh, 374, 419.
Abelmeula, 378 *n* 1.
Abhar, 83 and *n*, 84 *n*, 87 *n*, 362 *n* 2.
Abháva, 132, 134, 138 *n* 3, 151, 154, 156 *n* 4.
Abhidha, 239 *n* 1.
Abhijit, 22 and *n* 1.
Abhiniveśa, 181.
Abhisáriká, 243.
Abhyása, 182.
Abishkhwur Núri Serábdil, 352.
Abiward, 92 and *n*, 357.
Àblaḳ, al-, 57 *n.*
Abraham, 343 *n* 1, 376, 377 *n* 1, 418.
Abrakhis, 90.
Abram, 375 *n* 2.
Abrárs, The, 376 *n* 3.
Abrúḳ, 99.
Abú, 189 *n.*
Abú Aḥmad Abdál, Khwájah, 357.
Abú Ạlí al-Fárisí, 422 *n.*
Abú Ạlí Firozábádí, 356.
Abú Bakr al-Harawí, 99 *n.*
Abú Bakr aṣ Ṣiddíḳ, 84 *n*, 356, 360.
Abú Dulaf, 83 *n.*
Abú Ḥafṣ, 351, 352.
Abú Ḥanífah, 370, 374, 421.
Abú Hurayrah, 391 *n.*
Abú Isḥáḳ-b-Shahryár, 356.
Abú Isḥáḳ Shámí, 357.
Abú Maạshar of Balkh, 3, 29 *n* 1, 349.
Abú Nawás, 79 *n.*
Abú Saịd al-Mubárak, 358.
Abú Saráya, 326 *n* 5.
Abú Sufyán Thaurí, 351 and *n* 2, 355 *n* 1, 357.
Abú Ṭálib, Shaykh, 353.
Abu Tíj, 71.

Abú U'bayd Biṣrí, 353.
Abú Umayyah, 354 *n* 3.
Abú Zaid, 54 *n*.
Abu'l Ạbbás, al-Khiẓr, 375.
Abu'l Akúl, 49 *n*.
Abul Fazl, 10 *n* 1, 13 *n* 2, 15 *n* 1, 19 *n* 1, 22 *n* 2, 26 *n* 1, 42 *nn* 1 and 2, 43, *n* 3, 46 *n* 1, 64 *n*, 66 *n*, 81 *n*, 94 *n*, 97 *n* 105 *n* 1, 110 *n* 1, 117 *n* 3, 123 *n* 1, 129 *n* 1, 130 *n* 1, 135 *n* 1, 157 *n* 2, 158 *n*, 161 *n* 1, 163 *n*, 166 *n* 1, 174 *n* 4, 176 *n* 2, 178 *n*, 191 *n* 2, 195 *nn* 1 and 3, 200 *n* 6, 202 *n*, 204 *n*, 206 *n*, 211 *n* 1, 218 *n*, 220 *n* 4, 221 *n* 3, 222 *nn* 1 and 2, 228 *n* 2, 232 *n* 1, 233 *n* 1, 238 *nn* 2 and 3, 239 *n* 1, 240 *n* 3, 243 *n* 3, 246 *n*, 247 *n* 3, 248 *n* 2, 250 *n* 5, 252 *n*, 353 *n* 2, 261 *n* 1, 264 *n* 2, 269 *n* 1, 271 *n* 3, 276 *n* 2, 307 *n* 4, 308 *n* 1, 319 *n* 2, 331 *n* 1, 340 *n* 1, 347 *n* 2, 351 *n* 2, 358 *n* 3, 361 *n*, 368 *n* 1, 373 *n* 1, 376 *n* 1, 378 *n* 1, 390 *n* 3, 394, *n* 1, 404 *n* 1, 410 *n* 3, 418 *n* 3, 421 *n* 1, 423 *n* 2, 426 *n* 2, 442 *n* 1, 448 *n*.
Abu'l Fazl, minister of Samani, 340 *n*.
Abulfeda, 29 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 39 *n* 2, 43 *n* 3, 47 *n*, 48 *n*, 49 *n*, 50 *n*, 51 *n*, 52 *n*, 53 *n*, 54 *n*, 56 *n*, 57 *n*, 58 *n*, 59 *n*, 60 *n*, 61 *n*, 62 *n*, 63 *n*, 65 *n*, 66 *n*, 67 *n*, 68 *n*, 70 *n*, 71 *n*, 72 *n*, 73 *n*, 74 *n*, 75 *n*, 76 *n*, 77 *n*, 79 *n*, 80 *n*, 81 *n*, 82 *n*, 83 *n*, 84 *n*, 85 *n*, 87 *n*, 88 *n*, 89 *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 92 *n*, 93 *n*, 94 *n*, 95 *n*, 96 *n*, 97 *n*, 98 *n*, 100 *n*, 101 *n*, 103 *n*, 104 *n*.
Abúldah, 102.
Abu'l Ḥawárí, Aḥmad, 352.
Abu'l Ḳásim, Khwájah, 444 and *n* 1.
Abu'l Mạálí N. Mustaufí, 341.
Abu'l Muayyad, Shaykh Nizámu'ddín, 366.
Abydos, 101 *n*.
Abyssinia, 47 and *n*, 109, 124 *n*.
Abzou, 101.
Áchamíyyá, The, 305.
Ácháránga, The, 203.
Áchárya, The, 206.
Áchárya, 283.
Achilles Tatius, 38 *n* 1.
Achín, 7.
Acre, 64 *n*.
Adá; 253.
Ádábu'l Murídín, The, 357.
Adam, 49 *n*, 134 *n* 1, 325 and *n* 1, 397, 398.
Aḍanah, 78.
Adbhuta, 241.
Adelard de Bath, 30 *n* 1.
Aden, 48, 50 *n*, 54 *n*.
Ạden, Gulf of, 47 *n*, 48 *n*.
Adhaḥ, 113.
Adhamá, 243.
Adhamí order, The, 354.
Adharma, 137, 141, 201 *nn* 2 and 4, 202 *n* 2, 264.
Adharmástikáya, 201.
Ádhatí, The, 255.
Ádhibhautika, 173.
Ádhidaivika, 173.
Adhína, 150.
Adhírá, 242.
Ạḍhudu'd Daulah, 25 *n* 1, 74 *n*.
Ádhyátmika, 173.
Adhyáyá, 150, 175.
Adhyayana siddhi, 176.
Ádinátha, 192, 197.
Aditi, 227 and *n* 2, 228, 230, 288, 290.
Áditya Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Ádityaloka, 149 and *n* 1.
Ádityas, The, 227 *n* 2, 290.
Ạḍrishṭa, 148 *n* 1.
Adulis, 48 *n*.
A-dvaita, 159 *n*.
Ægean, The, 110 *n* 1.
Æschylus, 109 *n* 2.
Afam, 105.
Afghán of Shál, 119.
Afghanistan, 124 *n* 425 *n* 1.
Afghánpúr, 365 *n* 1.
Afrásiáb, 29 *n* 1, 87 *n*.
Afráz Haroz, 81 *n*.
Africa, 20 *n* 2, 43 *n* 3, 49 *n*, 52 *n*, 53 *n*, 61, 62, 71, 81 *n*, 90 *n*, 9, 108 *n* 2, 110, 124 *n*.
African, Province of, 62 *n*.

Agada-tantra, 225 *n*.
Ágama, 237.
Aghades, 55 *n*.
Ạghmát, 70.
Agharjah, 96.
Agni, 113 and *n* 2, 153 *n* 3, 168 *n* 1, 172 *n* 1, 224 *n* 3, 276 *n* 1.
Agni Puráṇa, The, 220.
Agnídhra, 31 *n* 1.
Agni-hotra, The, 276 and *n* 2.
Agra, 59, 251, 288 and *n*, 289, 292, 423, 425 *n* 2, 426 *n* 1, 427 and *n* 3, 437, 438, 439.
Ahalyá, 151 *n*.
Ahankára, 139 *n* 1, 162, 163, 165 *n* 3, 170, 171, 173, 174, 178, 302 and *n* 3.
Áhata, 245.
Ahinśá, 184.
Ahír caste, The, 316 *n* 1.
Ahitit-pújá, The, 277.
Aḥmad Gugarátí, Sulṭán, 371.
Aḥmadábád, 58, 371, 421.
Áhnika, 150.
Aḥsá, 58 and *n*.
Ahú, 397.
Ahwáz, 64 *n*, 65, 66 *n*, 73 and *n*, 336 *n* 1, 407 *n* 1.
Ạidháb, 57.
Aimák, 118 *n*.
Aindra, 172.
Aindreyaka, 173 *n* 4.
Áín-i-Akbari, The, 312 *n* 2.
Ạin Járaḥ, 75.
Ạintáb, 91.
Ạin u'sh Shams, 74.
Air, nine kinds of, 17.
Airávata, 286.
Aiśvarya, 171, 180, 187.
Aitihya, 156 *n* 4.
Ajíva, 201 and *n* 3, 202 *n* 2.
Ajmer, 59, 362, 421 *n* 1.
Ajmere-Merwár, 307 *n* 2.
Ajñána, 140 *n* 2, 160, 164, 165.
Ajodhan, 364, 365, 368.
Ajodhya, 59.
Ạḳabah, 53 *n*, 63.
Ạḳabah, Gulf of, 57 *n*.
Aḳadír, 61 *n*.
Akáranga Sútra, The, 203 *n* 1, 208 *n* 1.
Ákáśa, 132, 200, 202 *n* 2.
Akbar, 2, 9, 12, 15, 59, 69, 120, 125, 210 212, 252 and *n*, 257, 258, 278, 314 *n* 3, 331 *n* 1, 349 *n* 1, 363 *n*, 380, 383 *n* 1, 387 *n* 1, 392, 404 *n* 1, 405, 417, 421 *n* 1, 425 *n* 2, 430 *n* 1, 449 *n* 1.
Akbar's Dream, 272, *n* 1.
Akbarnámah, The, 359, *n* 1, 416, 426 *n* 2.
Akerman, 102 *n*, 104 *n*.
Akháṛá, The, 258.
Akhí Siráj, Shaykh, 365, 371.
Akhláṭ, 95.
Akhmím, 55 *n*, 56 *n*.
Akhsíkat, 98 and *n*.
Akhtúb, 378 and *n* 1.
Akhyárs, The, 376 *n* 3.
Aḳja-Kirmán, 102.
Aklishṭi, 180.
Aḳsarái, 95.
Aksha, Latitude, 35.
Aḳshahr, 95.
Akshara, 150.
Aḳṣur, 55, 56 *n*.
Alabdha-bhúmikatva, 181.
Al-Ablaḳ, 57 *n*.
Alaf Khán, 365 *n* 1.
Alaknanda, The, 226 *n* 2.
Alaksar, 56 *n*.
Alanjah, 53, 56 *n*.
Alápa, 252 *n* and *n* 3, 253 *n*.
Álasya, 181.
Ạláu'ddaulah, Shaykh, 376 and *n* 1.
Ạláu'ddín, Sulṭán, 251 *n* 1.
Ạláu'ddín Ghorí, 341, 342, 345 *n* 1, 363 *n*.
Ạláu'ddín Majzúb, Shaykh, 423.
Ạláu'ddín Masạúd Sháh, 345, 346, 347 and *n* 2, 348.
Ạláu'ddín Muḥammad, Shaykh, 372.
Ạláu'l Ḥaḳḳ, Shaykh, 365, 371.
Ạláya, 94.
Albania, 110 *n* 1.
Albano, 249 *n* 1.
Al Basra, 76 *n*.
Albert the Great, 30 *n* 1-

Albírúní, 26 *n* 1, 28 *n* 2, 29 *n* 1, 35 *nn* 2 and 3, 36 *n* 1, 37 *n* 1, 39 *nn* 1 and 3, 40 *n* 1, 43 *n* 3, 50 *n*, 105 *n* 1, 106, 107 *n*, 109 *n*, 110 *n* 1, 111 *n* 1, 116 *n* 2, 123, *n* 1, 226 *n* 3, 227 *n*, 232 *n* 1, 281 *n* 2, 294 *n* 1, 307 *n* 2, 318 *n* 1, 319 *n* 3, 320 *n* 2.
Albírúní's Chronology, 17 *n* 2, 19 *n* 2, 22 *n* 2, 40 *n* 1.
Albírúní's India, 11 *n* 1, 12 *n* 2, 14 *n* 2, 15 *n* 1, 17 *n* 2, 18 *n* 1, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 5, 21 *n* 1, 22 *nn*, 23 and *n* 1, 25 *nn* 2 and 3, 26 *n* 1, 28 *n* 2, 35 *nn* 2 and 3, 36 *n* 1, 37 *n* 1, 39 *nn* 1 and 3, 43 *n* 3, 59 *n*, 105 *n* 1, 107 *n*, 109 *n*, 110 *n* 1, 111 *n* 1, 123 *n* 1, 226 *n* 3.
Aleppo, 20 *n* 2, 75 *n*, 78 and *n*, 90 and *n*, 91 *n*.
Alexander, 42, 78 *n*, 79 *n*, 91 *n*, 120 *n* 1, 330, 331 and *n* 1, 332 and *n* 2, 334, 335, 376 *n*, 377 and *n* 1, 392 and *n* 1, 411 *n* 1.
Alexandretta, 78 *n*.
Alexandria, 24 *n* 2, 63 *n* 1, 75 *n*.
Alfazári, 105 *n* 1.
Algeciras, 76 *n*.
Algeria, 72 *n*.
Algiers, 59 *n*.
Algú, 346.
Ạlí, 350 *n* 2, 354, 359 *n* 4.
Ạlí Beg, 348.
Ạlí-b-Bakkár, 357.
Ạlí-b-Masạúd-b-Maḥmúd, 341.
Ạlí-b-Músá ar-Riḍha, 86 *n*.
Ạlí Khạrwá, 397.
Alḳaṣr-al Kabír, 76 *n*.
Allahabad, 32 *n* 3, 59 *n*, 232.
Allahábád, Ṣúbah of, 59 *n*.
Allains, 101 *n*.
Ạlláḳi, 52, 57.
Ạlláḳi, mountain of, 52 *n*.
Almagest, The, 13 and *n* 1, 24 *nn* 1 and 2, 43 and *n* 1, 422.
Almaksam, 47 *n*.
Almálíḳ, 102.
Almás Beg, 347 and *n*.
Almeria, 77 and *n*.
Almoravides, The, 55 *n*.
Almuñecar, 77 *n*.
Alp Arslán, 88 *n*.
Alp Khán, 347 *n* 2.
Alramni, island of, 54 *n*.
Altmish, Shamsu'ddín, 342, 344, 345, 363, 367.
Aluḳak, 103.
Al-Yambụ, 57.
Amállṭu, or Amánṭu, 49.
Ámán, Shaykh, 375.
Amaṇaska, 192 *n* 4.
Amarkót, 59, 421 *n* 1.
Amasia, 101 and *n*.
Amávasa festival, 318.
Ámaya, 308 *n* 1.
Ambálah, 70.
Ambaṣṭha, 115.
Ambaṣṭhas The, 115 *n* 2.
Ámid, 80, 91 *n*.
Amín, al, 326 and *n* 3.
Amír Fatḥu'llah Shírází, 448.
Amír Khusrau, 251 *n* 1, 252.
Amír Kulál, 358, 359 and *n*.
Amír Naṣr, 407 *n* 1.
Amisus, 101 *n*.
Ạmmán, 63.
Ạmmár, 356.
Ammonites, The, 63 *n*.
Ạmmúríyyah, 95.
Ammábád, 69.
Amnis lapidum, 77 *n*.
Amol, 68 *n*.
Amorium, 95 *n*.
Amṛita, 286.
Amrití, The, 254.
Amroha, 69 *n*, 348.
Amul, 84, 85 *n*.
Anáhata, 245.
Anaiśvarya, 171, 180.
Ánanda, 160.
Ánandiní, 253.
Ananta-darśana, 191.
Ananta-jñána, 191.
Ananta-sukha, 191.
Ananta-vírya, 191.
Anárabhyádhíta, 158 *n*.

Anatolia, 101 *n*, 110 *n* 1.
Anavasthitatva, 181.
Anaximander, 37 *n* 1.
Anbár, 65.
Ancient Chronicle, The, 109 *n* 1.
Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham's, 58 *n*, 69 *n*, 212 *n*.
Andaghast, 55.
Andaḳ, 359 *n* 3.
Andaḳí, Khwájah Ḥasan, 359.
Andalusia, 76, 95 *n*.
Anderáb, 88.
Anderabah, n, 1.
Andes, The, 88 *n* 2.
Andhakára, 154.
Andhra, 1, 102.
Angas, The, 203, 204 *n*, 205 *n* 1, 206 *n* 1. 224 and *n* 3.
Anghelion, The, 336 *n* 1.
Angiras, 310.
Angiras code, The, 221.
Angiyá, 312.
Angora, 70 *n*, 95 *n*.
Angúṭhí, 313.
Anhilpúr, 69 *n*.
Animá, 187.
Aniruddha, 144 *n* 1, 165 *n* 3, 169 *n*, 176 *n* 1, 177 *n*.
Aṅka, 150.
Annesley Bay, 48 *n*.
Annuyogadváram, The, 205 *n* 1.
Anquetil, 13 *n* 3.
Anśa, 249 *n*.
Anṣárí, Khwájah Ạbdu'llah, 353.
Anśávatara, 284.
Anṣíná, 56.
Antaḥkaraṇa, 162.
Antakṛiddaśá, The, 204 and *n*.
Antara-dwípa, 192 *n* 1.
Antaráya, 202 and *n*.
Antazakht, 102.
Antimeroöe, 42 *n* 1, 43 *n* 2.
Antinoe, 56 *n*.
Antinous, 56 *n*.
Antioch, 64 *n*, 78 *n*, 90 *n*.
Antiochus, *n*.
Anubhava, 138, 139.
Anúdu, islands, 105.
Anugraha, 173 *n* 4.
Anukúla, 243.
Anumána, 129, 138 *n* 3, 151, 191.
Anunásika, 223 *n* 1.
Anupalabdhi, 156.
Anuśayáná, 242.
Anushirwán, 1.
Anusvára, 222, 223 *n* 1.
Anuttamámbhas-tushṭi, 176.
Anuttara, 194 *n*.
Anuttaropapáti Kadaśánga, The, 204 and *n*.
Anvaya-vyatirekin, 144.
Anwár i Suhaylí, The, 341.
Anwaṭ, 314.
Apahasita, 240.
Apamea, 90.
Apána, 149 *n*, 162.
Apanchíkṛita, 161 and *n* 1.
Aparájita, 194 *n*.
Aparatva, 135.
Aparigraha, 184.
Ápastamba, The, 221.
Apavarga, 129, 139.
Apocalypse, The, 33 *n* 1.
Apollinopolis Parva, 55 *n*.
Aprajá-pati, 193.
Apúrva, 158 *n*.
Aquæ Tacapitanæ, The, 71 *n*.
Arabia, 66 *n*, 109, 110 and *n* 1, 120, 124 *n*, 371, 424.
Arabian Nights, The, 326 *n* 2.
Arabian Sea, The, 51 *n*.
Arabs, The, 13 *n* 3, 29 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 39 *n* 2, 43 *n* 3, 48 *n*, 52 *n*, 63 *n*, 89 *n*, 109, 124 *n*, 212, 241, 326 *n* 5, 385 *n* 2.
Arachosia, 68 *n*.
Aral sea, The, 103.
Árám Sháh, 342,
Arañyaka, 289 *n* 2.
Áraṇyakas, The, 222 *n* 1.
Aras, 191 and *n* 3.
Araxes, The, 81 *n*, 99 *n*.
Arba, 200.
Arbela, 80 *n*, 81 *n*.
Arbúnah, 93.

Archelais, 95 *n*.
Archimedes, 26 and *n* 1.
Archons, 328 *n* 3.
Ardabíl, 81, 82.
Ardeshir-b-Bábak, 67 *n*, 74 *n*, 75 *n*, 337.
Ardeshír Darázdast, 329 *n* 1.
Ardeshir Khurrah, 74 *n*.
Ardhabinda, 223
Ardhdwaj, The 255.
Ardiya, Mtn. 39 *n* 1.
Ardshír, 337.
Arghún, 83 *n*.
Arhas, The, 192 *n* 1.
Arhat (or Arhant), 188 and *n* 1.
Arhat (Buddha), 211 *n* 1.
Arhat doctrines, The, 202 *n*.
Ariana, 110 *n* 1.
Ariavarta, 32 *n* 3, 33.
Ạrim, inundation of, 79 *n*.
Arim or Arym, 30 *n* 1.
Arín or Azín, 29 *n* 1, 59 *n*.
Ạrísh, 63.
Aristarchus, 224 *n*.
Aristophanes, 11 *n* 1, 16 *n* 3.
Aristotle, 12 *n* 3, 14 *n* 1, 20, 37 *n* 1, 106 *n* 1, 107 *n*, 126, 143 *n* 3, 151 *n*, 161 *n*, 180 *n*.
Arjísh, 80.
Arjuna, 227 *n* 1, 392 *n* 2.
Armant, 60.
Armenia, 78, 79, 80 and *n*, 82 *n*, 95 and *n*, 100, 110 *n* 1.
Armenia, Little, 78 *n*, 95 *n*.
Armorica, 104 *n*.
Arphaxad, 375 and *n* 2.
Arraján, 65 and *n*, 90 *n*, 359 *n*.
Arrán, 81, 83, 95 and *n*, 96, 99.
Arrian, 78 *n*, 96 *n*, 304 *n* 7, 331 *n* 1, 332 *nn* 1 and 2.
Arrow river, The, 304 *n* 5.
Arsene, 8) *n*.
Ársha, 307.
Ársha marriage, 309 and *n* 2, 349 *n* 1.
Artan Kalorán, 102.
Artang or Arzhang, The, 337 and *n* 1.
Artaxerxes Longimanus, 229 *n* 1.
Artha, 120 and *n* 1, 132.
Arthápatti, 138 *n* 3, 156 and *n* 4.
Artha-śástra, The, 225.
Arthaváda, 158 *n*. 219 and *n* 1.
Arváksrotas, 173 *nn* 3 and 4.
Árya, 192 *n* 1.
Aryabhata, 12 *n* 2.
Aryan Languages, Comparative Grammar of, 120 *n*.
Aryans, The, 114 *n* 1.
Árya-satya, 214.
Arzan, 79 *n*, 95 *n*.
Arzan u'r Rúm, 79 *n*, 95, 96 *n*.
Arzandrúm, 96.
Arzanján, 95.
Áṣ, The, country, 102.
Asadí, 328 and *n* 1.
Asafi, 61.
Asamaváyi Káraṇa, 143.
Asaṃjña, 197.
Asamprajñáta-samádhi, 182, 183.
Ásana, 183, 185.
Asatpratipakshatva, 144 and *n* 1.
Áśaya, 181 and *n* 1.
Ascalon, 64 *n*.
Asfápúr, 96 *n*.
Asfaras, 94 *n*.
Ashkbár, Mauláná Muḥyi'ddín, 422.
Ashmúm, 56 *n*.
Ashmún, 56 *n*.
Ashraf-i-Ashráf, 428.
Ashráfs, The, 428.
Asht, 102.
Ashṭánga-Yoga, 183.
Ashwatthámá, 159.
Asia, 109 and *n* 2, 110 and *n* 1, 123 *n* 1.
Asia Major, 110 and *n* 1.
Asia Minor, 78 and *n*, 90 *n*, 94, 95, 99 *n* 100 *n*, 102 104 *n*, 110 and *n* 1, 120 *n* 1, 124 *n*, 369 *n* 1.
Asiatic Researches, The, 11 *n* 2, 16 *n* 4 22 *n* 1, 28 *n* 2, 36 *n* 2, 191 *n* 3, 192 *n* 1, 304 *n* 5.
Ạsḳaláni, al, 361 and *n*, 424 and *n* 1.
Ạskar Mukram, 66.
Asmán, 14.
Asmita, 181, 183.
Asnút, 102.

Aśoka, 318 *n* 3.
Aśokáshtamí festival, 318.
Áśrama, 272.
Ásrava, 202 and *n* 1 and 2, 203.
Assam, 48 *n*, 121 *n* 3.
Assouán, 52 *n*, 53 *n*, 56 *n*.
Assyria, 110 *n* 1, 328 *n* 2.
Assyrians, The, 328 *n* 3.
Astarábád, 84 *n*, 85, 343 *n* 3, 359 *n* 3.
Astarte, Syrian Goddess, 79 *n*.
Asteya, 184.
Astikáya, 201 *n* 2.
Astrakhan, 96 *n*, 101 *n*, 103 *n*.
Astronomy of the Ancients, Lewis', 16 *n* 3, 25 *n* 3, 38 *n* 1, 39 *n* 3.
Ásura marriage, 309.
Asuras, The, 193 *n* 2, 287 *n*, 306 and *n* 5, 309 and *n* 4.
Ásuri, 169 *n*.
Áśva, 286.
Aśvamedha, or horse-sacrifice, 281.
Átá, 358.
Átá Yasawí, 358,
Aṭak Benares, 69.
Atala, 82.
Aṭáu'ddín of Bukhára, 367.
Aṭhára Vidyá, The, 218.
Atharvan, 219 *n* 1.
Atharvaveda, The, 116, 128, 219 and *n* 1.
Atheníyah, 78.
Athens, 101 *n*, 328 *n* 3.
Atihasita, 240 *n* 4.
Atikránta bhávaníya, 183.
Atkinson, 327 *n* 1, 330 *n*.
Atlantic, The, 34 and *n* 1, 43 *n* 3, 46, 76.
Atlas du Voyage, Chardin's, 38 *n* 2.
Átman, 129, 132, 154, 159, 169, 170 and *n* 1, 171, 190, 215 and *n* 2.
Aṭrábulus, 62.
Atri, 117, 310.
Atri, The, 221.
Atrut, 327 *n* 1.
Aṭṭár, Farídu'ddín, 351 *n*.
Aṭwál, Kitábu'l, 47 *n*, 48 *n*, 50 *n*, 51 *n*, 52 *n*, 53 *n*, 56 *n*, 57 *n*, 59 *n*, 75 *n*, 82 *n*, 84 *n*, 85 *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 92 *n*, 93 *n*.
Átyantika dissolution, 165.
Auḍava, 248 and *n* 2.
Audmiyyah, 90.
Aufat, 47 *n*.
Augusta Emerita, 76 *n*.
Augustine, St., 336 *n* 1.
Augustus, 76 *n*.
Auján, 81.
Aurṇikakalpa, 208 *n* 3.
Auśanaśa, The, 220,
Ausáṭ, The, 428.
Avadhi-jñána, 190.
Avagraha, 190.
Aváb, 84 *n*.
Avaha, 17.
Avantiká, 305.
Ávantyas, The, 290 *n* 1.
Ávápa, 158 *n*.
Ávarana-śaktí, 160.
Avasarpiṇi age, The, 188 *n* 1, 191 *n* 3.
Avatáras, The, 284, 293.
Aváya, 190.
Avayava, 129, 143, 144 *n*.
Aves, The, 11 *n* 1.
Avicenna, 106, 107, 421 *n* 4.
Avidyá, 140 *n* 2, 160, 181.
Avienus, 34 *n* 1, 64 *n*, 77 *n*.
Avirága, 171, 180.
Avirati, 181.
Awadh, 59, 305.
Áwaj, The, 255, 257
Awál, island of, 58.
Awílah, 60.
Awliyá, 350.
Axum, 47 *n*.
Ayás, 78, 90.
Áyatanas, The, 214.
Ayesha, 391 *n*.
Ayodhyá, 117 *n* 4, 287, 291, 305.
Ayogava, 116.
Ayogavas, 115 *n* 2.
Áyur-veda, The, 224, 286 *n* 3.
Áyus, 201.
Áyushka, 202 *n*.
Azádhwar, 91 *n*.
Azaḳ, 103 and *n*.
Ázar, 343 *n* 1.

Azarbíján, 80 and *n*, 81 and *n*, 82, 83 and *n*, 95 *n*, 362 *n* 2.
Azdí, al, 407 *n* 1.
Ạzízi, 66 *n*, 82 *n*.
Azof, 103 *n*.
Azof, Sea of, 101.
Azores, The, 33 *n* 1.
Azrạát of Damascus, 72.
Azráíl, 325 and *n* 1.

BAAL, 378 *n* 2.
Baạlbak, 64, 73 *n*, 278 *n* 1, 377.
Báb, 358 *n* 2.
Báb Arslán, 358.
Báb Farghání, 358 *n* 2.
Bábá Isḥáḳ Maghrabí, 371.
Bábá Kamál Jandí, 356.
Bábá Nizám Abdál, 374.
Bábá Ratn, Shaykh, 360, 361 *n*.
Bábá Sammásí, 358, 359 and *n*.
Bábak, 67 *n*, 74 *n*, 75 *n*.
Baber, 16, 98 *n*, 349.
Bábil, 65.
Bábu'l Abwáb, 95 *n*, 96.
Bábu'l Ḥadíd, 95, 96 *n*.
Babylon, 29 *n* 1, 64 *n*, 65 *n*, 120 *n* 1, 328, 337 *n*.
Babylonia, 110 *n* 1.
Bacon, Roger, 30 *n* 1.
Bacon's Essays, 37 *n* 1.
Bactria, 42.
Bactriana, 99 *n*, 110 *n* 1.
Báḍaghís, 87.
Badajos, 100 *n*.
Badakshán, The, 88 *n*, 97.
Badakshán, 88 and *n*, 89.
Badáon, 345 *n* 1, 365, 367, 369.
Badáoni, 345 *n* 1, 360 *n* 2, 375 *n*, 440 *n* 1.
Bádaráyaṇa, 159 *n*.
Badari-Náráyaṇa, 226, 307 *nn* 2 and 3.
Bádávard, 314 *n* 1.
Baddirí, 307.
Baḍgújars, The, 118.
Bádhíta, 144 *n* 2.
Badhní, Shaykh Ṣúfí, 366.
Bádí, 249 *n*.
Badri Náth, 307 *n* 3, 226 *n* 2.
Badru'ddín Ghaznaví, Shaykh, 364, 368.
Badru'ddín Isḥáḳ, Shaykh, 368.
Badru'ddín Sulaymán, 372.
Baḍwínal, mountain, 28.
Baëza, 100 *n*.
Báfd, 67.
Bagh, 87 *n*.
Baghdád, 27, 65 and *n*, 72 *n*, 73 *n*, 75 *n*, 81 *n*, 351, 352, 353 and *n* 1, 354, 356, 357, 362 *n* 1, 363, 367, 395 *n*, 407 *n* 1, 419.
Baghlán, 88 *n*.
Bághphat, 69.
Baghrah, 70.
Baghrás, 78.
Baghshúr, 87, 352 *n* 3.
Bagrám, 346.
Bahádur Sháh of Gujarát, 374.
Bahádur, Sulṭán, 251 *n* 1.
Baháu'ddín Naḳshbandí, Khwájah, 359 *n* 3, 360.
Baḥḥáth, al, 365.
Bahman, 329, 329, *n* and *n* 1, 330, 337.
Bahmanábád, 331 *n* 1.
Bahnasa, 63.
Bahrám, 62 *n*.
Bahrám Gor, 62 *n*, 337, 338 and *n* 1, 340.
Bahrám Sháh, 341 and *n* 1.
Baḥrein, 57, 58 and *n*.
Baḥrein, Gulf of, 58 *n*.
Baḥrein, Sea of, 58.
Báhú, 313.
Báhudá, The, 304.
Bahu-rúpí, The, 258.
Baibhár, 212 *n*.
Baiḍá, 74 and *n*.
Baihaḳ, 85 *n*.
Baihaḳí, Abu'l Ḳásim al, 85 *n*.
Baikand, 89 *n*, 97.
Bailaḳán, 96.
Bairáth, 33,
Baisán, 64, 325 *n* 1.
Baisar, 75 *n*.
Baitu'l Muḳaddas, 63.
Bajnah, 104.
Bákharz, 367 *n* 1.

Bákharzí, Shaykh Sayfu'ddín, 356, 367.
Bakhtyár Khilji, 345 *n* 3.
Bakíl, 53.
Bakíl, clan of, 53 *n*.
Báḳir, Muhammad al, 359 *n* 4, 360.
Baḳḳál, Khwájah Ḥasan Sháh, 422.
Baḳḳáls, The, 118.
Baḳḳam, 48 and *n*.
Bakshí, Nizámu'ddín, 362 *n* 3.
Bakshú, 251 and *n* 1.
Baku, 96 *n*.
Balad, 80 *n*.
Baladevas, The, 197, 198 *n*.
Balahbad, 81 *n*.
Balanjar, 101, 102.
Balansia, 90.
Balaráma, 165 *n* 3.
Balásághún, 88.
Balasgoun, 88 *n*.
Balban, Ghiyáṣu'ddín, 342, 346 and *n* 1.
Bálí, 313.
Bali, 159 and *n*, 289 and *n*, 320 and *n* 2.
Baliá, 397.
Balínás, 336.
Balirájya festival, 320.
Balísá, 397 *n* 2.
Balḳá, 63.
Balkh, 3, 43 *n* 3, 87 *n*, 88 and *n*, 93 *n*, 329 *n*, 349, 352, 357, 361 *n* 1, 370.
Ballantyne, Dr., 136 *n*, 139 *n* 2, 178 and *n* 3.
Balnán, 73.
Balraghdámis, 77.
Baluchistan, 68 *n*, 119.
Báluka-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.
Balyán, 375.
Balzam, 78.
Bam, 67, 78.
Bambyce, 79 *n*.
Bámián, 88.
Bámiún, 87 *n*.
Banákati, 1,212.
Báṇárasi, 188 *n* 1.
Banát u'n Naṣsh, 39.
Banbalunah, 101.
Bandha, 173, 202 and *n* 2.
Baudnah, Fort of, 69.
Banerjea, Dr., 169 *n*, 217 *n* 1.
Banerjea's Dialogues, 151 *n*.
Bánganga, The, 304.
Bangash, 70 and *n*.
Bangula, 252.
Bani Kailah, 64 *n*.
Bani'l Marák, 64 *n*.
Bani Najah, The, 53 *n*.
Bani Tamím, 88 *n*.
Banik Vaiśyas, 118.
Baniki, 91 *n*.
Banjhír, 89.
Ban-mánus, The, 120.
Bápu Deva, 19 *n* 3, 21 *n*, 36 *n* 2.
Baradán, 65.
Bárahi fish, 296, 297 *n*.
Barakah, 103 and *n*.
Bárám, 60.
Baran, 69.
Barbara, 144 *n*.
Barbary, 110.
Barbera, 48.
Barbier de Meynard, 61 *n*.
Bárbud, 314 *n* 1.
Barcelona, 93 *n*.
Bardah, 95 and *n*.
Bardashír 67 *n*.
Bardsír, 67.
Barghademá, 77 *n*.
Bári, 251.
Barísa, 49 and *n*.
Barkadír, 87 *n*.
Barkah, 62 and *n*.
Barḳányah, 104.
Barḳí, Khwájah Ạbdu'llah, 359.
Barkiarok, 343 *n* 1.
Barni, 347 *nn* 2 and 3, 348 *n* 1.
Baronius, 336 *n* 1.
Barrow, Mr. Reuben, 19 *nn* 1 and 4, 27 *nn* 1, 2 and 3.
Bars Birt, 78.
Barth, Mr., 177 *n* 1, 185 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*.
Bárúsí, Salm-b-Ḥusayn, 351.
Barzawaih, 1.
Barżú, 330.
Basá of Fárs, 73.

Basásírí, al, 73 *n*.
Baṣrah, 59 *n*, 60 *n*, 64 *n*, 65 and *n*, 82 *n*, 351, 355 *n* 1, 357.
Bassein, 53 *n*.
Bast, 68 *n*.
Básyán, 90 *n*.
Batavia, 119 *n* 1.
Bath, Adelard de, 30 *n* 1.
Báṭik, 103.
Baṭn Marrah, 60 and *n*.
Baṭwah, 372.
Baudháyana, The, 221.
Baun, 87 *n*.
Báward, 357.
Baya, The, 122.
Báyab, 110.
Báyazíd Bisṭámí, 359.
Bayley's Hist. of Gujarát, 251 *n* 1.
Bayrám Khán, 397 and *n* 3, 425 *n* 2.
Bayrút, 78.
Bayẓá, 354.
Bázíkar, The, 258.
Bázúband, 313.
Beale, 352 *n* 3, 353 *n*, 355 *n* 1, 364 *n* 1, 369 *n* 4, 407 *n* 1.
Beames, Mr., 120 *n*.
Bear, The, 39 *n* 2.
Behár, 120 *n*, 211, 303 *n* 3, 370.
Beja, 49 and *n*, 50 *n*, 52 *n*, 62 *n*, 94 *n*.
Belazuri, 77 *n*.
Beled el Jaríd, 72 *n*.
Benares, 3, 59, 211, 304, 305 and *n* 4.
Bengal, 59, 119 and *n* 1, 120, 121 *n* 2, 122 *n* 1, 252, 324, 328, 345 and *n* 3, 365 and *n* 1, 366, 425 *n* 2.
Bengali, 120 *n*.
Bentley, 11 *n* 2.
Benu Rustam, The, 62 *n*.
Berber country, The, 49, 50 *n*.
Berbers, The, 110.
Berkeley, 167 *n*, 170 *n* 3.
Berlin, 24 *n* 2.
Bersabee, 378 *n* 1.
Besa, 56 *n*.
Bésar, 313.
Beth San, 64 *n*.
Beth Shemesh, 74 *n*.
Bhadráśva, 31 *n* 1.
Bhadráśva-khaṇḍa, 31.
Bhadrávatí, 285.
Bhága, 146.
Bhagatiya, The, 257.
Bhagavad Gítá, The, 170 *n* 1, 178 *n*, 218 *n*, 227 *n* 1.
Bhágavat, 165 *n* 3.
Bhagavat (Buddha), 211 *n* 1.
Bhágavata, The, 288 *n* 1, 289 *n* 1.
Bhágavata Puráṇa, The, 220 and *n* 4.
Bhágavata Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Bhágavatí, The, 202 *n* 1, 206 and *n* 1.
Bhagavatyánga, The, 204 and *n*.
Bhagel-Khaṇḍ, 290 *n* 1.
Bhágvata sect, The, 165 *n* 3.
Bhágya-tushṭi, 176.
Bhairava, 250 *n* 5.
Bhairava, 249, 250.
Bhájaka, 25.
Bhánḍ, The, 257.
Bháṅk, 313.
Bhanú, 251 and *n* 1.
Bhaṅvayya, The, 257.
Bharadvája, 289 and *n* 1, 310 and *n* 2.
Bhárata, 30, 192 *n* 1, 294 *n* 1.
Bharata, Rájá, 197.
Bharata-Káṇḍa, 192 *n* 1.
Bhárata-khaṇḍa, 30, 31, 32.
Bhárgava Puráṇa, The, 220 *n* 4.
Bháshá Parichcheda, The, 132 *n* 2, 135 *n* 2, 143 *n* 1, 151 *n* 2.
Bháshya, 149.
Bháṭis, The, 118.
Bhaṭṭa, 152 *n* 1, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159.
Bhava-bhúti, 241 *n* 1.
Bhavana-pati, 193, 198, 199.
Bhávaná Sanskára, 135 *n* 2, 136, 138, 140.
Bhávaní, 253.
Bhavapratyaya, 183.
Bhavishya-parvan, The, 230 *n* 2.
Bhavishya Puráṇa, The, 220, 321 *n* 2.
Bhaya, 302.
Bhayánaka, 241.
Bheda, 160.
Bherab, 69.

Bhikshu, The, 212 and *n* 3, 214 *n* 1, 216 *n* 1.
Bhikshuka, The, 210 *n* 1.
Bhilsa, 59.
Bhíma, 217 *n* 1, 319 *n*.
Bhíma, The, 304.
Bhímaikádaśí festival, 319 *n*.
Bhímarathi, The, 304.
Bhoja, 135 *n* 2.
Bhránti-darśaṇa, 181.
Bhṛigu, 220 *n* 4, 225 *n* 1.
Bhugwan, 251 *n* 1.
Bhúmah, 70.
Bhúmi, 179.
Bhúr, 164 *n* 2.
Bhúr-loka, 32.
Bhúta, 173 *n* 4.
Bhútadi ahaṅkára, 171.
Bhútas, The, 193 *n* 2.
Bhúta-vidya, 225 *n*
Bhúvágu, 17.
Bhuvar, 164 *n* 2.
Biáh, The, 303, 345.
Biánah, 427 *n* 3.
Bíbhatsa, 241.
Bible, references to the, 63 *n*, 64 *n*, 72 *n*, 74 *n*, 79 *n*, 90 *n*, 375 *n* 2, 378 *n* 1.
Bichhwah, 313.
Biḍálaka Brahmans, 116, 117 and *n* 1.
Biddyá-pat, 252.
Bidlís, 95 *n*.
Bigandet, Bishop, 211 *nn* 1 and 2.
Bihat, The, 303.
Bíjah, 62.
Bijáyah, 90.
Biḳáṇ, al, 64 *n*.
Bikramájít, 251 *n* 1.
Bilora, 196 *n* 1.
Bímánshahr, 83.
Bindulí, 312.
Bipal, 16.
Birkat Yásin, 103 *n*.
Bírpúr, 373, 374.
Bírún, 58.
Biserta, 94 *n*.
Bishn-pad songs, 252 and *n*.
Bishr al Ḥáfí, 353, 356.
Bishútan, 449 *n* 2.
Biskarah, 59, 61, 62 *n*.
Bisṭám, 85 and *n*, 352, 359 *n* 3.
Biswah, 125.
Biṭánah, 67 *n*.
Biyár, 85.
Bíza, 101.
Black sea, The, 70 *n*.
Blochmann, 251 *n* 1, 252 *n*, 313 *n* 2, 314 *n* 2, 375 *n*, 421 *n* 1, 423 *n* 2, 427 *nn* 2 and 3, 442 *n* 1, 447 *n* 3, 449 *n* 1.
Blundevile's Exercises, 37 *n* 1.
Blyth, Mr., 122 *n* 2.
Bochart, 109 *n* 1.
Bodhi-sattva, 211 *n* 1.
Boissier, 123 *n* 1.
Bolgár-aljadíd, 103 *n*.
Bologna, 38 *n* 2.
Bombay, 51 *n*.
Bona, 77 *n*, 94 *n*.
Bone, 62 *n*.
Bór, 104.
Bordeaux, 101 *n*.
Borjans, The, 101 *n*.
Borneo, 48 *n*.
Borshán, 101, 102.
Borysthenes, The, 94 *n*, 102 *n*.
Bosporus, The, 94 *n*.
Bost, 68 *n*.
Bougie, 90 *n*.
Brahmá, 8, 10 *n* 2, 11 and *n* 1, 113, 114, 117, 128, 146, 147 and *nn* 1 and 2, 148 and *n* 2, 149, 151 *n*, 153, 155 *n* 2, 160, 161, 163 *n* 1, 164 *n* 2, 165 and *n* 1, 166 *n* 1, 168 *n* 1, 170 *n* 1, 172 and *nn* 1 and 3, 173 *nn* 1 and 4, 174 *n* 4, 185 *n*, 241 *n* 2, 219, 220, 227 *n* 2, 231 *n* 3, 245, 282, 287, 288, 289, 291 and *n* 2, 292, 303, 306 *n* 5, 307 *n* 2.
Brahma Puráṇa, The, 220.
Brahmachárin, 226 *n* 1.
Brahmachárin, 275.
Brahmacharya, The, 210 *n* 1.
Brahma-charya, 272, 275.
Brahmacharya (continence), 184.
Brahma Granthi, 245 *n* 1.

Brahmagupta, 17 *n* 2, 23, 25 *nn* 2 and 8 28 *n* 2.
Brahman, 160, 184 *n*.
Brahmaṇa, 114.
Brahmaṇa Sarvasva, The, 274 *n* 1.
Brahmans, The, 8, 115, 116 and *n* 4, 127, 157 *n* 1, 174, 189 *n*, 208 *n* 1, 210 and *n* 1, 212, 217 *n* 1, 218, 222 *n* 1, 225, 226, 228, 229 and *n* 1, 230, 231, 238 *n* 3, 239, 262, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271 and *n* 1, 272 and *n* 1, 273, 275, 276, 277, 279, 283, 284, 294 *n* 3, 296, 297 and *n* 2, 298, 300, 301, 302 and *n* 4, 308, 309 and *nn* 3 and 4, 310 and *n* 2, 316 and *n* 1, 319 and *n* 2, 320 *n* 3, 321, 323, 324, 330, 331, 331, *n* and *n* 1, 332, 334, 336, 338.
Brahmáṇḍ, The, or Egg of Brahmá, 11 and *n* 1.
Brahmáṇḍa-dána, 282.
Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa, The, 220.
Brahmáṇḍa Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Brahmaputra, The, 303 *n* 3.
Brahmarshi, 32 *n* 3, 33.
Brahmá Sanatkumára, 194 *n*.
Brahma-vaivarta Puráṇa, The, 220.
Brahmávarta, 32 *n* 3, 33, 286.
Bráhmya, 172.
Bráhmya marriage, 307.
Brajbihár, 252 *n*.
Bretagne, 105 *n*.
Briggs, 345 *n* 1, 346 *nn* 3 and 4, 347 *n*, 348 *nn* 1 and 2, 362 *n* 3.
Bṛihaspati, 218 *n* 1.
Britain, Great, 105.
Britain, Lesser, 105.
Brittany, 104 *n*.
Broach, 52 *n*, 59, 289 *n*.
Brothers, The, 57 *n*.
Brusa, 100 *n*.
Buchanan, Dr., 192 *n* 1.
Budan, Islands of, 104.
Budha, 117.
Buddha, 152 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 177 *n* 1, 178 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 197 *n* 1, 205 *n* 2, 211 and *nn* 1 and 2, 212 *n* and *nn* 1 and 2, 213 *n* 1, 214 *n* 1, 216 *n* 1, 292 and *n* 1.
Buddhávatára, The, 292.
Buddhi, 129, 135, 138 and *n* 2, 139 *n* 1, 140 *n* 1, 162, 163, 170, 171, 178 *n* 3.
Buddhism, 152 *n* 1, 168 *n* 1, 188 *n* 1, 200 *n* 7, 211, 214 *n* 3.
Buddhist Synod, The first, 212 *n*.
Buddhists, The, 133 *n* 2, 151 *n*, 169 *n*, 178 *n* 3, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 202 *n*, 205 *n* 2, 211 *n* 2, 213 *n* 1. 215 *n* 2. 216 and *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 293, 305 *n* 4, 337 *n* 1.
Bugie, 62 *n*.
Bukhárá, 54 *n*, 92 *n*, 97 and *n*, 357, 358 *n* 3, 359 *nn* 2 and 3, 361 *n* 1, 367, 368. 374, 420.
Bukhárí, Sayyid Maḥmúd, 369.
Bukka Ráya, 189 *n*.
Bulár, 103 and *n*.
Buldarah, 50.
Bulgaria, 102.
Bulgarians, The, 101 *n*.
Bulghár, 103 and *n*, 104.
Búrán, 65 *n*.
Burdál, 101.
Burgess, Dr., 19 *n* 3, 52 *n*.
Burghangá, The, 287 *n* 2.
Burhán-i-Ḳáṭi', The, 89 *n*, 104 *n*, 342 *n* 4.
Burhánpúr, 304.
Burhi Rapti, The, 304 *n* 5.
Burmans, The, 292 *n* 1.
Burnell, 32 *n* 3, 115 *nn* 1 and 2, 116 *n* 1, 261, 295 *n* 1, 309 *nn* 1 and 2.
Burnouf, 169 *n*, 202 *n*.
Burújird, 83.
Bushang, 87.
Bust, 68 and *n*.
Buwaih, Aḍhudu'd Dawlah, 25 *n* 1, 74 *n*.
Buwayh, House of, 25 *n* 1, 407 and *n* 1.
Buwayh, the Daylamite, 407 *n* 1.
Buzanṭya, 101.
Buzján, 86.
Buzurj-Mihr, 1, 340 *n*.
Burzúyah, 338 and *n* 2, 339 and *n* 1.
Byásam, diameter, 25.
Byjoo, 251 *n* 1.
Bythinia, 100 *n*.

CABES, 71 *n*.
Cabes, Gulf of, 61 *n*, 71 *n*.
Cabra, 100 *n*.
Cadesia, 72 *n*.
Cadiz, Isle of, 93.
Cæsarea, 63 *n*, 95 *n*.
Cæsarea Phillipi, 78 *n*.
Cæsarion, 60 *n*.
Caggar, The, 33 *n*.
Cairo, 61 *n*, 62 *n*, 63 *n*, 74 *n*, 424.
Caiyon, 98 *n*.
Calanus, 332 *n* 2.
Calcutta, 123 *n* 1.
Calcutta Museum, The, 211 *n* 2.
Calcutta Review, The, 246 *n*, 249 *n*.
Cambalu, 52 *n*.
Cambay, 59.
Cambridge, 409 *n* 2.
Camestres, 144 *n*.
Camp of Mukram, 66 *n*.
Canarese Language, The, 189 *n*.
Canaria, 33 *n* 1.
Canary Islands, The, 33 *n* 1, 53 *n*.
Cancadora, 29 *n* 1.
Canon, Alfazárí's, 105 *n* 1.
Canon, Avicenna's, 422 *n*.
Canopus, 39 *n* 2.
Canterbery Tales, The, 107 *n*.
Cape de Verde, The, 33 *n* 1.
Cape Raptum 43 *n* 2.
Cappadocia, Kings of, 95 *n*.
Capricornus, 13 *n* 3.
Caracalla, 56 *n*.
Carey, 248 *n* 3.
Carmania, 78 *n*.
Carmel, Mount, 378 *n* 1.
Carnatic, The, 252.
Carthage, 328 *n* 3.
Caryate Jews, 103 *n*.
Caspian, The, 83 *n*, 86 *n*, 96 and *n*, 103, 353 *n* 3.
Castile, 100 *n*.
Categories of the Nyáya, The, 132 *n* 2, 135 *n* 2, 150 *n* 1.
Caucasus, The, 96 *n*, 101 *n*.
Caussin de Perceval, 73 *n*.
Central India, 290 *n* 1.
Ceuta, 76 *n*.
Ceylon, 7, 48 and *n*, 54 *n*, 214 *n* 3, 216 *n* 1, 325.
Chádir Dágh, 103 *n*.
Chabat, 70.
Chaitya, 215.
Chakravartís, The, 197, 198 *n*.
Chalcedon, 78 *n*.
Chaldæans, The, 13 *n* 3.
Chaldi, 347 *n* 1.
Chamárs, The, 316 *n* 1.
Champakalí, 313.
Chandáls, The, 294, 295, 302.
Chaṇḍála, 116.
Cháṇḍála Brahmans, 116, 117.
Chandas, 224 and *n* 2.
Chandérí, 365.
Chandniwaṭ, 69.
Chandrabhága, The, 303.
Chandra-maṇi, 286.
Chandra-náḍi, 233 and *n* 1, 234, 235, 236, 237.
Chandráwats, The, 118.
Chándráyaṇa fast, The, 227 and *n* 3, 228, 231, 278, 299,
Changíz Khán, 343, 344 and *n* 4, 345, 346, 348.
Chárama Tírthakṛit, 188 *n* 1.
Charaṇa, 187 and *n* 4.
Chardin, 38 *n* 2.
Charmanvatí, The, 304.
Charm-kár, The, 315 and *n* 2.
Charthráwal, 70.
Chárváka, 217 and *n* 1.
Cháṭak, The, 121 *n* 5.
Cḥattá 116.
Chatur-aṇuka, 148.
Chaturdaśa festival, 318.
Chaturdaśí festival, 318.
Chaturthí festival, 318.
Chaucer, 107 *n*.
Chaudah-púrvánga, The, 205.
Chauháns, The, 118.
Chaupar, 300 and *n* 2.
Chedda-grantha, The, 205.
Chedda-Sútras, The, 205 and *n* 1.

Chem, 55 *n*.
Chemnis, 55 *n*.
Chenáb, The, 303.
Chenery's al Ḥaríri, 50 *n*, 57 *n*.
Chhala, 129, 146.
Chhand Songs, 252 and *n* 2.
Chhandas, 253 *n* 2.
Chhudr-Khanṭiká, 313.
Chikírsha, 149.
Childers, 214 *n* 3.
Chín, 7 *n* 1.
China, 7, 48 *n*, 49 and *n*, 52 and *n*, 60, 73 and *n*, 92 *n*, 98 and *n*, 102, 109, 110 and *n* 1, 216 *n* 1, 327 *n* 1, 328, 336 *n* 1, 337,
Chind, 252.
Chinese, The, 108, 292 *n* 1.
Chinnapattanam, 60 and *n*.
Chirágh i Dihlí, 365, 368, 369, 372.
Chisht, 357.
Chisht family, The, 369, 370.
Chishtí, Khwájah Muínu'ddín Ḥasan, 361.
Chishtí, Khwájah Othmán, 361.
Chishtí order, The, 354, 422.
Chitor, 347.
Chitriṇi, 243.
Chitta, 162, 163, 178 and *n* 3, 215 *n* 2.
Chittagong, 121 *n* 3.
Chrest. Arab., De Sacy's, 47 *n*, 62 *n*, 91 *n*.
Christians, The, 127.
Chronology of Pathan Kings, 369 *n* 4.
Chronology, Albírúní's, 17 *n* 2, 19 *n* 2, 22 *n* 2, 40 *n* 1.
Chulí Maheswar, 290 *n* 1.
Chúṛ, 313.
Chúṛá, 313.
Chúṛín, 313 and *n* 4.
Chuṭkala, 252 and *n*.
Cicero, 322 *n* 4.
Cilicia, 94 *n*.
Cintra, 100 *n*.
Circesium, 79 *n*.
City of brass, 99 *n*.
Clarke, Mr. C. D., 246 *n*.
Class., Dict. of Hind. Myth., 159 *n*.
Cleopatra, 60 *n*.
Clepsydra, The, 16 and *n* 3.
Climate, 43 and *n* 2, 44.
Clysma, 53 *n*.
Cœlesyria, 64 *n*.
Cœur de Lion, 347 *n* 2.
Coft, 60 *n*.
Colchis, 110 *n* 1.
Colebrooke, 1 *n* 2, 129 *nn* 1 and 2, 133 *n* 3, 134 *n*, 135 *n*, 137 *n* 1, 138 *n* 4, 139 *nn* 1 and 2, 151 *n*, 152 *n* 1, 156 *n* 3, 161 *n* 2, 163 *n*, 165 *n* 3, 168 *n* 1, 169 *n* and *n* 1, 170 *n* 1, 2 and 3, 171 *n* 1, 174 *n*, 175 *nn* 2 and 4, 176 *n* 2, 178 *n* 2, 179 *n* 1, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 192 *n* and *n* 1, 193 *n* 1, 195 *nn* 1 and 3, 197 *n* 3, 201 *n* and *nn* 1 and 4, 202 *n* and *n* 2, 210 *n* 2, 214 *n* 3, 215 *n* 2, 217 *n* 1, 219 *n* 1, 221 *n* 1.
Colebrooke's Essays, 129 *n* 2, 135 *n*, 151 *n*, 153 *n*, 159 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 195 *n* 3, 212 *n* 1.
Coleridge, 167 *n*.
Columbine ginger, 51 *n*.
Commagene, 95 *n*.
Comorin, Cape, 48 *n*.
Conjevaram, 305.
Constantine, 56 *n*, 62 *n*.
Constantine, Province of, 50 *n*, 77 *n*.
Constantinople, 70 *n*, 78 *n*, 95, 101 and *n*.
Cooley, Mr., 47 *n*, 55 *n*.
Copts, The, 56 *n*, 110.
Coracesium, 94 *n*.
Cordova, 76 *n*, 102.
Corea, The, 49 *n*, 98 *n*.
Coromandel, The, 51 *n*, 239 *n* 1, 284 *n* 1.
Cosmos, Humboldt's, 15 *n* 1, 22 *n* 3, 24 *nn* 1 and 2, 29 *n* 1, 37 *n* 1, 38 *nn* 2 and 3.
Cossacks, The, 102 *n*.
Cowell, Prof., 133 *n* 3, 139 *n* 2, 153, 158 *n*, 159 *n*, 169 *n* 1, 212 *n* 1, 214 *n* 3, 217 *n* 1, 219 *n* 1.
Cow's meat prohibited, 294 *n* 1.
Cremona, 30 *n* 1.
Crete, 77 *n*.
Crimea, 101 *n*, 102 *n*, 103 and *n*, 104 *n*.
Crusades, The, 396 *n* 1.
Csoma's Tibetan Grammar, 212 *n* 1.
Ctesiphon, 65 *n*, 96 *n*, 326 *n* 5.

Cunningham, General, 212 *n*, 331 *n* 1.
Cunningham's Anc. Geog., 58 *n*, 212 *n*,
Cupola of the earth, 104.
Cust's Modern Languages of Africa, 53 *n*.
Cutch, 68 *n*.
Cyprus, 77 *n*.
Cyrenaica, Mountains of, 62 *n*.
Cyrene, 62 *n*.
Cyrus, 330, 411 *n* 1, 423 *n* 2.

DÁBÁ, 229 and *n* 1.
Dábha grass, 300 and *n* 1.
Dabíl, 82 *n*.
Dábilishím, 326 *n* 4.
Dabistán, 337 *nn* 1.
Daf, The, 255 and *n* 7, 256, 257.
Dafzan, The, 257.
Daghestán, 101 *n*.
Ḍahabí, aḍ, 361 *n*.
Dahlak, Island of, 50.
Dahna, 75 *n*.
Daibal, 58.
Dailam, 84 and *n*.
Dailamán, 84.
Dainandina, dissolution, 164.
 ,, *pralaya*, 165 *n 1*.
Dainawar, 82, 396 *n* 1.
Daityas, The, 11, 159 *n*, 287, 288, 289 290, 292, 306, 320 *n* 2.
Daiva marriage, 308, 309 *n* 1.
Daivata, The, 224 *n*.
Dakkhin, 110.
Daksha, 227 *n* 2, 238 *n* 3.
Daksha smṛiti, The, 221.
Dakshiṇa, 113.
Dakshina, 178.
Dakskiṇa lover, 248.
Dalman, 59.
Daloo, 251 *n* 1.
Dalúkah, Queen, 55 *n*.
Ḍamár, 50, 53 *n*.
Dámaghán, 84.
Damascus, 56 *n*, 64, 72 and *n*, 73 *n*, 90 *n*, 354.
Damietta, 63 *n*, 421 *n* 3.
Damindán, 74.
Damírí, ad, 391 *n*.
Dána, or Alms giving, 282.
Dána-siddhi, 176.
Ḍanḍiyá, 312.
Dandamis, 332 *n* and *n* 1.
Dandánḳán, 87.
Daṇḍa-vat prostration, 280.
Daniel, The prophet, 377 *n* 1.
Danube, The, 102 *n*.
Dánya, 93.
Dányál, Aḥmad, 365.
Daoutmour Khán, 345 *n* 1.
Dár Safed, 74 *n*.
Dárá, 73, 75 *n*.
Dáráb, 67 *n*.
Dárábjird, 67, 423 *n* 2.
Darah, 54 *n*, 55, 71 *n*.
Ḍarah, The, 55 *n*.
Darband, 83 *n*, 95 *n*, 96 *n*, 98 *n*, 101 and *n*, 377 *n* 1.
Daren Mts., The, 70 *n*.
Darghán, 97.
Darius, 67 *n*, 78 *n*.
Darius Hystaspes, 328 *n* 4.
Darḳalah, 49.
Darráj, Abú Ḥusayn, 354.
Darsána-varaṇíya, 201, 202 *n*.
Darzindán, 96 *n*.
Daśa-hara (Dusserah), 318 and *n* 6, 319.
Daśamí festival, 318.
Daśaratha, Rájá, 291.
Dasht, 84 and *n*.
Daskarah, 75, 362 *n* 1.
Dáthavanisa, The, 168 *n* 1.
Dáúd Khán, 347 *n*.
Dáúd Ṭáí, 356.
Daulatábád, 59.
Dauráḳ, 66 *n*, 90.
David, 63 *n*.
Davies, 159 *n*, 160 *n* 2, 168 *n* 1, 169 *n* 3, 170 *n* 1, 171 *n* 1, 178 *n* 1, 227 *n* 1.
Davies' Hindu Philosophy, 129 *n 1*, 132 *nn* 1 and 2, 133 *nn* 1 and 2, 134 *n* 2, 136 *n* 2, 138 *nn* 2 and 3, 139 *n* 1, 140 *n* 1, 141 *n* 1, 142 *n* 2, 143 *n* 2, 148 *n* 1, 149 *n*, 151 *n*, 152 *n* 1.
Davis, Samuel, 86 *n* 2.

Dawwán, 422 *n* 1.

Day, Captain, 246 *n*, 250 *n* 18, 253 *n*, 254 *n* and *n* 2, 255 *nn* 1, 2, 5 and 7, 256 *n* 3.

Day's Fishes of India, 296 *n* 4.

Daybul, 52 *n*.

De Guignes, 88 *n*, 96 *n*, 343 *n* 3, 344 *nn* 4 and 5, 345 *n* 1, 346 *n* 4.

De Reb. Indicis, 52 *n*, 77 *n*.

De Sacy, 39 *n* 2, 47 *n*, 62 *n*, 91 *n*, 341 *n* 1, 350 *n* 2.

De Slane, 68 *n*, 80 *n*, 96 *n*, 100 *n*, 101 *n*.

Debal, 58 *n*.

Decapolis, The, 64 *n*.

Deccan, The, 32 *n* 3, 189 *n*. See also Dekhan, The.

Decline and Fall, Gibbon's, 65 *n*.

Defhna, 69.

Dekhan, The, 250, 251 *n* 1, 252, 258, 284, 304, 305, 365, 372.

Delhi, 69, 119, 200, 251 *n* 1, 252, 257, 322 *n* 4, 342, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 361 *n*, 362, 363, 364, 365 and *n* 1, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 425 *n* 2, 426 *n* 2, 440.

Delphi, 36 *n* 2.

Demavend, 84 *n*.

Denia, 93 *n*, 100 *n*.

Deoband, 70.

Deogír, 59.

Deoras, The, 118.

Dera Ghází Khán, 69.

Derbend, 83 *n*.

Deśa, 200.

Deśakára, 250.

Deśi Songs, 251.

Desubah, 69.

Deucalion, deluge of, 94 *n*.

Devs, The, 327 *n* 1.

Dev Mahal, 366.

Devas The, 308.

Deva Brahmans, 116.

Deva holy places, 303.

Deva-pújá, 277.

Devakí, 292.

Devatá, 172.

Devatás, The, 11, 115, 193, 198, 199, 227, 306.

Devatideva, 211 *n* 1.

Devband, 327 and *n* 1.

Deví, 319 *n*.

Deví Bhágavata, The, 220 *n* 4.

Deviká (Deva), The, 304.

Ḍhaḍḍa, The, 255, 256.

Ḍháḍhí women, 257.

Dhádhís, The, 256.

Dhafar, 48 *n*, 54 *n*.

Ḍhafar, 50 *n*, 51.

Dhaivata, 247, 249.

Dhanur-veda, 225.

Dhanvantari, 286 and *n* 3.

Dhár, 365.

Dhara-dána, 283.

Dháraṇa, 183, 186, 190.

Dharma, 136 and *n* 2, 141, 180, 201 *nn* 2 and 4, 202 and 2, 264.

Dharma Śástra, 220, 221 *n* 1.

Dharmadhvaja, 208 and *n* 4.

Dhàrmástikáya, 201.

Dharma lábha, 207.

Dhársú, 375.

Dhátu'l Ḳuşúr, 80 *n*.

Dhenu, 282 *n* 2.

D'Herbelot, 7 *n* 1, 20 *n* 2, 25 *n* 1, 52 *n*, 54 *n*, 55 *n*, 82 *n*, 83 *n*, 92 *n*, 106 *n* 1, 325 *n* 1, 336 *n* 1, 342 *n* 2, 343 *nn* 1 and 3, 345 *n*, 348 *n* 2, 349 *n*, 375 *n* 2, 377 *n* 1, 407 *n* 1.

Dhírá, 242.

Dhírá Adhírá, 242.

Ḍhöl, The, 255 *n* 6.

Dhoondhee, 251 *n* 1.

Dhṛishta, 244.

Dhruva, 252 and *n*.

Dhúmá-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.

Dhurpad, The, 251 and *n* 2, 256, 257.

Dhvani, sound, 150.

Dhvani, a figurative style, 240 *n* 2.

Dhyána, 183, 186 and *n* 1.

Dialogues, Plato's, 11 *n* 1.

Diana, 93 *n*.

Dict. de la Perse, 61 *n*, 66 *n*, 68 *n*, 81 *n*, 82 *n*, 83 *n*, 85 *n*, 86 *n*, 87 *n*, 95 *n*.

Dict. of Antiquities, Smith's, 43 *n* 2, 46 *n* 1.

Dict. of Hindu Mythology, 10 *n* 2, 113 *n* 2.
Dídím, 332 and *n* 1, 334.
Dido, 328 *n* 3.
Digambaras, The, 195 *n* 3, 210 and *n* 1.
Dig-pála, 113.
Dikpálas, 193 *n* 2.
Dínawar, 82 *n*, 396 *n* 1.
Diocletian, 63 *n*.
Diodorus, 331 *n* 1, 332 *n* 2.
Dípaka, 250 and *n* 17.
Dípálí, 306 *n* 2, 320.
Dípálpúr, 346.
Dípani, 253.
Dírgha, 135 and *n* 1, 223.
Diś, 132, 133.
Diśá, 113.
Diti, 148 *n* 3, 287 *n* 1.
Diwáli festival, The, 306 and *n* 2, 320 and *nn* 3 and 4.
Diyár Bakr, 79 and *n*, 80 and *n*, 90, 91 *n*.
Diyár Muḍhar, 79 and *n*.
Diyár Rabíạh, 75 *n*, 79 and *n*, 80, 91 *n*.
Dnieper, The, 77 *n*, 94 *n*, 104 *n*.
Dniester, The, 102 *n*.
D'Ohsson, 100 *n*, 344 *n* 2, 345 *n* 1, 348 *n* 1.
Doliche, 91 *n*.
Dolúk, fortres of, 91 *n*.
Dominicus Cassini, 38 *n* 2.
Don, The, 94 *n*, 103 *n*.
Dongola, 47 *n*, 49 and *n*.
Donne, 55 *n*.
Dorálah, 70.
Doshc, 129, 139.
Dowson, 10 *n* 2, 113 *n* 2, 114 *n* 2, 116 *n* 4, 117 *n* 4, 149 *n* 2, 159 *n*.
Dozy, Suppl. Dict. Arab., 67 *n*.
Dravatva, 185.
Dráviḍá, 284.
Dravya, 132 and *n* 2, 151.
Dṛik, 159.
Dṛiśadvatí, The, 32 *n* 3, 33, 286 *n* 5.
Drishṭánta, 129, 143.
Dṛishtiváda, The, 204 *n*.
Dṛiśya, 159.
Dryden, 390 *n* 1.
Duá Khán, 347 *n* and *n* 1.
Dúbán, 326 and *n* 2, 327.
Dubays al Asadí, 64 *n*, 350 *n* 2.
Ducam, 59.
Duḥkha, 129, 135, 139, 141.
Duhul, The, 255, 257, 258.
Dumbáwand, 84.
Dumbáwand Mtn., 74 *n*.
Ḍúṅḍhaní, 313.
Dunḳulah, 49.
Ḍurbachh, 312.
Durga, 277, 318, 319 *n*.
Durvásana, The, 220.
Dúta, 244.
Dúti, 244.
Dváraká, 304 and *n* 3, 306.
Dvesha, 135, 139, 141, 181, 302.
Dvi-ja, 116 *n* 4.
Dvi-ja Brahmans, 116.
Dvy-aṇuka, 148.
Dwápara Yuga, 147 *n* 1, 159 *n*, 174 *n* 4.
Dyálah, 65 *n*.
Dyke of the Himyarites, 50 *n*.

EASTERN Sea, The, 49.
Eastwick, 341 *n* 1.
Ebusas Island, 77 *n*.
Edrísi, 49 *n*, 54 *n*, 56 *n*, 60 *n*.
Egypt, 62, 63 and *n*, 73 *n*, 74, 75 and *n*, 109, 110, 113 *n* 2, 124 *n*, 328 *n* 3, 352, 353 and *n*, 424, 426 *n* 2.
Egyptian Sea, The, 58, 62.
Egyptians, The, 13 *n* 3, 53 *n*.
Ekágra, 179.
Eleazar, 377.
Elements, The, 12, 17 *n* 1, 130 *n* 1, 132, 161.
Elements, Euclid's, 24.
El Hammat el Khabs, 71 *n*.
Elias, The Prophet, 375, 377, 378 and *n* 1.
Eliseus, 378 and *n* 1.
Elizabeth, Queen, 363 *n*.
Elliot, Sir H., 326 *n* 1, 343 *n* 2, 344 *nn* 345 *nn* 1 and 2, 346 *nn* 1 and 2, 347 *nn* 1 and 2, 348 *nn* 1 and 2.
Elliot's Bibl. Indica, 349 *n*.

Elphinstone, 340 *nn* 1 and 2, 346 *n* 2, 437 *n*, 363 *n*, 421 *n* 1.
El Shehr, 48 *n*, 51 *n*.
Elysian fields, The, 33 *n* 1.
Emerald mine, 56.
Emesa, 80 *n*. 90 *n*.
Emir Sháh Muḥd-b-Ṭáhir, 27 *n* 3.
Empedocles, 37 *n* 1, 148 *n* 3.
Ennius, 113 *n* 2.
Enseneh, 56 *n*.
Eolus, 113 *n* 2.
Ephesus, 100 *n*.
Ephthalites, The, 88 *n*.
Epiphaneia, 90 *n*.
Equator, The, 46.
Era, The Divine, 416 *n* 1.
Erannoboas, The, 304 *n* 7.
Eratosthenes, 25 *n* 8.
Erbil, 80 *n*.
Erdmann, 103 *n*.
Erek, 90 *n*.
Erekle, 101 *n*.
Erment, 60 *n*.
Erzeroum, 79 *n*, 95 *n*.
Eshmoum, 71 *n*.
Eski Kirym, 103 *n*.
Esneh, 55 *n*.
Essai sur l'hist. des Arabes, 73 *n*.
Etah district, 287 *n* 2.
Etáwah, 59.
Eternal Islands, The, 33 and *n* 1, 34, 41.
Eternal Wisdom, The, 325 and *n* 2, 326.
Ether, 12 and *n* 3.
Ethiopeans, The, 107.
Euclid, 24.
Eudoxus, 39 *n* 3.
Euphrates, The, 64, 65 *n*, 79 *n*, 80, 89 *n*, 91, 95 *n*.
Europe, 109 and *n* 2, 124 *n*, 134 *n* 1, 326 *n* 4.
Europeans, The, 42.
Eusebius, 72 *n*.
Euxine, The, 94 *n*, 110 *n* 1, 103, 104.
Euz, a Turkish tribe, 342 *n* 1.
Eve, 325 and *n* 1.

FABLES of Pilpay, 326 *n* 4.
Fabricius, 109 *n* 1.
Faḍhl-b-Sahl, 326 and *n* 3, 327.
Fa-Hian, 212 *n*.
Faid, 57 and *n*.
Faizí, Shaykh Abu'l Faiz, 410 *n* 3, 411 and *n* 4, 412, 431 and *n* 1, 445.
Fakhru'ddín ' Iráḳí, Shaykh, 363, 364.
Fakhru'ddín Náfilah, Mauláná, 369.
Falak, 14 *n* 1.
Famu'ṣ Ṣilḥ, 65, 90 *n*.
Fámyah, 78 *n*, 90.
Fáráb, 102.
Fárabr, 92.
Faramarz, 329, 330.
Farghánah, 97 *n*, 98 and *n*, 358 *n* 2, 363.
Fárhán, 89.
Farídu'ddín Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaykh, 363, 364, 365, 367, 370, 372.
Farídún, 89 *n*, 109, 329.
Fáristán, 66 *n*.
Farjistan, 92.
Fármid, 359 *n* 3.
Fármiḍí, Shaykh Abú Ali, 359.
Farmul, 69.
Fármyáb, 92.
Farrah, 373.
Farrukh Sháh Kábulí, 363.
Farrukhzád-b-Masaúd, 341.
Fárs, 66 *n*, 67 and *n*, 73, 74.
Farsakh, 18 *n* 1, 25.
Fartanah, 102.
Fáryáb, 88 and *n*, 102 *n*.
Fás, 60.
Fasá, 73 *n*.
Fasting, Rules of, 298, et seq.
Fáten or Fáter, 336 *n* 1.
Fatḥpúr, 59, 437 and *n* 1.
Fáṭimah, 427 *n* 2.
Fáṭimite dynasty, The, 62 *n*.
Fayyáẓí, Shaykh, 420.
Fayyúm, 63 and *n*, 100 *n*.
Fazlu'llah Rashídu'ddín, 348 *n* 3.
Forishta, 340 *n* 1, 342 *n* 2, 343 *n* 3, 344 *n* 3, 345 *nn* 1 and 3, 346 *nn* 3, 4 and 5, 347 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 348 *nn* 1 and 2, 360

n 2, 361 *n* 1, 362 *n* 3, 363 *n* and *nn* 1 and 3, 364 *n* and *n* 1, 365 *nn*, 366 *nn* 3 and 4, 369 *n* 3, 371 *n* 3, 421 *n* 1, 426 *n* 2.
Fernando Po, 48 *n*.
Ferrier's Lectures and Remains, 213 *n* 1.
Ferro, 33 *n* 1.
Fettak-b-Abí Berdsáṃ, 337 *n*.
Fez, 61 and *n*, 76.
Fezzán, 62 *n*.
Finland, 104 *n*.
Firdausí, 29 *n* 1, 86 *n*, 325 *n* 2, 327 *n* 1, 228 *nn* 1 and 3, 329 and *n*, 330 *n* and *n* 1, 331 *n* 1, 332 *n* 1, 336 *n* 1, 338 *n* 1, 339 *n* 1, 340 *n*, 401, 402.
Firdausí order, The, 354.
Firdausí, Shaykh Badru'ddín, 367.
Firdausí, Shaykh Ruknu'ddín, 367.
Fíroz, Sulṭán, 349, 372.
Firozábád. 67, 74 *n*.
Fírozábádí, Mujdu'ddín, 361.
Fortunate Isles, The, 33 and *n* 1, 34, 43 *n* 3, 81 *n*.
Foucaux, 211 *n* 2, 212 *n* 1.
Fragment der Bhagavati, 189 *n*, 200 *n* 6 202 *n* 1, 206 *n* 1.
France, 107 *n*, 336 *n* 1.
Franks, The, 93, 94, 101, 109, 110.
French Academy, The, 13 *n* 3.
Furáwah, 85.
Furḍhat u'r Rúm, 101.
Furụ. 57.
Fushanj, 87 *n*.
Fusṭáṭ, 61 *n*, 71.
Futúḥat-i-Makkíyah, The, 377 *n*.
Fuzail-b-'Iyáẓ, 357.

GABHASTI-MAT, 31.
Gabriel, 325 *n* 1.
Gagar, The, 32 *n* 3.
Gaia, 34 *n* 1.
Gaja-kumbha Kṛiti, 222, 223 *n* 1.
Gaja Śástra, 258.
Gajrah, 313.
Galen, 109 *n* 1.
Galer, Fort of, 70.
Gallicia, 100 and *n*.
Gallilee, 64 *n*.
Gamaka, 253.
Gámdhayantah, 173 *n*.
Gaṇa, 205 *n* 3.
Gaṇadharas, The, 204 *n*, 206 *n*, 207.
Gandakí, The, 304 and *n* 3.
Ganḍapáda, 186 *n* 2.
Gandáva, 68 *n*.
Gandha, 135.
Gandhamádana Mountain, 30, 31.
Gándhára, 247, 249.
Gandhára-gráma, 246 *n*.
Gándharva, 31 *n* 3.
Gándharva, 172.
Gándharva marriage, 309.
Gándharvas, The, 172 *n* 3, 193 *n* 2, 303.
Gándharva-veda, 225.
Gaṇeśa, 277, 283 and *n* 1, 319 *n* 3, 393 *n* 2.
Gaṇeśa-Chaturthí festival, 319 *n* 3.
Ganeśa-śishya, 205 and *n* 3.
Ganga, 319 *n*.
Gangbihisht, 29 *n* 1.
Gangdíz, 89 *n*.
Gangdizh, 29 and *n* 1, 49.
Ganges, The, 59 *n*, 199 *n* 1, 211, 285, 289 *n*, 303, 304 *n* 4, 305, 306, 319 *n*, 322 and *n* 2, 323, 324.
Gangoh, 374 *n* 2.
Gangoyah, 374.
Ganjam, 31 *n* 2.
Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaykh Farídu'ddín, 363, 364, 367, 368, 370, 372.
Ganj-i-Shakkar, 364 *n*.
Garbe, Dr. Richard, 144 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 176 *n* 1, 177 *n*.
Gardiz, 89 *n*.
Gárhasthya period, The, 275.
Gaṛhí, 303 and *n* 3.
Garhwál, 226 *n* 2, 307 *n* 3.
Garimá, 187.
Garjistán, 96.
Garmsír, 68.
Garshásp, 327 *n* 1, 328, 329, 330.
Gáruda, science, 238.
Garuḍa, 193 *n* 2, 238 *n* 3.
Garuḍa Puráṇa, The, 220, 238 *n* 3.

Gauṇa, 239 *n* 1, 240.
Gauṇa-chándra, 318 *n* 4.
Gaura mukha, 287 *n*.
Gaurí, 11, 318 *n* 5.
Gautama smṛiti, The, 221.
Gayangos, 77 *n*.
Gáyatri, The, 272 and *n* 1, 316.
Gayhat festival, 319 *n* 3.
Gaz, The, a tribe, 92 *n*.
Gehlóts, The, 118.
Genoa, 102 *n*.
Geographia, Ptolemy's, 43 *n* 2, 45, 46 *n* 1.
Geographie d' Abulfeda, 33 *n* 1, 54 *n*.
Georgia, 96 *n*.
Gerard of Cremona, 30 *n* 1.
Gerizim, Mount of, 72 *n*.
Germanicia, 91 *n*.
Germans, The, 101 *n*.
Gésúdaráz, Sayyid Muḥammad, 372.
Geta, Emperor, 56 *n*.
Ghadámis, 72 and *n*.
Ghana, 254.
Gháuah, 47 and *n*.
Ghaṅṭá-pújá, 280
Ghaṛi, 16, 17.
Gharíb, Shaykh Burhánu'ddín, 365.
Gharnáṭah, 76.
Ghaṛyál, The, 15.
Ghassán, Kingdom of, 79 *n*.
Ghasúlí, Abú Yúsuf, 357.
Ghats, The, 31 *n* 2.
Ghaus, The, 376 *n* 3.
Ghazán Khán, 81 *n*, 348 *n* 3.
Gházípúr, 59.
Ghaznah, Ghazní or Ghaznín, 68, 73, 88 *n*, 89 *n*, 328 *n* 1, 330, 340, 341 and *n* 1, 342, 343, 344 *n* 4, 360 *n* 2, 365, 368 and *n* 1, 407.
Ghaznaví, Abu'l Ḥasan al-, 362 *n* 1.
Ghaznaví, Shaykh Shihábu'ddín Aḥmad, 366.
Ghazzah (Gaza), 63.
Ghazzálí, Shaykh Aḥmad, 357.
Ghelfeca, Port, 50 *n*.
Ghichak, The, 255.
Ghilán, 343 *n* 3.
Ghirjistán, 341 *n* 2.
Ghiyás̤, Mauláua, 365.
Ghiyáṣpúr, 346 *n* 4, 365 *n* 1.
Ghiyáṣu'ddín Ḥasan, 361.
Ghiyáṣu'ddín Sám, Sulṭán, 341, 342
Ghiyáṣu'ddín Tughlaḳ Sháh, 365 *n* 1.
Ghorian dynasty, The, 425 *n* 1.
Ghorís, The, 341.
Ghujduwán, 359 *n* 2.
Ghujduwání, Kh. Ạbdu'l Kháliḳ, 359.
Ghúṅghrú, 313.
Ghúṭah of Damascus, 72 *n*.
Ghuz, Turkish tribe, 342 *n* 1.
Gibbon, 62 *n*, 92 *n*, 102 *n*.
Gílán, 83, 84, 91.
Gilboa, 64 *n*.
Gildemeister, 52 *n*, 77 *n*.
Gird, 67 *n*.
Gíta, 253 and *n* 1.
Gladwin, 19 *nn* 1 and 4, 27 *n* 2, 48 *n*, 57 *n*, 70 *n*, 77 *n*, 89 *n*, 95 *n*, 122 *n* 1.
Godávarí, The, 304 and *n* 5.
Gog, 7 *n* 1.
Gogo, 47 *n*.
Gogra, The, 304.
Goldstücker, 177 *n* 1.
Gomati (Gumti) The, 304.
Gomedaka Dwípa, 29.
Gonarda, 177 *n* 1.
Gonardiya, 177 *n* 1.
Gondwana, 31 *n* 2.
Gonika, 177 *n* 1.
Gopál, 251 *n* 1.
Gor, 74 *n*.
Gorakshanátha, 185 *n* 1.
Go-sahasra-dána, 282.
Gośála, 189 *n*.
Gotama, 127, 139 *n* 2, 148 *n* 1, 151 *n*, 152 *n* 1, 168 *n* 1, 188 *n* 1, 204 and *n*, 205 *n* 2, 206 *n* 1, 310 and *n* 2.
Gotama Sútra, 139 *n* 2.
Goths, The, 100 *n*.
Gotra, 202, 310 and *n* 2.
Gotrika, 202 *n*.
Gough Prof., 158 *n*, 169 *n* 1, 213 *n* 1, 216 *n* 1.

Gough's Philosophy of the Upanishads, 152 *n* 1, 163 *n* 1.
Govindánandas, 201 *n* 4.
Graha, 249 *n*.
Graha, offerings, 158 *n*.
Grahaṇa-samápatti, 183.
Gráhya-samápatti, 183.
Graiveyaka, 195 *n* 2.
Granada, 76 *n*.
Great Bear, The, 108 *n* 3, 310 *n* 1.
Greece, 3, 16 *n* 3, 36 *n* 2, 41, 78, 123 *n* 1, 132, 136 *n*, 139 *n* 1, 187 *n* 4, 329, 330, 378.
Greeks, The, 12 *n* 3, 13 *n* 3, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33, 34 and *n* 1, 35, 36, 37, 38 *n* 3, 40, 99 *n*, 109, 110, 112, 126, 127, 224 *n*, 246 *n*, 254 *n*, 328 *n* 4, 337 *n* 1.
Green Sea, The, 48 *n*.
Griffiths' Rámáyaṇa, 304 *n* 6.
Gṛihastha, The, 210 *n* 1, 275, 277.
Gṛihitṛi-samápatti, 183.
Gṛihya-Sútras, The, 222 *n* 1.
Guadalajara, 77 *n*.
Guido, 247 *n* 3.
Gujarát, 52 *n*, 58, 59 and *n*, 119, 251 and *n* 1, 252, 257, 365, 371, 373, 374, 422.
Gujarátí, 120 *n*.
Gulbarga, 372 *n* 1.
Gulbárí, Maulána Humámu'ddín, 422.
Guluband, 313.
Gumti, The, 287 *n*, 304 and *n* 3.
Guṇa, 132, 134, 151.
Guṇaka, 25.
Gunáwa, 67 *n*.
Guptá, 242.
Gurgáni Canon, The, 41.
Gurgání, Shaykh Abu'l Ḳásim, 359.
Gurgáni Tables, The, 20.
Gurján, 407 *n* 1.
Guru, 233.
Guru (mána), 243.
Gurukkal, 309 *n* 3.
Gurutva, 185.
Gushtásp, 86 *n*, 328 and *n* 4, 449 *n* 2.
Gushtásp Námah, The, 328 and *n* 1.
Guyard, 47 *n*, 51 *n*, 52 *n*, 66 *n*, 73 *n*, 78 *n*, 79 *n*, 82 *n*, 85 *n*, 92 *n*, 96 *n*, 98 *n*.
Gwálior, 59, 251 and *n* 1.
Gymnosophists, The, 331 *n* 1, 332 *n* 2.

ḤABÍB-I-ĄJAMÍ, 354, 355.
Ḥabíbí order, The, 354.
Háḍá clan, The, 118.
Ḥadath, 91 *n*.
Ḥaddád, Shaykh Abú Jaạfar-b-, 352.
Ḥadíḳah, The, 16 *n* 3.
Ḥadíthah, 80 and *n*.
Hadiyán, 71.
Haḍramaut, 48, 50 *n*, 51 *n*, 53.
Hadrian, 56 *n*.
Hadyah, 47.
Ḥáfiz Ábrú, 1, 212, 326 and *n* 1.
Ḥáfiz Shírází, 392.
Haft-josh, 15 *n* 2.
Haibatpati, 70 *n*.
Haibatpúr, 70.
Haihaya tribe, The, 290 *n* 1.
Haikal i Zuhra, 93.
Ḥajar, 57, 64, 65.
Ḥajar Shughlán, 64 *n*.
Ḥájí Ḥámid, 373.
Ḥáji Khalfa, 27 *n* 3, 326 *n* 1, 376 *n* 1, 391 *n*, 421 *n* 4, 444 *n* 1.
Hájípúr, 59.
Ḥajjáj-b-Yúsuf, 66 *n*, 340, 355.
Hajúbarí, Shaykh Ạlí, 362.
Ḥaḳíḳat u'l Ḥaḳáiḳ, The, 341 and *n* 1.
Ḥaḳíḳatu'l Mulk, 392.
Ḥakím Abu'l Fatḥ, 393.
Ḥakím Asadí, 328 *n* 1.
Ḥakím Átá, 358.
Ḥakím Humám, 387 *n* 1, 393.
Ḥakím Mírzá, 383 and *n* 1.
Ḥakím Sanáí, 16 *n* 3, 341 and *n* 1.
Ḥakím-i-Tirmiḍi, 353.
Ḥakímis, The, 351.
Hal, 72.
Haláward, 88, 93 *n*.
Haldárah, 60.
Ḥali-ibn-Yáḳúb, 51.

Hall, Dr. Fitz-Edward, 134 *n* 1, 140 *n* 2, 151 *n*, 152 *n* 1, 153 *nn* 1 and 3, 156 *n*, 217 *n* 1.
Ḥalláj, Ḥusayn-b-Manṣúr, 354, 394 and *n* 1.
Ḥallájís, The, 351.
Ḥalmán of Damascus, 354.
Ḥam, 75 *n*; 109, 327.
Hamadán, 80 *n*, 81 *n*, 82 and *n*, 83 and *n*, 84 *n*, 396 *n* 1, 348 *n* 3.
Hamaríyá, Island of, 77.
Ḥamát, 90.
Ḥamath, 78 *n*, 90 *n*.
Hamdán tribe, The, 50 *n*.
Ḥamdu'llah Ḳazwíní, 343 *n* 1.
Ḥamdún, al-Ḳaṣṣár, 351.
Ḥamídu'ddín Nágorí, Ḳáẓí, 364, 367, 368, 369.
Ḥamídu'ddín Suwálí, Shaykh, 367.
Ḥamíd Wazír, 354 *n* 2.
Hamilcar Barcus, 93 *n*.
Hammamet, Gulf of, 62 *n*.
Hammawíyah, Shaykh Saạdu'ddín, 356.
Hammer Purgstall, 25 *n* 1, 337 *n*, 343 *n* 2.
Ḥamzah, Shaykh, 375.
Ḥanbal, Imám, 421.
Hangkow, 52 *n*.
Hang-tcheou, The, 52 *n*.
Hang-tcheon-fou, 73 *n*
Háṅs, 313.
Hánsí, 370, 372, 373.
Hánsi Ḥiṣár, 70.
Hanumán, 159 *n*, 350 *n* 5, 392 *n* 2.
Hanumant, 159 and *n* 1.
Hár, 313.
Hardwár, 70, 226, 306.
Hardy, 211 *n* 2, 292 *n* 1.
Hari, 10 *n* 1.
Haridvára, 306.
Harikhaṇḍa, 31.
Háril, The, 122.
Ḥárim, 90.
Ḥarírí, al, 50 *n*, 51 *n*, 57 *n*, 350 *n* 2.
Hárita, The, 221.
Harivanśa, The, 230 and *n* 2
Harivarsha, 31 *n* 1.
Harmatelia, 331 *n* 1.
Harmuz Sapor, 75 *n*.
Ḥarrán, 79 and *n*, 89.
Harsha, 302.
Hartmann, 139 *n* 1, 178 *n*.
Hárún, 361.
Ḥasá, al, 57 *n*.
Hasábah, 60.
Ḥasan, al, 354, 359 *n* 4, 361.
Haṣan Biṣrí, 354 and *n* 3, 355.
Ḥasan Ṭáhir, Shaykh, 373, 374.
Hashid, clan of, 53 *n*.
Hastiní, 243.
Hásya-rasa, 240.
Hatnáwar, 70.
Hattákh, 79.
Ḥaurán, 72 *n*.
Hausam, 84.
Haya, 290 *n* 1.
Ḥayátu'l Ḥayawán, The, 391 *n*.
Hazárah, 69.
Házárasb, 97 and *n*.
Hazáribágh Dist., The, 189 *n*.
Ḥaẓrat Ạzízán, 358.
Heavens, The, 37 and *n* 1.
Heber, 375 and *n* 2.
Hecatæus, 109 *n* 2.
Hegel, 159 *n*.
Heliopolis, 74 *n* 378 *n* 1.
Helmand, The, 68 and *n*, 91 *n*.
Hemachandra, 204 *n*, 206 *n* 1.
Hemahasti-ratha-dána, 283.
Hemakúṭa, Mountain, 30, 31.
Hems (Ḥimṣ), 78 *n*.
Hemú, 425 and *n* 2.
Henry II, Emperor, 336 *n* 1.
Heraclea Pontica, 101 *n*.
Herát, 86 *n*, 87 and *n*, 330, 352, *n* 3, 361, *n* 1 367 *n* 1.
Hercules, 93 *n*.
Hercules, Pillars of, 34 *n* 1.
Hermann, 11 *n* 1.
Hermes, astronomer, 22 *n* 2.
Hermes, god, 71 *n*.
Hermes Trismegistus, 109 and *n* 1.
Hermetic books, The, 109 *n* 1.
Hermius, 109 *n* 1.
Hermonthis, 60 *n*.

Hermopolis Magna, 71 *n*.
Herodotus, 34 *n* 1, 109 *n* 2, 329 *n*.
Hesperides, The, 443 *n* 1.
Hetu, 144 and *n* 1, 145.
Hetvábhása, 129, 146.
Hevilath, Land of, 32 *n* 2.
Hidáyat'ul Ḥikmat, The, 14 *n* 1.
Hierapolis, 79 *n*.
Ḥijáz, 54 *n*, 57 and *n*, 58 and *n*, 60, 110, 241, 360 and *n* 1, 367, 397, 419, 424.
Ḥillah, 64 and *n*, 72 *n*.
Himáchala, Mountain, 30, 31.
Himalayas, The, 69, 226 *n* 2, 290 *n* 1, 305 *n* 2.
Hima, snow, 30 *n*3.
Himaván, 30 *n* 3.
Himavat, 32 *n* 3.
Ḥimyarites, The, 50 *n*, 51 *n*.
Hind, 338 *n* 1.
Hind, Ummu Salimah, 354 *n* 3.
Hindaun, 287 and *n* 3.
Hindi, 120 *n*.
Hindola, 260 and *n* 17.
Hindu Astronomy, 12, 14 *n* 2, 35.
Hinduán, The, 358 *n* 3.
Hindu Kush, The, 88 *n*.
Hiouen Thsang, 212 *n*, 305 *n* 4.
Hipparchus, 20 *nn* 1 and 3, 24 *nn* 1 and 2, 38 *n* 3, 41 *n* 1.
Hippemolgi, 290 *n* 1.
Hippo Regius, 77 *n*.
Hirábud, 332.
Ḥírah, 72 and *n*, 89 *n*.
Ḥírah, Kingdom of, 79 *n*.
Hiraṇmaya-khaṇḍa, 31.
Hiraṇvat, 31 *n* 1.
Hiraṇyagarbha, 163 and *n* 1, 165, 171 *n*, 172 *n* 1, 231, 282 and *n* 2.
Hiraṇyagarbha-dána, 282.
Hiraṇya-kámadhenu-dána, 282.
Hiraṇyakaśipu, 287 *n* 1, 288 and *n* 1.
Hiraṇyákṣha, 287,and *nn* 1 and 2.
Hiraṇyapúra, 287.
Hiraṇyáśva-dána, 282.
Hiraṇyáśva-ratha, 282.
Hiraṇyá Váhas, 304 *n* 7.
Hiraṇyá Váhu, 304 *n* 7.
Hishám, Caliph, 81 *n*.
Ḥiṣn Baḍán, 50.
Ḥiṣn Dimlaut, 50 and *n*.
Ḥiṣn Ibn Ųmárah, 67.
Ḥiṣn Kaifa, 91.
Ḥiṣn Mahdi, 66.
Ḥiṣn Manṣúr, 78.
Ḥiṣn Tiiz, 49 *n*, 50 *n*.
Ḥiṣnu'ṭ Ṭáḳ. 91 *n*.
Hispania Tarraconensis, 93 *n*.
Hist. Crit. de Manichée, 337 *n* 1.
Hist. des Huns, De Guignes', 52 *n* 343, *n* 3,
Hist. des Mathématiques, 13 *nn* 1 and 3, 19 *n* 3, 20 *nn* 1 and 3, 24 *n* 2.
Hist. du Bas Empire, 99 *n*.
Hist. of Charles V., 107 *n*.
Hist. of Persia, Malcolm's, 327 *n* 1.
Hist. of Sanskrit Lit., Max Müller's, 222 *nn* 1 and 2, 224 *n* and *nn* 1, 2 and 3. 226 *n* 1.
Hist. of the Mongols, 100 *n*.
Hít, 64.
Hitopadeśa, The, 390 *n* 2.
Hodgson, 169 *n*.
Hœmus, 30 *n* 3.
Holí festival, 321.
Holiká, 321 *n* 2.
Hollow Syria, 64 *n*.
Hom, The, 116 and *n* 3.
Homa sacrifice, The, 157 *n* 2, 229 and *n* 4, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281, 308, 316, 322 *n* 2.
Hombou Shahpúr, 96 *n*.
Homer, 33 *n* 1, 109 *n* 2, 290 *n* 1, 328 *n* 3.
Hooker, 124 *n*.
Hopkins, 261 *n* 1, 264 *n* 2, 269 *n* 1, 270 *nn* 3 and 4, 271 *nn* 2 and 3, 300 *n* 3, 301 *nn* 2 and 5, 302 *n* 1, 308 *n* 2, 311 *n* 2.
Horizon, The, 40.
Hormuz, 58 and *n*.
Hormuzd, 337.
Horometry, 16 *n* 4.
Horus, 60 *n*.
Hrasvá, 135 and *n* 1.
Hraśva, 223.
Hubayrah of Baṣrah, 357.
Hubayrí order, The, 354.

Hulágú Khán, 20 *n* 2, 82 *n*, 345, 346.
Ḥulúlís, The, 351.
Ḥulwán, 65, 81 *n*.
Humámu'ddín Gulbárí, Mauláná, 422.
Humáyún, 251 *n* 1, 349 and *n* 1, 374, 383, 421 *n* 1, 425.
Humboldt's Cosmos, 15 *n* 1, 22 *n* 3, 24 *n* 1 and 2, 29 *n* 1, 37 *n* 1, 38 *nn* 2 and 3.
Huns, The, 290 *n* 1.
Hunter, Sir W., 120 *n*.
Huṛkíyah, The, 257.
Huṛuk, The, 257.
Ḥusámu'ddín Mánikpúrí, Shaykh, 371, 373.
Ḥusayn, al, 354, 357, 360, 361, 391.
Ḥusayn Manṣúr, 349, 354 and *n* 2.
Ḥusayn Sharḳí, Sulṭán, 251 *n* 1.
Ḥusayn Wáiẓ, 341 *n* 1.
Ḥusayní, Muínu'ddín Ábdu'l Ḳádir, 375.
Hushang, 325, 326.
Hydaspes, The, 303, 392 *n* 1.
Hydraotes, The, 304.
Hyphasis, The, 303.
Ḥuzaifah Marashí, 357.
Hwang-choo, 52 *n*.
Hyde, 29 *n* 1, 337 *n* 1.
Hyrcania, 110 *n* 1.

IBERIA, 110 *n* 1.
Iblís, 325 *n* 1.
Ibn Aalam, 20.
Ibn Abí Ṣufra, 407 *n* 1.
Ibn Arabí, Shaykh, 421.
Ibn Baṭúṭah, 49 *n*, 52 *n*, 57 *n*, 73 *n*, 79 *n*, 80 *n*, 83 *n*, 94 *n*, 96 *n*, 100 *n*, 101 *n*, 102 *n*, 103 *n*, 119 *n* 1, 322 *n* 4.
Ibn Faḳíh, 66 *n*, 74 *n*.
Ibn Ḥajr Askaláni, 361 and *n*, 424 and *n* 1.
Ibn Ḥauḳal, 58 *n*, 66 *n*, 67 *n*, 68 *n*, 80 *n*, 83 *n*, 84 *n*, 97 *n*, 98 *n*.
Ibn-i-Baghawí, 352.
Ibn-i-Jalá, 353.
Ibn Khaldún 40 *n* 1, 49 *n*, 63 *n*, 68 *n* 80 *n*, 96 *n*, 100 *n*, 101 *n*.
Ibn Khallikán, 73 *n*, 326 *n* 3, 359 *n* 4, 407 *n* 1, 421 *n* 4.
Ibn Sayd, 33 *n* 1, 47 *n*, 48 *n*, 49 *n*, 51 *n*, 52 *n*, 54 *n*, 55 *n*, 57 *n*, 61 *n*, 62 *n*, 76 *n* 101 *n*, 104 *n*.
Ibn Síná, 421 *n* 4.
Ibn Ṭáriḳ, 23, 25 *n* 2.
Ibn-u'l-Athír, 354 *n* 2.
Ibn-u'l Fáriḍh, Shaykh, 421.
Ibráhím Adham, 350 *n* 1, 357.
Ibráhím Khán, 425 *n* 1
Ibráhím, Sulṭán, 340, 341, 370.
Ichchhá, 128, 135.
Iconium, 90 *n*, 95 *n*, 421.
Iḍá, 233.
Idol temple of Somnat, 58.
Idrísí, 49 *n*, 54 *n*, 56 *n*, 60 *n*.
Íha, 190.
Íj, 423 and *n* 2, 424.
Iḳbálmand, 348.
Ikhmím, 55, 56 *n*, 71 *n*.
Ikshwáku, 117, 188 *n* 1.
Ilahábás, 33, 59, 232, 306, 324.
Íláḳ, 97 and *n*, 98 *n*.
Ilávṛita, 31 *n* 1.
Ilávṛita-khaṇḍa, 31.
Ildiz, 342 *n* 2.
Ilistria, 102 *n*.
Ilkhán dynasty, The, 83 *n*, 348 *n* 3.
Ilkháni Tables, The, 20 *n* 2.
Imádu'ddín Ṭúsi, Shaykh, 367.
Imámís, The, 391, 421.
Imdabhúti, 206 *n* 1.
Imperial Gazetteer, The, 51 *n*, 59 *n*, 69 *n*, 120 *n*, 226 *n* 2, 287 *n* and *n* 2, 288 *n*, 289 *n*, 303 *n* 3, 304 *n* 5, 305 *n* 4, 314 *n* 3, 372 *n* 1, 375 *n*.
India, 48 and *n*, 51, 52 and *n*, 53 *n*, 54 *n*, 58. 59. 60, 66 *n*, 68, 69, 70, 109, 110 and *n* 1, 121 *nn* 4 and 5, 122 *n* 2, 123 *n* 1, 161 *n*, 187 *n* 4, 241, 252, 327 *n* 1, 328, 329, 330, 334, 336 and *n* 1, 337, 338, 339 and *n* 1, 340, 341, 342, 343 and *n* 1, 345, 349, 383 *n* 1, 419, 421 *n* 1
Indian Antiquary, The, 189 *n*, 204 *n*, 205 *n* 1.
Indian Ocean, The, 48 *n*, 51 *n*.

Indian Zodiac, The, 21 *n* 1.
Indica, Albírúní's, See Albírúní's India.
Indisch Alterthum, 113 *n* 2.
ndra, 113 and *n* 2, 148 *n* 3, 153 *n* 3, 172 and *n* 1, 194 *n*, 211 *n* 2, 220, 282 *n* 2, 286 and *n* 4, 287, 290.
Indra-Jála, 239.
Indra-khaṇḍa, 31.
Indrapat, 346 *n* 4.
Indriya, 129, 132, 139 *n* 1, 170, 173, 174, 175.
Indus, The, 89, 343, 347.
Inshái Abu'l Fazl, 387 *n* 1.
Institutes of Manu, See Manu's Ordinances.
Íraj, 109, 375.
Ịráḳ, 9, 60, 64 and *n*, 65 and *n*, 72 and *n*, 73, 75, 80, 85 *n*, 86 *n*, 108, 120, 326, 342, 344, 396 *n* 1, 407 *n* 1, 428.
Ịráḳ, Persian, 80 *n*.
Iram, 49 and *n*.
Írán, 44, 100, 241, 330, 344, 363, 419, 423, 425.
Irávatí, The, 304.
Irbil, 80, 81 *n*, 84 *n*.
Irḳah, 90.
Irmak, The, 101 *n*.
Iron Gate, The, 95 *n*.
Iṣábah, fí tamyíz iṣ Ṣiḥábah, The, 361 *n*, 424 *n* 1.
Isakdje, 102 *n*.
Ísán, 110.
Íśána, 113 and *n* 2, 194 *n*.
Ịsbaráin, 85 *n*, 87 *n*.
Iscion, The, 60 *n*.
Iṣfahán, 38 *n* 2, 66, 67 *n*, 73 and *n*, 83 *n*, 84 and *n*, 85, 92 *n*, 325, 360 *n* 1, 396 *n* 1.
Isfandiyár, 85 *n*, 328, 329 and *n* and *n* 1, 337, 449 *n* 2.
Isfíjáb, 88 *n*, 98 and *n*.
Isfínjáb, 101 *n*.
Isḥáḳ, M., b-, 337 *n*.
Isbárah ilá ilmi'l Manṭiḳ, The, 422 *n*.
Ishárát, The, 421 and *n* 4.
Ishbíliyyah, 76.
Isis, 60 *n*.
Íśitva, 187.
Iskalkand, 92.
Iskandarún, Gulf of, 78 *n*.
Islám, City of, 81 *n*.
Islands of the Blest, 33 and *n* 1.
Islands of the Happy Ones, 43 *n* 3.
Ismáílians, The, 396 *n* 1.
Isná, 55.
Issachar, tribe of, 64 *n*.
Issus, 78 *n*, Gulf of——, 110 *n* 1.
Isṭakhr, 67, 74 *n*, 423 *n* 2.
Iṣṭakhrí, 58 *n*, 74 *n*, 98 *n*.
Iṣṭiláḥát u'l Funún, The, 14 *n* 1, 37 *n* 1, 130 *n* 1.
Istiṭálah of Ḥáfiz Ábrú, 326 and *n* 1.
Istros, 94 *n*.
Íśvarakṛishṇa, 169 *n*.
Íśvara-praṇidhána, 184.
Íśvara-pújá, 279.
Íśvara-upásana, 180, 182.
Íśwara, 160, 161, 163 *n* 1, 168 *n*, 170 *n* 2.
Italy, 24 *n* 2.
Itíl, The, sea, 101 *n*, 103.
Iviza Island, 77 *n*.
I'yází order, The, 354.
'Izzu'd Daulah Bakhtyár, 407 *n* 1.

JAAṬFAR aṣ Ṣádiḳ, Imám, 359 and *n* 4.
Jabal district, The, 80 *n*, 81 and *n*, 82, 83 and *n*, 84 and *n*, 87 *n*, 362 *n* 2.
Jabal Már Elyás, 378 *n* 1.
Jabal Shammar, 57 *n*.
Jábáli, The, 221.
Jábalk, 104.
Jabart, 47 *n*.
Jabbul, 75 *n*.
Jábulisa, 102.
Jabulká, 104 *n*.
Jabulsá, 104 *n*.
Jacob, 72 *n*.
Jacob, Major, 141 *n* 2, 155 *n* 2, 157 *n* 1, 160 *n* 1, 161 *n* 1, 164 *n* 3.
Jacobi, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 193 *n*, 204 *n*, 208 *nn* 1 and 3, 209 *n*.
Jádoṅs, The, 118.
Jaen, 77 *n*, 100 *n*.
Jaffa, 64 *n*.

Jag, 115.
ág, 281.
Jagannáth, 151 *n*.
Jag-deś, 33.
Jahángír, Memoirs of, 119 *n* 1.
Jahánsoz, Ạláu'ddín, 341.
Jahrb. der Lit., 337 *n* 1.
Jaimini, 116 *n* 2, 152 and *n* 1.
Jaimini Darśana, The, 155 *n* 1.
Jaina School of Philosophy, 188 et seq. 213.
Jaina Sútras, The, 189 *n*, 193 *n*, 204 *n*.
Jainas, The, 169 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 191 *n* 3, 192 *n* 1, 193, 195 *n* 3, 197, 202 *n*, 210 and *n* 2, 238 *n* 2, 293, 305 *n* 4.
Jainism, 188 *n* 1, 192 *n* 1, 204 *n*.
Jaipúr, 287 *n* 3, 304 *n* 5, 314 *n* 3.
Jájram, 91.
Jalál, Shaykh, 369.
Jalálíya faḳírs The, 369 *n* 4.
Jalálu'ddín Awadhí, Shaykh, 370.
Jalálu'ddín Bukhárí, 371 and *n* 3, 374.
Jalálu'ddín Dawwání, Maulána, 422, 424.
Jalálu'ddín Fíroz Khilji, 346, 347 *n*, 366, *n* 3.
Jalálu'ddín Maḥmúd al Ḳazwíní, 444 *n* 1.
Jalálu'ddín Mankburní, 343, 344 and *n* 4.
Jalálu'ddín Muḥammad, Shaykh, 370.
Jalálu'ddín Tabrízí, Shaykh, 366.
Jáliḳ, 68.
Jáliḳán, 68 *n*.
Jálindha, Shaykh, Gujarátí, 373.
Jallíḳiyyah, 100.
Jalpa, 129, 145.
Jalúlá, 65 and *n*.
Jám, 92.
Jáma, The, 311 and *n* 4.
Jamadagni, 289, 290, 291 *n* 1, 303 *n* 5.
Jamál, Shaykh, 375.
Jamal Ḳitál, 370.
Jamálu'ddín Hánsawí, Shaykh, 370, 372.
Jamálu'ddín Sulaymán, 363
Jambu, The *Eugenia*, 28 *n* 2.
Jambu, The, 28 *n* 2.
Jambu Dwípa, 28 and *n* 2, 29, 31 and *n* 1, 32, 192 *n* 1, 195 *n* 3.
Jámí, 350 *n* 1, 351 *n*, and *nn* 1 and 2, 352 *nn* 2 and 4, 353 *n* and *n* 1, 355 *nn* 1 and 2, 356 *nn*, 1 and 2, 357, *n* 1, 358 *nn*, 359 *n* 1 362 *n* 3, 376 *n* 3, 418.
Jámi'ut Tawáríkh i Rashídí, 348 and *n* 3.
Jamshíd, 89 *n*, 327 and *n* 1, 411 *n* 1.
Jamuna, The, 292, 303, 304 *n* 5, 324, 348, 369, 423.
Janad, 50.
Janaka upa-smṛiti, The, 221.
Jana-loka, 32, 164 *n* 2.
Janárddana, 10 *n* 1.
Jand, 97.
Jandah, 102.
Jandal, 338 *n* 1.
Janman, 140, 141.
Jannábah, 66 *n*, 67.
Janúhahs, The, 118.
Janus, 94 *n*.
Japanese, The, 292 *n* 1.
Japa-yagña, 281.
Japhet, 7 *n* 1, 109.
Jarásandha, 292.
Jarbádḳán, 84.
Jarbah, Island of, 61.
Járejahs, The, 118.
Jaríd country, The, 72.
Jarjaráyá, 65.
Jarmi, 47.
Jarrett's History of the Caliphs, 62 *n*, 65 *n*, 73 *n*, 80 *n*, 343 *n* 8, 352 *n* 1, 426 *n* 2.
Jarún, 78 and *n*.
Játas, The, 290 *n* 1.
Játi, 129, 133 *n* 2, 146, 150.
Játukarṇya, The, 221.
Jauf, 50 *n*, 57 *n*.
Jaunpúr, See Jounpúr.
Jaunpúri, Sayyid Muḥammad, 373.
Jausen, 74.
Java, 49 *n*.
Java Archipelago, The, 48 *n*, 51 *n*, 54 *n*.
Javidán Khirad, The, 325 *n* 2.
Jawain, 91.
Jawe, 313.
Jaxartes, The, 88 *n*, 97 *n*, 98 and *n*.
Jayanta, 194 *n*.

Jaypál, Rájá, 360 *n* 2.
Jayy, 92 *n*.
Jayy-Iṣphahán, 92.
Jayyán, 77.
Jazírah, Signification of, 49 *n*.
Jazírah i لعرُنب 94.
Jazírah i Sabálya, 94.
Jazírat al Khaḍhrá, 76.
Jazírat-ibn-Omar, 79, 91 *n*.
Jeddah, 49 *n*, 57 *n*, 325, 361 *n*.
Jedi, The, 59 *n*.
Jehar, 313.
Jenna, 94 *n*.
Jerba, Island of, 61 *n*.
Jerdon, 121 *nn* 3, 4 and 5, 122 *nn* 1 and 2.
Jeremiah, 63 *n*.
Jerome, St., 90 *n*.
Jerusalem, 63 *n*, 92 *n*.
Jesalmér, 421 *n* 1.
Jesuit Fathers, The, 331 *n* 1.
Jews, The, 336 *n* 1.
Jeypore, See Jaipúr.
Jezabel, 378 *n* 1.
Jhajhar, 70.
Jhanjhána, 374.
Jhansi, 364.
Jhelam, 69.
Jhelum, 303 *n* 3.
Jhiṅjhánah, 70.
Jihvámúlíya, 222.
Jíl, 357.
Jílán, 358.
Jími, 47.
Jina, 188 and *n* 1, 192, 198 *n*, 202 *n*, 207,
Jínd, 70.
Jinésvara, 188 *n* 1.
Jíraft, 58.
Jird, 67 *n*.
Jirm, 89.
Jisr, 89.
Jítal, 363 *n*.
Jíva, 160, 165 *n* 3, 201, 202 *n* 2, 215 *n* 2.
Jívan-mukti, 288.
Jívátman, 129 and *n* 2, 137, 160, 191, 192.
Jńáná, 219.
Jńánakáṇḍa, 165.
Jńáná-vdraṇíya, 201, 202 *n*.
Jńánendriya, 162.
Jńátádharmakatha, The, 204 and *n*.
Jńyána, 128.
Joab, 63 *n*.
Jodhpúr, State of, 314 *n* 3.
Jones, Sir W., 13 *n* 3, 22 *n* 1, 32 *n* 3, 113 *n* 2, 115 *n* 2, 116 *n* 1, 221 *n* 1, 246 *n*, 249 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 270 *n* 1, 300 *n* 3, 302 *n* 1, 309 *n* 4, 311 *n* 1, 318 *n* 4, 322 *n* 1, 325 *n* 2, 383 *n* 3, 390 *n* 2.
Jor, 74.
Jordan, The, 64, 72.
Jorzán, 101 *n*.
Joseph, 63 *n*, 72 *n*, 392.
Josephus, 64 *n*.
Jounpúr, 59, 251 *n* 1, 251, 257, 373, 427, 428 *n* 2.
Journal Asiatique, 61 *n*.
Journal of the R. A. S., 217 *n* 1.
Jowett, Prof., 140 *n* 1.
Jozoula, 54 *n*.
Jubbah, 73 *n*.
Jubbi, 73 and *n*.
Jublah, 50.
Juda, 378 *n* 1.
Juddah, See Jeddah.
Juglyahs, The, 198 and *n* 2, 200.
Juḥfah, 57.
Juhú, 158 *n*.
Julius Cæsar, 60 *n*.
Jullábí, Othmán-b Abí Alí, 362.
Júmi, 47 *n*.
Junayd 352, 353, 354, 356, 359, 371.
Junaydís, The, 351.
Jundísábúr, 96 *n*.
Jupiter, 12, 113 *n* 2, 442 *n* 2.
Jupiter Ammon, 377 *n* 1.
Jurash, 51.
Jurján, 43 *n* 3, 84 *n*, 85 and *n*, 86 *n*, 88 *n*, 91, 325 *n* 1.
Jurjániyyah, 97 and *n*.
Jurjoo, 251 *n* 1:
Justin, 336 *n* 1.
Justinian, 336 *n* 1.
Juwaini, 344 *n* 1.
Jyeshṭhá, 242.

Jyotisha, 224 and *n* 1.
Jyotishka, 194, 199.

KḰA, 53.
Kạárah, 53.
Ḳabáchah, Náṣiru'ddín, 342 and *n* 2, 343 *n* 3, 344, 345.
Ḳábis, 71.
Kabs, 99.
Kábul, 69 *n*, 88 *n*, 89 and *n*, 119, 326, 327, 328 and *n* 2, 338 *n* 1, 346, 363, 383 *n* 1, 394.
Kábulistán, 68 *n*, 89.
Kach, 344.
Kachchwáhahs, The, 118.
Ḳadar Khán, 340 and *n* 2.
Ḳádirís, The, 357.
Ḳádisíyyah, 72.
Kadru, 238 *n* 3.
Kadwál, 75.
Ḳáf, Mountain of, 39 and *n* 1, 104 *n*.
Kafá, 101 *n*, 103, 104 *n*.
Kafarṭáb, 75.
Kafartúthá, 75.
Ḳahandazí, Ibráhím, 361 and *n* 1.
Kai Khusrau, 29 *n* 1, 330.
Kailása Mtn., 290 and *n* 1, 291, 305 and *n* 2.
Ḳáim bi'amri'lláhi, al, 73 *n*.
Ḳáim bi'llah, Fatimite Caliph, 62 *n*.
Ḳáin, 86 and *n*.
Kairánah, 70.
Ḳairawán, 62 and *n*.
Ḳais, Island of, 60.
Ḳaisar, 90.
Ḳaisariyyah, 63, 90 *n*, 95.
Kakava, 91 *n*.
Kákí, Ḳuṭbu'd-dín Bakhtyár, 363, 364, 366.
Kála, 132, 138, 190, 200.
Kalah, Island of, 48 and *n*.
Kalahántaritá, 243.
Kalại, 48 *n*.
Kálak, 104.
Kálampúr, 59.
Ḳalandar, Abú Ạlí, 368.
Kalánúr, 69.
Kálár, 84 and *n*.
Kalasa-Púja, The, 279.
Kálatushṭi, 176.
Kalávants, The, 256.
Kalb, tribe of, 427 *n* 2.
Ḳalhát, 54.
Kálidása, 117 *n* 4.
Ḳalíj Khán, 392.
Ḳáliḳatá, 79.
Kalílah and Damna, 339 and *n* 1 341 and *n* 1.
Kalinga, 239 *n* 1.
Kálinjar, Fort of, 59, 251 *n* 1,
Kalísah, 60.
Kálí Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Kálíyá, 306 *n* 1.
Kali Yuga, The, 13 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1, 174 *n* 4, 239, 292, 293, 298, 310.
Kalkí, 293.
Kalkyavatára, 293.
Kall-Atz, 345.
Kalpa, 147 *n* 1, 174 *n* 4.
Kalpa The, 222 and *n* 1.
Kalpa Sútra, The, 188 *n* 1.
Kalpa-latadána, 283.
Kalpa-taru-dána, 282.
Kalpátíta, 195.
Kalpavásis, 195 *n* 3.
Kalpa-vṛikhas, The, 198 *n* 1.
Kalpa-vṛiksha, 286 and *n* 2.
Kalpupapanna, 194.
Kalyán, 375.
Káma-dhenu, 11, 114 and *n* 2, 282 *n* 2, 286, 290.
Káma-duk, 114 *n* 2.
Kamál, Shaykh, 365.
Kamálu'l Ḥaḳḳ, 373.
Káma-śástra, 239.
Kámávasáyítva, 187.
Ḳámerún, Mountains of, 48.
Kámi songs, 252.
Kamíl, 354.
Kamma, 214 *n* 3.
Kampila, 33.
Kamrúp, 48 *n*.
Kámya, 157 and *n* 1.

Kaṇáda, 132 *n* 2, 148 *n* 1, 150 and *n* 2, 152 *n* 1.
Kaṇáda Upa-smṛiti, The, 221.
Kanauj, 33, 59 and *n*, 319 *n* 3, 330, 338 *n* 1, 339 *n* 1, 421 *n* 1.
Kanchanís, The, 257 and *n* 3.
Kánchi, 305.
Kánchivaram, 305 *n* 4.
Ḳandahár, 68 and *n*, 119, 364.
Kanem, 47 *n*.
Kang or Kangkiu, 29 *n* 1.
Kangan, 313.
Kángra, 306 *n* 4, 318.
Kanisṭhá, 242.
Kanjarí, The, 257.
Kansa, 291, 292.
Kant, 169 *n* 3.
Ḳánúnu'l Mumtaniḥ, The, 47 *n*, 48 *n*, 50 *n*, 52 *n*, 53 *n*, 59 *n*, 59 *n*, 81 *n*, 82 *n*, 84 *n*, 85.
Ḳánún, The, 254 *n* 3, 255 and *n* 1.
Kanya-gata, 320 *n* 1.
Kanyaká, 241.
Kányakubja, 32 *n* 3.
Kaoli, 98 *n*.
Kapak Mughal, 348 and *n* 3.
Kapála Yantra, The, 16 *n* 4.
Kapila, 138 *n* 2, 139 *n* 1, 140 *n* 1, 141 *n* 1, 161 *n*, 167, 168 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 170 *n* 1, 174 *n*, 177 *n* 1.
Kápila, The, 220.
Kapila-vastu, 168 *n* 1, 292 *n* 1.
Kapinjala, The, 221.
Kápya Patamchala, 177 *n* 1.
Ḳarádah, 89.
Karaghán Mts., 84 *n*.
Karáh, The, 199 and *n* 2.
Karaj, 83, 84 *n*, 92.
Karak, Khwájah. 366.
Ḳaráḳash Malik, 345.
Ḳaran, 350 *n* 2.
Karaṇa, 116.
Káraṇa, 143.
Karaṇam, 264 *n* 2.
Karbalá, 65 *n*, 391.
Ḳarínain, 87 and *n*, 90.
Ḳarḳar, 102.
Karkha songs, 252, 257.
Karkhí order, The, 354.
Ḳarḳísiyá, 79 and *n*.
Karmakáṇḍa, The, 165.
Karman, 132, 133, 140, 141, 151, 156, 181, 201 and *n* 4, 202 *n* 1, 219.
Kaṛmanighát, 304 *n* 5.
Karma-Vipáka, 225.
Karmendriya, 162 and *n* 1, 178.
Karmghar, 69 *n*.
Karnak, 55 *n*.
Karnál, 70.
Karnátik, The, 119, 251.
Karnphúl, 312.
Karrah, 366 and *n* 3.
Kárrtikeya, 304 *n* 5, 306 *n* 2, 320 *n* 3.
Ḳarṭiá, 59.
Kárttavírya, 290 and *n* 1, 291 *n* 1.
Karún, 91.
Kárún, The, 65 *n*.
Karuṇá, 181, 182.
Karuṇa-rasa, 241.
Karwez, 89.
Kárya, 143.
Kásán, 98.
Kasan, 103 *n*.
Kaser, 31.
Kash, 97 and *n*.
Káshán, 84.
Káshghar, 88 *n*, 98 *n*, 102.
Kashmír, 7, 60, 119, 121, 177 *n* 1, 211, 212, 252 *n*, 306, 337, 338 *n* 1, 394.
Kashmír, Persia, 86 *n*, 89 and *n*.
Kashsháfu'l Maḥjúb, The, 362.
Káśi, 305.
Káśiká, The, 177 *n* 1.
Ḳásim-b-Muḥd.-b-Abú Bakr, 360.
Ḳaṣr Aḥmad, 62.
Ḳaṣr i Ạárifín, 359.
Ḳaṣr i Ạbdu'l Karím, 76.
Ḳaṣr i Hinduán, 359.
Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, 65.
Ḳaṣr Shírín, 81.
Ḳaṣrí, Shaykh Ismáíl, 356.
Ḳaṣṣáb, Muḥammad, 352.
Ḳaṣṣárs, The, 351.
Kastamúni, 101 and *n*, 102.

Kastilyún, 100 *n*.
Kaśyapa, 117, 188 *n* 1, 227 and *n* 2, 228, 230, 238 *n* 3, 288, 289 *n*, 310 and *n* 2.
Káśyapa Upa-smṛiti, The, 221.
Katáligh, 102.
Káth, 96, 97 *n*.
Kaṭh Tála, 256.
Káthiawár, 304 *n* 3.
Kátibí, 338 *n* 1.
Ḳaṭíf, 57, 58 *n*.
Kaṭi-mekhlá, 313.
Ḳatlagh Khwájah, Prince, 345 *n* 1, 347 and *nn* 2 and 3.
Kattání, Abú Bakr, 353.
Kattiwár, 188 *n* 1.
Kátyáyana, The, 221.
Kaulam, 51.
Kaumara, 173 *n* 4.
Kaumára-bhṛitya, 225*n*.
Kaurnak, 327.
Kausalya, 291.
Kauśikí, The, 303 and *nn* 3 and 5, 304 *n*.
Kaustubha, 286.
Kaustubha-maṇi, 286.
Ḳautam, 83.
Ḳawám, Mír Sayyid Ạlí, 373.
Kawárah, 75.
Ḳawáríri, al, 352.
Kawáshir, 67 *n*.
Ḳawwáls, The, 256 and *n* 4.
Káya-chikitsa, 225 *n*.
Káyavyúha, 142.
Kayd, 334, 335 *n*, 336.
Kayn, 86 *n*.
Kayúmars, 325.
Ḳáẓí Khán, 373.
Ḳáẓí Maḥmúd, 252 *n* 1, 373.
Ḳáẓí Shihábu'd-dín, 370.
Kázrún, 66 and *n*, 421 *n* 3.
Kázrúní order, The, 354.
Ḳazwín, 83 and *n*, 84 *n*, 87 *n*, 362 *n* 2, 396 *n* 1.
Ḳazwíní, al, 104 *n*.
Keft, 60 *n*.
Keish, Island of, 60 *n*.
Keith Johnston, 47 *n*, 58 *n*, 60 *n*, 61 *n*, 62 *n*, 64 *n*, 66 *n*, 67 *n*, 71 *n*, 72 *n*, 73 *n*, 76 *n*, 78 *n*, 79 *n*, 80 *n*, 82 *n*, 83 *n*, 84 *n*, 85 *n*, 86 *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 92 *n*, 96 *n*, 98 *n*, 303 *n* 3, 342 *n* 2, 372 *n* 1.
Kellgren, 11 *n* 1.
Kend, 335 *n*.
Kerak Moab, 64 *n*.
Kertch, 101 and *n*.
Ketáma, Castle of, 76 *n*.
Kethal, 70.
Ketumála, 31.
Ketumala, 31 *n* 1.
Kevala, 238 and *n* 2.
Kevala-jñána, 190.
Kevalánvayin, 144, 145, 156.
Kevala-vyatirekin, 144, 145, 156.
Keydab, 48 *n*.
Khabís, 67.
Khábúr, The, 79 *n*.
Khafíf, Abú Ạbdu'llah Muḥd.-b-, 353.
Khafífís, The, 351.
Khaibar, 57.
Khaiwán, 51.
Khájú, 98.
Khaláṭ, 100 *n*.
Khálid, 91 *n*.
Khalih, 60.
Khalíl Átá, 359.
Khalkhál, 313.
Kháltán Mekrán, 68.
Khán Báligh, 52 *n*, 102 and *n*.
Khaṇḍa-pralaya, 147.
Khandésh, 448 *n*.
Khandhas, 214 *n* 3.
Khaṇḍitá, 243.
Khánfou, 73 *n*.
Khanjari, The, 256 and *n* 1.
Khánjú, 52 and *n*.
Khankarah, 96.
Khánḳú, 52.
Khansá, 73 and *n*.
Khansa, or kinsay, 119 *n* 1.
Khansárí, Mauláná Aḥmad, 369.
Khánzádahs of Mewát, The, 118.
Kharaḳán, 359 *n* 3.
Kharaḳání, Shaykh Abu'l Ḥasan, 359,
Kharba, 200.
Khardal, 123 *n* 1.

Kharráz, Abú Saʿíd, 353.
Kharrázís, The, 351.
Kharwá, 397.
Khas, 9 *n* 1.
Khásh, 68 *n*.
Khaṭá, 98 and *n*, 110, 345 *n* 3.
Khaṭíb Abu'l Faẓl Kázarún, 421.
Khatlán, 362 *n* 1.
Khatlí, Shaykh Abu'l Faẓl-b-Ḥasan al, 362 and *n* 1.
Khaṭṭú, 371.
Khaṭṭú, Shaykh Aḥmad, 371, 372.
Khaṭwánga, 117.
Khawáḳand, 98.
Khawarnaḳ, 72 *n*.
Khawwáṣ, Silm al, 357.
Khazarán, 96 *n*.
Khazars, The, 101, 109.
Khazraj-al-Baghdádí, 353.
Khaẓrawaih, Aḥmad, 352, 353.
Khazzáz, al, 352.
Kherson, 104 *n*.
Khíchís, The, 118.
Khilji, origin of the name, 344 *n* 5.
Khiva, 97 *n*.
Khíwaḳí, Aḥmad, 356.
Khiẓr, al-, 103 *n* 1, 359, 363, 375 and *n* 2, 377 and *n* 1, 378, 392.
Khiẓrábád, 70.
Khmím, 56 *n*.
Khojand, 98.
Khokand, 98 *n*.
Khondemir, 336 *n* 1.
Khorzene, 101 *n*.
Khotan, 98, 109, 110.
Khotwal, 363.
Khowayy, 80 and *n*.
Khozas, The, 100 *n*.
Khudábandah, 82 *n*, 83 *n*, 348 and *n* 3.
Khuláṣatu'l-Mulk, The, 392.
Khulm, 88 *n*.
Khunṭilá, 312.
Khurásán, 3, 43 *n* 3, 58 *n*, 67, 68 *n*, 73 *n*, 75 *n*, 84 *n*, 85, 86 and *n*, 87 and *n*, 88 and *n*, 92 and *n*, 108, 110, 326, 337 *n*, 343, 345, 352, 362 *n* 1, 427 *n* 2.
Khusháb, 69, 307 and *n* 3.
Khusrau Kubád, 85 *n*.
Khusrau Malik, 341 and *n* 2.
Khusrau Parwíz, 81 *n*.
Khusrau Sháh-b-Bahrám Sháh, 341 and *nn* 1 and 2.
Khusraujird, 85 *n*.
Khuta, 98 *n*.
Khuttal, 88 *n*, 362 *n* 1.
Khuttlán, 93, 100.
Khuwár, 84.
Khúwásh, 68.
Khuzád-b. Bás, 66 *n*.
Khúzistán, 65, 66 and *n*, 73, 75 *n*, 90 *n*, 359 *n*, 407 *n* 1.
Khwájah Aḥmad, 357.
Khwájah Ḥasan, 365.
Khwájah-i-Aḥrár, 420.
Khwárizm, 85 *n*, 96 and *n*, 97 and *n*, 107, 344, 356 *n* 1.
Kid, The polar star, 39 and *n* 2.
Ḳifṭ, 60.
Kíj, 68.
Kílughari, 346 *n* 4.
Kím, 371.
Kímí, Ḥájí Shaykh Muḥd., 371.
Kimpurusha, 31 *n* 1.
Kímukht, 315 *n* 2.
Kínah, 74.
King, Dr., 123 *n* 1, 263 *n* 2, 312 *n* 3.
Kingara (*Kingrí*), The, 255, 256.
Kinnar, The, 254 and *n* 2.
Kinnara-khaṇḍa, 31.
Kinnaras, The, 193 *n* 2.
Ḳinnasrín, 78, 90 and *n*, 91.
Kinsay, 73 *n*.
Kípchák, 342 *n* 1.
Ḳipcháḳ, desert of, 102.
Kipzac, 102 *n*.
Kírat, Rájá, 251 *n* 1.
Kirátas, The, 32 *n* 3.
Kirghiz Kazzáks, The, 212 *n* 3.
Kirim, 103 and *n*.
Kirmán, 58 *n*, 67 and *n*, 74 and *n*, 342 *n* 2.
Kirmánsháh, 82 and *n*.
Ḳirmísín, 81 *n*, 82 and *n*, 90, 396 *n* 1.
Kírtaniya, The, 257.
Kish, 16 *n*.

Ḳishláḳ, 97 *n*.
Kisht, 66 *n*.
Kishtawár, 7.
Kitáb i Ḳuṭbí, The, 369 *n* 4.
Kitábu'l Aṭwál, 47 *n*, 48 *n*, 100 *n*. See also Aṭwál, Kitábu'l-.
Kleśa, 175, 181.
Klishṭi, 180.
Knights Templars, The, 64 *n*.
Koch, 124 *n*.
Kóél, The, 121.
Koftgar, The, 315.
Kohistán, 86 and *n*; 102.
Kol, 69.
Konkan, 31 *n* 2, 291.
Korah, 59.
Korákor, 200,
Kosi, The, 303 *n* 3.
Kosseir, 57 *n*.
Kotahpáe, 301 *n* 7.
Koṭbiládar, 312.
Koṭi (*Kṛor*), 200.
Koṭ Karor, 69, 362.
Koura, Lake of, 47.
Krauncha Dwípa, 29.
Kṛipa Ácharya, 159.
Kṛishṇa, 165 *n* 3, 170 *n* 1, 197, 210, 227 *n* 1, 230 *n* 2, 257, 274 and *n* 3, 291, 292, 299, 304 *n* 3, 306 and *n* 1, 319, 321 *n* 2, 392 *n* 2.
Kṛishṇa Dwaipáyana, 159 *n*.
Kṛishṇájina, 226, 229.
Kṛishṇa-paksha, 318 and *n* 4.
Kṛishṇávatára, The, 291.
Kṛitamála, The, 285 and *n*.
Krita Yuga, 147 *n* 1, 174 *n* 4.
Krodha, 302.
Krośa, 18 *n* 1.
Kṣattaṛs, 115 *n* 2, 116 *n* 1.
Kshatriyas, The, 114, 115, 116 *n* 4, 117, 189 *n*, 225, 226, 229, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 277, 296, 298, 300, 301, 302 *n* 2, 309 and *n* 4, 310, 316 and *n* 1, 319, 323.
Kshaumikakalpa, 208 *n* 3.
Kshipta, 179.
Ḳubá, 98, 100.
Ḳubádián, 88.
Kubrá, Najmu'ddín, 356, 367.
Kúfah, 64, 72 *n*, 82 *n*, 350 *n* 2, 357, 370.
Kubán Nadí, The, 303 *n* 3.
Ḳuhunduz, 361 *n* 1.
Kúkú, 47.
Kula, 310.
Kulaṭá, 242.
Kulbargah, 372 and *n* 1.
Ḳulzum, 53, 63.
Kumára-khaṇḍa, 31 and *n* 3, 32.
Kumárila Bhaṭṭa, 152 *n* 1, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159.
Kumbhaka, 185 and *n* 2.
Ḳumbulah, Island of, 47.
Ḳúmis, 84 and *n*, 85.
Ḳumm, 83 and *n*, 84 and *n*.
Ḳumr, 47 *n*.
Kundan, 314.
Ḳunduz, 88 *n*, 89 *n*.
Kúni, islands of, 104.
Ḳúnyah, 95.
Kurái, 252 and *n* 2.
Kúráḳurúm, 102.
Ḳur'án, The, 49 and *n*, 67 *n*, 97 *n*, 108 *n* 1, 375 *n* 2, 377 *n* 1, 385 *n* 2, 388 *n* 1, 390, 432 *n* 1.
Ḳurashí, Abu'l Ḥasan al-, 358 *n* 1.
Ḳuraydha, Jews of, 360 *n* 1.
Ḳuraysh, 427 *n* 2.
Ḳurayshí, Ạlí Sháh, 362.
Kurkánj, 96 and *n*, 97 and *n*.
Ḳurḳúb, 73 and *n*.
Kúrma Puráṇa, The, 220, 285 *n*, 289 *n* 1.
Kúrma Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Kúrmávatára, The, 285.
Kurmí caste, The, 316 *n* 1.
Ḳurṭubah, 76.
Kuru, 31 *n* 1.
Kuru-khaṇḍa, 31.
Kurukshetra, 32 *n* 3, 226, 229, 232, 289, 307.
Kús, 55 and *n*. 60 *n*.
Kuśa grass, The, 229 *n* 1, 300 *n* 1.
Kuságára-púra, 212 *n*.
Ḳuṣair, 57.
Kusha Dwípa, 29.

Kushányah, 99 and *n*.
Kúshmáṇḍa-navamí, 320 *n* 3.
Kusinára or Kusinagara, 212 *n*.
Ḳutás, 121.
Ḳuṭb-i-Áálam, Burhánu'd-dín, 372.
Ḳuṭb-i-Áálam, Shaykh Núr, 371.
Ḳuṭbs, The, 376 and *n* 3, 377.
Ḳuṭbu'ddín Eibak, 342.
Ḳuṭbu'd-dín Khiljí, 365.
Ḳuṭbu'd-dín of Mecca, Maulána, 369.
Ḳuṭbu'd-dín, Shaykh, 372.
Ḳuṭbu'ddín, Sulṭán, 348.
Ḳuṭbu'ddín Úshí, Khwájah, 349, 366, 367, 368, 369, 440.
Ḳutham Shaykh, 359.
Kuvera, 113 and *n* 2.

L*ABDHI*, circumference, 25.
Lábij, Islands, 51 *n*.
Ládhakíyyah, 78, 90 *n*.
Lagarde, 82 *n*.
Laghimá, 187.
Laghujátakam, The, 232 *n* 1.
Laghu mána, 243.
Lagna, horoscope, 36 *n* 2.
Lahaján, 84 and *n*.
Lahanga, 312.
Lahchári songs, 252.
Lahore, 69 and *n*, 304, 345, 346, 362, 371, 383 *n* 1, 441.
Laḥsá, 61.
Lake Tchad, 55 *n*.
Lakhnau, 59.
Lakhnauti, 59, 345 *n* 3.
Laksha (*lakh*), 200.
Lakshaṇa, 146.
Lakshaná, 239 and *n* 1.
Lakshitá, 242.
Lakshmí, 286 and *n* 4, 318 *n* 2, 320 *n* 2.
Lalitá Shashṭhí festival, 319 *n* 3.
Lalita Vistara, 212 *n* and *n* 1.
Lamakshar, 97.
Lámas, 212 and *n* 3.
Lambana, longitude, 33.
Lamghán, 89, 361 *n*.
Lamoreya, 77 *n*.
Lámri, Island of, 48.
Lamṭah, 54.
Lamthounah, 54 *n*.
Lane's Lexicon, 108 *n* 2.
Lane's "Modern Egyptians," 254 *n* 3.
Langoṭí, 273.
Lánjuyah, 53 and *n*.
Lanka, 30 and *n* 1, 31, 35, 36 and *n* 2, 37, 43 *n* 3, 318 *n* 3.
Lankúdaya Lagna, 36.
Laodicea, 90 *n*.
Lár, 374.
Lár, Island of, 61.
Lárí, Shaykh Maudúd al, 374, 375.
Lassen, 113 *n* 2, 114 *n* 1, 120 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*.
Láta, 12 *n* 2.
Laṭáifu'l Akhbár, The, 353 *n*.
Latákia, 78 *n*.
Lato, 55 *n*.
Latopolis, 55 *n*.
Laugákshi, The, 221.
Laung, 313.
Láwakand, 83 *n*, 93 *n*.
Laya, 254 *n*.
Lees, W. N., 350 *n* 1.
Legentil, M., 13 *n* 3.
Lemlem country, The, 49 *n*.
Lepta, 76 *n*.
Leo, The African, 61 *n*.
Leumann, Prof. Ernest, 169 *n*.
Lewis' Astronomy of the Ancients, 16 *n* 3, 25 *n* 3, 33 *n* 1, 39 *n* 3, 109 *n* 1.
Liṇga, The, 140 *n* 1, 158 *n*, 298 *n* 2.
Linga Puráṇa, The, 220.
Lingasaríra, 162, 175.
Linnœus, 28 *n* 2, 63 *n*, 121 *n* 1, 124 *n*.
Lion, The, 120 and *n* 1.
Lisbon, 93 *n*.
Lobha, 302.
Lohung, 251 *n* 1.
Lokaloka, 39 *n* 1.
Lokáyatikas, The, 217 *n* 1.
Lokkám, Mountain of, 64 *n*.
Lomaśa, 159.
Lombardy, 101 and *n*, 102.
Lotus de la bonne foi, The, 202 *n*.
Louis XI, 107 *n*.

Luccos, The, 76 *n*.
Lucian, 33 *n* 1, 95 *n*.
Ludhiánah, 69, 304.
Luhrásp, 328.
Lunar Stations, The, 21, 22.
Lung, 273 and *n* 1.
Lusitania, 76 *n*.
Luxor, 55 *n*, 56 *n*, 60 *n*, 76 *n*.
Lybia, 109 and *n* 2.
Lycia, 91 *n*.

MAÁḌ b. Jabal, 50 *n*.
Maạdan-i-Zahab, 57, 58.
Maạrratu'n Nuạmán, 75 *n*, 78 *n*, 79.
Mạbar, 51, 60.
Mabog, 79 *n*.
Macan's Edit. of the Sháh-Námah, 29 *n* 1, 330 *n*.
Macaulay, 409 *n* 2.
Macedonia, 120 *n* 1.
Máchhiwárah, 69.
Machhú, 251 and *n* 1.
Máchín, 7 *n* 1.
Mackenzie, Major, 191 *n* 3, 198 *n* and *nn* 1 and 2.
Mada, 302.
Madagascar, 47.
Madáin al-, 65, 96 *n*, 326 and *n* 5, 360 *n* 1.
Madakshon, 47 *n*.
Mạdan-i-Zamurrad, 56.
Madárí Order, The, 370.
Madeira Islands, The, 33 *n* 1, 123 *n* 1.
Mádhava Ácharya, 158 *n*.
Madhubhúmika, 183.
Madhu-dhenu, 228.
Madhyá, 242.
Madhya-deśa, 32 *n* 3, 33, 110.
Madhya mána, 243.
Madhyama, astronomy, 17.
Madhyama, musical note, 247, 249.
Madhyamá women, 243.
Madhyama-gráma, 246 *n*.
Mádhyamikas, The, 213 *n* 1, 216 and *n* 1.
Madina Celi, 93 *n*, 100 *n*.
Madínah i Balad, 80.
Madínah-i-Surt, 62.
Madínah i Ṭabarḳah, 94.
Madínatu'l Faraj, 77.
Madínatu'l Walíd, 93, 100 *n*.
Madínat-u'ṭ-Ṭayyib, 54.
Madras, 284 *n* 1.
Mádúnah, Island of, 49.
Madura, Island, 49 *n*.
Mœnaca, 77 *n*.
Máfah, 75 *n*.
Magadha, 212 *n*, 292 *n* 1.
Mágadha, 116.
Mágadhas, The, 115 *n* 2.
Magadoxo, 47 *n*.
Maghrárah, 76.
Maghrib, The, 90 *n*.
Maghribi, Muḥyi'ddín, 20 and *n* 2.
Magians, The, 336 *n* 1, 337.
Magog, 7 *n* 1.
Magrela, 312.
Maguyla, river, 62 *n*.
Máh, 82 *n*.
Máh of Kúfah, 82 *n*.
Mahábhárata, The, 159 *n*, 168 *n* 1, 217 *n* 1, 230, 238 *n* 3, 241 *n* 1, 274 *n* 3, 285 *n* 1, 287 *n*, 291 *n* 1, 310 *n* 1.
Mahábháshya, The, 177 *n* 1, 224 *n* 2.
Mahabhír fair, The, 288 *n*.
Mahábhuta-ghaṭa-dána, 283 and *n* 1.
Mahá-biddiya, 11.
Mahádeva, 8, 10, 11, 148, 153, 161, 204 228, 229, 230, 233, 249, 277, 290, 298 *n* 1, 303, 306, 318 *n* 5, 321 *n* 1.
Mahá-Kálí, 11.
Mahá-Lachhmí, 10, 11.
Mahá-Máyá, 11.
Mahánada, The, 304 *n* 4.
Mahánadí, The, 304 *n* 4.
Mahánidána Soutta, 202 *n*.
Maháparinirváṇa Sútra, The, 212 *n* 2.
Mahápátakin, *i. e.*, a great sinner, 296. The five great sins, 297 *n* 2.
Mahápralaya, 147.
Mahráj, Island of, 48 and *n*, 51 *n*.
Mahar-loka, 32, 164 *n* 2.
Mahá-saroja, 200.
Mahá Sramaṇa, 211 *n* 1.

Mahat, 170 and *n* 1, 171, 173 and *n* 4, 174, 178 and *n* 3, 179.
Mahátala, 32.
Mahátmya, 321 *n* 2.
Mahávira, 169 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 192, 204 *n* and *n* 1, 206 *n* 1.
Maháyamí, Mauláná Aḥmad, 373.
Maháyunga, 174 *n* 4.
Mahdavís, The, 373, 427 and *n* 1.
Máh Dinár, 82 *n*.
Mahdí, The, 427 and *nn* 2 and 3, 428.
Mahdi Ụbaydullah, 62 *n*.
Mahdiyah, 62 and *n*.
Mahendra, 194 *n*.
Mahendra Mtn., 291.
Mahendra range, 31 and *n* 2.
Máheśvara Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Maḥfil Shikan, 365.
Máhim, 70.
Mahimá, 187 and *n* 2
Mahindra Maḷei, 31 *n* 2.
Máhíshmatí, 290 *n* 1.
Máhiṣya, 115.
Mahjam, 50.
Maḥmúd of Ghazní, 328 *n* 1, 340 and *n* 1, 341, 360 *n* 2, 407 and *n* 1.
Maḥmúd of Delhi, Sulṭán, 349.
Maḥmúd of Gujaṛát, Sulṭan, 251 and *n* 1, 373.
Mahomed II, 95 *n*.
Mahommedan Dynasties in Spain, 77 *n*.
Mahrah b. Haydán, 51 *n*.
Mahrah, Province of, 51.
Mahri, 98.
Máh u'l Baṣrah, 82 and *n*, 83 and *n*.
Mahúrah, 59.
Mahwá, 300.
Maibuḍi, 14 *n* 1.
Maimand, 68.
Mairan, 38 *n* 2.
Maitrí, 181, 182.
Majdu'ddín Jurjání, Mauláná, 368.
Majdu'ddín, Shaykh, Baghdádí, 356.
Majmạ-u'l-Fuṣaḥá, The, 328 *nn* 1 and 2.
Majorca, 77 and *n*, 93 *n*.
Májúj, 377 *n* 1.
Maḳám, 248 *n* 3.
Makanpúr, 370.
Makara, 13 *n* 3.
Makạta, 292 and *n* 1.
Makdishú, 47.
Maḳedúnyah, 95.
Makhdúm i Jahániyán, 369 and *n* 4, 372, 374, 419.
Makhdúmu'l Mulk, 430 *n* 1.
Makḥul-b-Sulṭán Maḥmúd, 341,
Makhzúmi, Abú Sạíd al, 358 and *n* 1.
Makisín, 79.
Makla Kokf, 292 *n* 1.
Makrán, See Mekrán.
Maḳrízi, 47 *n*.
Maḳruḳín, 60.
Mála, 250 *n* 17.
Malabar, 52 *n*, 397 *n* 2.
Malacca, 7, 48 *n*.
Malaga, 77 *n*.
Málaḳah, 77.
Málakauśika, 250 and *n* 17.
Malán, 90.
Malang Faḳírs, The, 369 *n* 4.
Malaṭyah, 78 *n*.
Malaya range, 31.
Malázjird, 95.
Malcolm, 325 *n* 2, 327 *n* 1, 328 *nn* 2 and 3, 329, *n*, 330 *n*.
Malda, 304 *n* 4.
Maldeo, 421 and *n* 1.
Malíbar, 60.
Málik, Imám, 421.
Malik Khán Khalaj, 344.
Malik Sháh, 88 *n*, 343.
Málikí, Abú Ḥusayn, 353.
Málín, 87.
Malkán, 375.
Mallú Khán, 349.
Malta, 77 *n*.
Málwah, 59, 257, 290 *n* 1, 304 *n* 2, 338 *n* 1, 365.
Mályavanta, Mountain, 30, 31.
Mámatva, 302 and *n* 3.
Mambij, 79.
Mámún, al, 26, 27, 65 *n*, 83 *n*, 85 *n*, 326 and *nn* 3 and 5, 340 *n*.
Mána, 243, 302.

Mánah, 77,
Manana, 141.
Manas, 129 and *n* 2, 132 and *n* 1, 137, 138, 139 and *n* 1, 147, 154, 155 *n* 2, 156 and *n* 1, 162, 163, 165 *n* 3, 170; 171, 175, 178 and *n* 1, 179, 180, 190, 193, 201, 207.
Manas-paryáya-jñána, 190.
Mánasa lake, The, 290 *n* 1.
Manassites, The, 64 *n*.
Mánava, The, 220.
Mánchu, 60.
Mandágni, 308 *n* 1.
Mandánis, 332 *n* 1.
Mandara, Mt., 31, 286.
Mandeville, 33 *n* 1.
Mando, 59.
Mandu, 251 *n* 1.
Manetho, 109 *n* 1.
Manf, 75 and *n*.
Máng, 312.
Manglúur, 70.
Mangú Khán, 345 *n* 2.
Máni the Painter, 336 and *n* 1.
Manichean sect, The, 336 *n* 1.
Mánikpúr, 59, 366.
Manitasoh, 94 *n*, 105 *n*.
Mankbarín, 343 *n* 2.
Mankburní, Jalálu'ddín, 343.
Mankúyah, 345 and *n* 2.
Mansályá, 94.
Mán Singh Tonwar, 251 and *n* 1, 252 *n*.
Manṣúr, al, 340 *n*.
Manṣúr Átá, 358.
Manṣúr-b-Jaunah al Áámiri, 78 *n*.
Manṣúrah, 52 *n*, 58 and *n*.
Mantra, 158 *n*, 219.
Manu, 10 and *n* 1, 32 *n* 3, 219, 261 *n* 1, 264 *n* 1, 265 *n* 1, 266 *nn* 1 and 2, 267 all *ns*, 268 *n* 2, 269 *n* 1, 270 *nn* 1 and 4, 271 *nn* 2 and 3, 279 *n* 1, 285 and *n* 1, 286 *n* 5, 294 *nn* 2 and 3, 295 *nn* 1 and 2, 296 *nn* 3 and 4, 297 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 300 *n* 3, 307 *n* 4, 308 *nn* 1 and 2, 309 *nn*, 310 *n* 1, 311 *nn* 1 and 2.
Manu, Ordinances of, 11 *n* 1, 32 *n* 3, 115 *nn* 1 and 2, 164 *n* 3, 217 *n* 1, 221, 229 *n* 1, 294 *n* 1, 301 *n* 1, 2 *n* and 3, 302 *n* 4, 303 *n* 1.
Manu, Rájá, 285.
Manual of Buddhism, Hardy's, 292 *n* 1.
Mánus, 94.
Manus, Sea of, 104.
Manusha, 193.
Mánusha, 07 and *n* 3.
Manusha-loka, 195.
Mánushya, 178, 197.
Manvantara, 174 and *n* 2, 219.
Marághah, 20 *n* 2, 81, 82 *n*.
Marákash, 61.
Marand, 80 *n*, 81.
Marash, 91 and *n*.
Marathi, 120 *n*.
Marbút, 75.
Marco Polo, 48 *n*, 51 *n*, 52 *n*, 73 *n*, 98 *n*, 119 *n* 1, 212 *n* 3.
Mardás, 328.
Mardín, 79.
Márga songs, 250.
Márga-satya, 215.
Margiana, 110 *n* 1.
Marhatta, 119.
Márib, 50.
Maríchi, 117, 288 and *n* 2.
Márida, 76.
Máridín, Mt., 73 *n*.
Mari Kirmán, 104.
Márkanda Purána, The, 220.
Markandeya, 159.
Marmaros, 94 *n*.
Marmora, Sea of, 104 *n*.
Mars, 12.
Marú, 92.
Marúf Karkhí, 355, 356.
Márutas, The, 148 *n* 3.
Marw, 86, 87 and *n*, 92 *n*, 97 *n*, 330, 352 *n* 3, 354, 357, 361 *n* 1.
Marwán al Himár, 65 *n*, 78 *n*.
Marwán, Governor, 81 *n*.
Márwár, 119, 367 *n* 4.
Marwar Rúd, 87 and *n*.
Marwarúdi, Khálid, 26.
Masaúd-b-Maudúd, 341.
Masaúd, Sultán, 340, 341.

Masạúdí, 325, *n* 1, 334 *n* 1.
Mashhad, 86, 252 *n*.
Mashk, The, 256.
Maṣíṣah, 78.
Masúchí, 313.
Mathurá, 32 *n* 3, 33, 59 *n*, 252, 287 *n* 2, 291, 292, 306.
Mati-jñána, 190.
Mátra, 223 and *n* 2.
Mátras, 254 *n*.
Matsya, 32 *n* 3.
Matsya Puráṇa, The, 220, 285 *n* 1, 289 *n*.
Matsyávatára, 284.
Maudúd-b-Masạúd, 341.
Maudúd, Khwájah, 357.
Maufalúṭ, 71.
Maukhya, 173 *n* 4.
Mauritania, 54 *n*, 59, 61, 70, 73, 76, 90, 94 *n*, 104, 108, 109, 371.
Mauṣil, 26, 64 *n*, 80 and *n*, 82 *n*, 90 *n*.
Má wará u'n Nahr, 68 *n*.
Max Müller, 169 *n*, 222 *n* 1, 224 *n*, 226 *n* 1.
Máyá, Buddha's mother, 211, 292.
Máyá, Hardwár, 306.
Máyá, illusion, 159 *n*, 160, 163 *n* 1, 164.
Maya, The Demon, 11, 12 *n* 1.
Máyah, 60.
Mayánah, 82, 91.
Mayyá Fáriḳín, 79 and *n*, 91 *n*, 100 *n*.
Mázandarán, 85, 86, 407 *n* 1.
Mázímán, 86.
McCrindle, 52 *n*, 69 *n*.
McCrindle's Anc. India, 42 *n* 1, 49 *n*, 69 *n*.
Meadows of gold, The, 335 *n*.
Measure, Lineal, 21.
Mecca, 27, 51 *n*, 53 *n*, 57 and *n*, 60 *n*, 350 *n* 2, 353 and *n* 1, 361 *n*, 369, 371.
Medhá-tithi, 296 *n* 4, 300 *n* 3, 301 *n* 4.
Media, 82 *n*, 110 *n* 1.
Medina, 54 *n*, 57 and *n*, 359 *n* 4, 360 *n* 1, 376.
Mediní, 253.
Mediterranean, The, 53 *n*, 77 and *n*, 93, 94 *n*, 109, 110 *n* 1.
Mediterranean Coast, 61.
Megalopolis, 95 *n*.
Megha, 249, 250.
Mekrán, 58, 68 and *n*, 342, 344.
Melká, 375 *n* 2
Melton, Edward, 119 *n* 1.
Memoirs of Baber, 16, 98 *n*.
Memphis, 75 *n*.
Mental Philosophy, Morell's, 136 *n*.
Menzaleh, Lake, 63 *n*.
Mercury, 12, 117, 442 *n* 2.
Merida, 76 *n*.
Meru, Mount, 28 *n* 2, 39 *n* 1, 195 *n* 3.
Mesílah, 61 *n*, 62.
Mesopotamia, 73 *n*, 75 *n*, 76 *n*, 79 and *n*, 80 and *n*, 110 *n* 1.
Mewát, 118.
Meynard's Dict. de la Perse, 66 *n*, 343 *n* 3.
Mhow, 288 *n*.
Miana, 82 *n*.
Michael, 325 *n* 1.
Michael Angelo, 377 *n* 1.
Mihrán, Source of the, 89.
Mihrján, 85 and *n*.
Mikhláṭ, 100.
Miknessa, 71 *n*, 76 *n*.
Milah, 90 *n*.
Milan, 101 *n*.
Milesians, The, 103 *n*.
Milton, 37 *n* 1.
Mimáṇsa School of Philosophy, The, 132, 142 *n* 2, 152, 159, 169, 189, 213, 219 *n* 1, 224.
Mímansakas, The, 156.
Mínákár, The, 315.
Minháju'ddín Bukhárí, 368.
Miniet Ebn Khaseeb, 71 *n*.
Minorca, 77 *n*.
Minos, 325 *n* 2.
Mír Ḥusainí, 349, 363, 365.
Mír Khusrau, 346, 365.
Mír Sayyid Ạlí Hamadání, 349.
Mír Sayyid Muḥammad, 427, 428 *n* 2.
Mír Sayyid Sharíf 390.
Mír Sayyid Yaḥya Bukhárí, 419.
Mírán Ṣadr, 387 *n* 1.
Mir'átu'l Ạálam, The, 375 *n*.
Mirbáṭ, 48.

Mirkhond, 343 *n* 3, 344 *n* 3, 345 *n*.

Mirza, 103 *n*.

Mithyajñána, 140 and *n* 2, 141, 156.

Mitra, Dr., 169 *n*, 178 *n* and *nn* 1 and 3, 179 *nn* 2 and 3, 180 *n* and *n* 1, 181 *n* 2, 185 *nn* 1 and 2, 187 *nn* 2 and 4.

Mitra, Pramadá Dása, 239 *n* 1, 244 *n* 2.

Miyán Ạbdu'llah, 428 *n* 2.

Miyán Ládan, 375.

Mlaner, 59.

Mlechchas, The, 32 *n* 3, 114, 117, 192 *n* 1, 197, 225, 226, 276, 279, 293 *n* 1.

Mlechcha Brahmans, 116, 117.

Mlechcha-deś, 32.

Moab, Country of, 64 *n*.

Moha, 139, 302.

Mohan Pál, Munshí, 369 *n* 4.

Mohaníya, 201, 202 *n*.

Moilah, 58 *n*.

Mo-ki-to, 292 *n* 1.

Moksha, 202 *n* 2, 203.

Moluccas, The, 7.

Monaster, 62 *n*, 71 *n*.

Monier-Williams, 165 *n* 1, 172 *n* 1, 219 *n* 1, 221 *n* 2, 225 *n* and *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 227 *n* 3, 228 *n* 1, 230 *n* 2, 283 *n* 1, 286 *n* 3, 287 *n*, 297 *n*, 298 *n* 2, 303 *n* 4, 307 *n* 2, 310 *nn* 1 and 2.

Montucla, 13 *nn* 1 and 3, 19 *n* 3, 20 *n* 1, 24 *n* 2.

Moon, The, 117.

Mopsuestia, 78 *n*.

Mor-Bhañwar, 313.

Morea, 77 *n*.

Morell, Dr., 136 *n*.

Morocco, 54 *n*, 61 *n*, 70 *n*.

Moscow, 104 *n*.

Moses, 56 *n*, 108 *n* 1, 376, 377 and *n* 1.

Mount Atlas, 54 *n*.

Mozambique, 47 *n*.

Mṛidang, The, 255 *n* 5.

Mṛiga, 173.

Mṛityu-loka, 172.

Msila, 62 *n*.

Muạllá, 54.

Muạtaṣim, al, 80 *n*.

Múḍha, 179.

Muditá, 181, 182.

Mugdhá, 241.

Mughalpúr, 346 *n* 4.

Mughals, The, 337 *n* 1, 346 and *n* 4, 347 and *n* 2, 348 and *n* 3.

Mughíṣ, Maulána, 365.

Muhallabí, al, 407 *n* 1.

Muḥammad, 50 *n*, 79 *n*, 354 *n* 3, 360 *n* 1, 361 *n*, 385 *n* 2, 390, 391 *n*.

Muḥammad-b-Malik Sháh Saljúḳí, 343.

Muḥammad Ḥakím Mírza, 383 and *n* 1.

Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shaykh, 375.

Muḥammad Ḳásim, 340.

Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh, 343, 356 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Sháh Ạádilí, 425 *n* 2.

Muḥammad Sháh Karím, Sulṭán, 371, 372, 373.

Muḥammad Shámí, 357.

Muḥammad Súr, 425 *n* 2.

Muḥammad Ṭayfúrí Bisṭámí, 370.

Muḥammad Tughlaḳ, Sulṭán, 363 *n*, 372.

Muḥammadiyah, 62 *n*.

Muḥásibí, Abú Ạbdu'llah, 351, 356.

Muḥásibís, The, 351.

Muḥyi'ddín Ạrabí, Shaykh, 373.

Mụ'ínu'ddín Daulatábádí, Mauláná, 369.

Mụínu'ddín Sijizí, Khwájah, 349, 362, 363, 371.

Muir, 149 *n* 2, 217 *n* 1.

Muir's Sansk. Texts, 114 *n* 1, 116 *n* 1.

Muịzz, Al, 63 *n*.

Mu'izzu'd Daulah Buwayh, 407 *n* 1.

Mụizzu'ddín Bahrám Sháh, 345.

Mụizzu'ddín M. Sám, 342, 362, 367.

Mujtahid, 352 *n* 1.

Múkán, 83.

Mukhavastrika, 208 *n* 3.

Mukhya Chándra, 318 *n* 4.

Mukram-b-u'l Mạzá, 66 *n*.

Muḳtadir, al, 107 *n*, 354 *n* 2, 395 *n*.

Mukti, 140, 141, 203, 210, 215, 245, 278, 305.

Mukuṭa, 311.

Múla, 231.

Múla-sútras, The, 205 and *n* 1.

Mulla Ṭálib Iṣfahání, 393.

Müller's Hist. Sansk. Lit., 281 *n* 1, 324 *n* 2.
Multán, 69, 119, 322 *n* 4, 338 *n* 1, 340 *n* 1, 342, 344 and *n* 4, 362, 363, 364, 365, 369.
Munabbat-Kár, The, 315 and *n* 1.
Munair, 59 *n*.
Munaḳḳab, 77 *n*.
Münchausen, 33 *n* 1.
Mundhir, al, 72 *n*.
Muni Brahmans, 116.
Muntakhab, Shaykh, 365.
Munyah, 71 and *n*.
Murári Miśra, 153, 154, 155 156.
Múrchchanás, The, 246 *n*, 247 *n*, 248 *n* 2.
Murcia, 93, 100 *n*.
Múrdhavaśikta, 115.
Murgháb, 87.
Murgbáb, The, 87 *n*.
Murghzá, 100.
Múrján, 75.
Murli, The, 256.
Murray's Chemist, 422 *n*.
Murray's Edition of Malcolm, 330 *n*.
Musailimah The Impostor, 57 *n*.
Músh, 100.
Mushábea, 57 *n*.
Mushḳah, 104.
Music of Hindustan, Willard's, 252 *n* 1.
Music of Southern India, Captain Day's, 246 *n*, 250 *n* 18, 253 *n*, 254 *n*, 256 *n* 3.
Mustanṣir, al, Fatimite Caliph, 73 *n*.
Mustaufí, 341 *n* 1.
Mustaufí, Abu'l Maʿálí Naṣru'llah, 341.
Mutawakkil, al, 86 *n*.
Muṭawwal, al, 444 and *n* 1.
Muṭí'l'illáh, al-, 407 *n* 1.
Muweilah, 58 *n*.
Mynah, The, 121, 238 and *n* 1, 296.
Mythus de Ovo Mundano, an Essay, 11 *n* 1.
Muẓaffár Sháh, Sulṭán, 372.
Muzaffarnagar, 70, 374 *n* 1.
Muzayyan, Abú Ḥusayn, 353.

NÁBHI, 31 *n* 1.
Nablús, 105.
Nabuchadnezzar, 92 *n*.
Nábulus, 72 and *n*.
Náchiketa, The, 221.
Naḍhír, Jews of al, 360 *n* 1.
Nádika, 16 *n* 4.
Nadímah, 60.
Nafaḥátu'l Uns, Jámi's, 350 *n* 1, 351 *n*, 377 *n*.
Nága, 113.
Nága-panchami festival, 319.
Nágas, The, 113 *n* 2.
Nagarkot, 306 and *n* 4, 318.
Naghma, 248 *n* 2.
Nág-khaṇḍa, 31.
Nágor, 367 and *n* 4, 419, 421 *n* 1.
Nagr-udaya Lagna, 36.
Nahád, 103.
Naháwand, 352.
Nahlwárah, 68.
Nahrouán Canal, an-, 49 *n*.
Nahrwálah, 59, 68 *n*, 369.
Nahrwán, 73 *n*.
Nahtaur, 70.
Nai-ambán, The, 256.
Naigama, The, 224 *n*.
Naighaṇṭuka, The, 224 *n*.
Naimittika, 157 and *n* 1, 165 *n* 1.
Nairit, 110.
Nairṛita, 113.
Naisábúr, See Nishápúr.
Naiyayikás, The, 154 and *n* 2, 155 *n* 1, 156.
Najd, 57 *n*, 60, 350 *n* 2.
Najdah, 75.
Najíbu'ddín Firdausí, Shaykh, 370.
Najíbu'ddín Muḥammad, Shaykh, 367.
Najíbu'ddín Mutawakkil, Shaykh, 367, 368.
Najíbu'ddín Samarḳandí, Maulána, 369.
Najíram, 59 and *n*.
Najmu'ddín Kubrá, Shaykh, 356, 367.
Najmu'ddín Ṣughrá, Skaykh, 366.
Najrán, 50.
Naḳára, The, 255.
Nakhchuwán, 81.
Nakhshab, 97 and *n*.
Naḳjowán, 99.

Nakshabí, Abú Turáb, 351, 353.
Nakshatra, 21.
Naḳshbandi, Khwájah Baháu'ddín, 358 and *n* 3.
Nala and Damayantí, 311 *n* 2.
Námadheya, 219.
Náman, 201.
Namas-kára, 280.
Námiká, 201 *n* 5.
Nanda, 292.
Nánda Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Nandátirtha, The, 303 *n* 4.
Nandávatí, The, 303.
Nandi Sútra, The, 204 *n*, 205 and *n* 1.
Nának, 206 *n*.
Nara, 307 *n* 3.
Nárada Puráṇa, The, 220.
Náradíya, The, 220.
Naraka, 128.
Nárakis, The, 193, 198, 199.
Nara-sinha, 287, 299, 318.
Nárasinha Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Naráyan Swámi, 252 *n*.
Náráyaṇa, 159 *n*, 226.
Narbadá, The, 288, 289 *n*, 290 *n* 1, 300 and *n* 2.
Narbáns, The, 118.
Narbo Martius, 93 *n*.
Narímán, 327 *n* 1, 329, 330.
Narwar, 60.
Nasá, 92 and *n*.
Nasáik, 74 *n*.
Nasf, 97.
Nashawa, 99.
Naṣíbín, 79.
Náṣir lidíni'lláh, an-, 426 *n* 2.
Náṣirah, 76.
Naṣíru'ddín Chirágh-i-Dihlaví, Shaykh, 369, 372.
Naṣíru'ddín Maḥmúd Sháh, 346.
Naṣíru'd-dín Ṭúsi, 20, 27, 82 *n*, 422 *n*.
Naṣr-b-Aḥmad Samani, 340 *n*.
Naṣrábádí, Ạlí, 351.
Naṣru'llah Mustaufí, 341 and *n* 1.
Nástika School, The, 217.
Nástikas, The, 217 *n* 1.
Natáiju'l Afkár, The, 341 *n* 1.
Náṭa-Naráyaṇa, 249, 250.
Naṭanz, 84.
Nath, 313.
Naṭs, The, 258.
Naṭwas, The, 257, 258.
Naubakht, 97 *n*.
Naubandaján, 66, 67 *n*.
Naúbanjár, 67 *n*.
Nauḳán, 86 *n*.
Nauroz, 327 *n* 1.
Naushahr, 80.
Navamí festival, 318.
Navarasa, The, 240 and *n* 3.
Nava-rátra festival, 318.
Nawa, 54.
Nawawí, an-, 354 *n* 3, 360 *n* 1.
Naxuana, 81 *n*.
Náyak Bakshú, 251.
Náyaka, 243.
Náyika, 241.
Nayzak, 38 *n* 2.
Nazarenes, The, 8.
Nazareth, 76 *n*.
Neapolis, 72 *n*.
Needle of Pharaoh, 74 *n*, 75 *n*.
Negroland, 47 *n*.
Neith, Goddess, 56 *n*.
Neo Platonists, The, 109 *n* 1.
Nepal, 121 *n* 3, 304 *n* 5.
New Testament, The, 293 *n* 1.
New World, The, 42.
Newton, 328 *n* 3.
Niá Natís, 105.
Nibandha, 149.
Nididhyásana, 141.
Nidrá, 180.
Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie, 49 *n*, 50 *n*, 51 *n*, 53 *n*, 54 *n*, 63 *n*.
Nifṭawaih, 338 *n* 2.
Nigamana, 145.
Niger, The, 47 *n*, 49 *n*, 54 *n*.
Nighaṇṭu, 224 *n*.
Nigraha-sthána, 129, 146, 150.
Nihánah, 104.
Nihilists, The, 213 *n* 1, 216 *n* 1, 217 *n* 1, 218.
Nikharba, 200.

Níla range, The, 30, 31.
Nílakantha, Pandit, 153 *n* 3, 166 *n* 1.
Nile, The, 47 and *n*, 53 *n*, 55 *n*, 60 *n*, 63 *n*, 71 *n*.
Nímba leaf, The, 323.
Nimisháṛa, 286 and *n* 6, 307.
Nimitta Káraṇa, 143.
Nímkhár, 287 *n*, 307.
Nineveh, 90 *n*.
Nirguṇa Paramesvara, 192.
Niriśvara Sánkhya, 177 *n* 1.
Nirjalaikádaśí festival, 319 *n*.
Nirjará, 202 and *n* 2.
Nirṇaya, 129, 145.
Nirodha, 179 and *n* 1.
Nirodha-pariṇáma, 179 *n* 4.
Nirodha-satya, 215.
Niruddha, 179.
Nirukta, 160, 223 and *n* 5, 224 *n*.
Nirvána, 211 *n* 2.
Nirvichára, 182.
Nirvitarka, 182.
Nisháda, a musical note, 248, 249.
Nishádas, The, 115 and *n* 2.
Nishadha Mountain, 30, 31.
Nishápúr, 43 *n* 3, 67 *n*, 85 *n*, 86 and *n*, 87 *n*, 89 *n*, 91 and *n*, 92 and *n*, 337 *n*, 351, 361 and *n* 1, 367 *n* 1, 423 *n* 2.
Nishiddha, 157.
Nitya, 157 and *n* 1.
Nivaria, 33 *n* 1.
Niyama, 136 *n* 2, 183, 184.
Niyatạ, 190.
Niyází Afgháns, 428 *n* 2.
Niẓámu'ddín Aḥmad Bakshí, 343 *n* 3.
Niẓámu'ddín Auliyá, 365 and *nn*, 367, 368, 370, 372, 440.
Noah, 75 *n*, 81 *n*, 83 *n*, 109, 327, 375, 377, 418.
Noer's Emperor Akbar, 69 *n*.
Noph, 75 *n*.
Norway, 104 *n*.
Notices et extraits, 61 *n*.
Noviana, 344 *n* 4.
Novo Shudák, 104 *n*.
Nrityádhyáya, 256.
Nuạmán, Mountain, 80 *n*.
Nuạmán b. Bashír, 79 *n*.
Nuạmáníyah, 65, 75 *n*.
Nuháwand, 83 and *n*.
Nuḳabá, The, 376 *n* 3.
Núḳán, 86.
Núniábád, 96 *n*.
Núr, Shaykh, Ḳuṭb-i-Ạálam, 371.
Núrís, The, 351.
Núru'd-dín, 91 *n*.
Nusayy, 377.
Núshirwán, 85 *n*, 338, 339 *n* 1.
Nuxuana, 99 *n*.
Nuzhat u'l Mushtáḳ, 50 *n*, 53 *n*.
Nyása, 249 *n*.
Nyáya, 144 *n*.
Nyáya School of Philosophy, The, 127, 132 *n* 2, 135 *n* 2, 141, 143 *n* 3, 146 *n* 1, 150, 151 *n*, 152 and *n* 1, 153 and *n* 1, 154, 156 and *n* 5, 190, 192, 216, 224.

OCEAN, Shore of the, 49.
Oder, The, 77 *n*.
Ogouz Khán, 345 *n*.
Old Man of the Mountain, The, 396 *n* 1.
Old Testament, The, 72 *n*, 75 *n*.
Oldenberg, 169 *n*.
Oljáitú, 348 *n* 3.
Olshausen, 82 *n*.
Oṁ, 184 *n* 5, 278.
Omán, 48 and *n*, 51 and *n*, 53, 54 *n*.
Omar, 72 *n*, 99 *n*, 326 *n* 5, 351 *n*, 354 and *n* 3.
Omar, Ḳádhi of al-Muḳtadir, 354 *n* 2.
Omar Khayyám, 392.
Oṁkára, 184 and *n* 5.
On, 74 *n*.
Onesicritus, 332 *n* 2.
Ophir, 53 *n*.
Ordeal, The, 262.
Orissa, 31 *n* 2, 304 *n* 4.
Oriya, 120 *n*.
Orontes, The, 90 *n*.
Osiris, 60 *n*.
Othmán, the Caliph, 62 *n*.
Otté, 22 *n* 3, 24 *n* 1, 29 *n* 1, 38 *nn* 2 and 3.
Ottoman Sulṭáns, The, 90 *n*.

Oudh, 287 *n*, 304 and *n* 5, 366.
Ouseley, 68 *n*, 97 *n*.
Ouzkend, 88 *n*.
Oxus, The, 68 *n*, 88 *n*, 92 and *n*, 96 *n*. 97 *n*, 98, 103 and *n*, 104 *n*, 252 *n*.
Oxyryuchus, 63 *n*.
Ozein, 29 *n* 1.

PACHCHIM, 110.
Pada, 150, 253 and *n* 1.
Pádah, 162.
Padártha, (predicament), 129, 159, 170.
Padárthas, The, 204 *n*.
Paddhati, 150.
Padma, 200.
Padma Puráṇa, The, 10 *n* 2, 220, 221 *n* 1.
Padminí, 243.
Páel, 69.
Pagræ, 78 *n*.
Pahr, 15.
Páil, 313.
Paila, 116 *n* 2.
Páinnas, The, 205 and *n* 1.
Paisácha marriage, 309 and *n* 4.
Paitra, 172 and *n* 2.
Pák Pattan, 364.
Páka-ja, 151.
Páka-yajña, 281 and *n* 1, 301.
Pakháwaj, The, 255, 257, 258,
Paksha, 144 *n* 1.
Paksha-dharmatva, 144 *n* 1.
Paksha-sattva, 144.
Pakshí, 173.
Pal, 16.
Palangán, 90.
Palermo, 73 *n*, 77 *n*.
Palestine, 63 and *n*, 64, 75, *n*, 76 *n*, 123 *n* 1.
Pallas, 212 *n* 3.
Pallas Athone, 56 *n*.
Palus Mæotis, 94 *n*, 105 *n*.
Palya, 188 *n* 1, 194 *n* 1.
Palyopama, 200.
Pamir, The, 103 *n*.
Pampeluna, 101 *n*.
Pamphylia, 94 *n*.
Pan, 55 *n*.
Panchála, 32 *n* 3.
Pañcha-láṅgala-dána, 283.
Pañchama, 247, 249, 250.
Panchaśikha, 169 *n*.
Panchíkṛita, 161.
Páṇḍavas, The, 217 *n* 1.
Páṇḍu 319 *n*.
Pandua, 59.
Panduah, 371.
Pandvee, 251 *n* 1.
Páni, 162.
Panic worship, 55 *n*.
Páṇini, 177 *n* 1, 222 *n* 2, 223 *n* 5, 224 *n* 2.
Pánipat, 69, 368, 369, 425 *n* 2.
Paṇíyása, The, 206.
Panjáb, The, 70, 120 *n* 1, 303 and *n* 3, 330, 346, 364, 425 *n* 2.
Panjábi, 120 *n*.
Panjhír, 89 *n*.
Panjhir, Mtn., 88 *n*
Panka-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.
Panopolis, 55 *n*.
Paṅwárs, The, 118.
Pápa, 201.
Papíhá, The, 121, 296.
Paradise Lost, 37 *n* 1.
Parákíyá, 241, 242.
Páramárthika, 166 *n* 3, 190.
Paramátman, 129.
Párápára-tushṭi, 176.
Paráśara Smṛiti, The, 221.
Páráśara Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Párasnáth, 189 *n*.
Paraśuráma, 159 and *n*, 290, 291, 299, 304 *n*, 318.
Paraśurámávatára, The, 289.
Parátmá, 191.
Pára-tushṭi, 176.
Parávaha, 17.
Páràvatí, The, 304.
Parichchheda Bháshya, The, 179 *n* 4.
Pariháras, The, 118.
Parijátaka, 286 and *n* 1.
Parijátaka-vṛikska, 286.
Paríksha, 146.

Parimáṇa, 135, 153.
Paris, 103 *n*, 107 *n*.
Pariśishta, 150.
Paríśishtas, The, 205 *n* 1.
Parivá festival, 318, 320.
Parivaha, 17.
Pariwá, 233 and *n* 2.
Páriyátra range, 31 and *n* 2.
Parṇa, 304 *n* 7.
Parnasoṇá, The, 304.
Parnell's Hermit, 108 *n* 1.
Paroksha, 190, 191.
Pársá, Khwájah Muḥd. 361.
Parsaror, 69.
Párśvanátha, 188 *n* 1.
Parthians, The, 95 *n*.
Párvatí, 249, 283 *n* 1.
Parvatí, The, 304 *n* 2.
Parvíz, Khusrau, 314 and *n* 1.
Pasargadae, 332 *n* 2, 423 *n* 2.
Páśávatí, The, 304.
Paśchima, 113.
Páshaṇḍís, 217 *n* 1.
Paśu, 173.
Paśu Brahmans, 116, 117 and *n* 2.
Páṭa, 253 and *n* 1.
Paṭala, 150.
Pátála-loka, 32, 172, 195, 306.
Patna, 59, 212 *n*.
Pátaṇjala Bháshya, The, 135 *n* 2.
Pátañjala system, The, 171, 175, 177, 215, 238 *n* 2, 245 *n* 1, 274, 278.
Patañjali, 177 and *n* 1.
Pátaṇjali, Aphorisms of, 156 *n* 4, 162 *n* 2, 175 *n* 3.
Paṭhína fish, 296 *n* 4.
Pati, 243.
Patiála State, The, 69 *n*.
Pátra, 208 *n* 3.
Paṭṭan, 59, 304, 364, 369.
Patterson, Mr., 246 *n*.
Patthar Chatá fish, 296 and *n* 4.
Payrav, Shaykh Ạlí, 373.
Peacock, The, 325 and *n* 1.
Pegu, 212.
Pekin, 52 *n*, 98 *n*, 102 *n*.
Peripatetics, The, 126.
Periplus of Lycia, 91 *n*.
Persepolis, 67 *n*.
Perseus, Temple of, 55 *n*.
Persia, 7, 9, 38 *n* 2, 66, 72 *n*, 108, 109, 120 *n* 1, 121, 123 *n* 1, 252, 328 *n* 2, 332 *n* 2, 337 *n*, 338 *n* 1, 340 and *n*, 343 *n* 1, 348 *n* 3, 371, 373, 378, 399, 407 *n* 1, 421 *n* 3, 423 *n* 2.
Persian Gulf, The, 57 *n*, 60, 61, 66, 67 *n*.
Persians, The, 13 *n* 3, 44, 89 *n*, 212 and *n* 3, 327 *n* 1, 329 *n*.
Persis, 110 *n* 1.
Pesháwar, 69.
Peshdád, 326 *n*.
Peshdadian Kings, The, 326 *n*, 328 *n* 3.
Phala, 129, 139.
Phaleg, 375 and *n* 2.
Pharaoh, 56 *n*, 74 *n*, 394. Needle of—, 74 *n*.
Pharaohs, The, 60 *n*.
Phavorinus, 34 *n* 1.
Pherecydes, 109 *n* 2.
Philadelphia, 64 *n*, 72 *n*.
Philip, 72 *n*.
Philistines, The, 64 *n*.
Phineas, 377.
Phúlí, 313.
Pilpay's Fables, 407 *n* 1.
Pinạ́k, The, 255.
Pindar, 109 *n* 2.
Pingala, 233.
Pingalanága, 224 *n* 2.
Pingán, 16.
Pípal-patti, 313.
Pipilíká-madhya, 227 *n* 3.
Pisa, 101 *n*.
Piśácha, 172.
Piśáchas, The, 193 *n* 2, 309.
Planets, The, 15, 18, 20, 23.
Plato, 3, 11 *n* 1, 37 *n* 1, 140 *n* 1, 180 *n*, 224 *n*.
Platonists, The, 126.
Pliny, 24 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 38 *n* 3, 71 *n*, 79 *n*, 91 *n*, 304 *n* 7.
Pluta, 223.
Plutarch, 331 *n* 1, 332 *nn* 1 and 2.
Pluto, 113 *n* 2.

Plutus, 113 *n* 2.
Pokur, 307 *n* 2.
Poles, The, 39 and *n* 3.
Polypœtes, 266 *n* 2.
Pompelo, 101 *n*.
Pompey, 95 *n*.
Pontic coast, The, 101.
Pontus Euxinus, 94.
Porphyrius, 331 *n* 1.
Porphyry, 11 *n* 1.
Port Mornington, 49 *n*.
Port Said, 63 *n*.
Port Vendres, 93 *n*.
Porus, 330, 334, 336, 392.
Posidonius, 25 *n* 3.
Prabandhádhyáya, 253.
Prabhákara Guru, 153, 154, 155, 156.
Prabhávatí, 241 *n* 3.
Pradártha, 214.
Pradeśa, 200 and *n* 7.
Pradhána, The, 14 *n* 1.
Pradyumna, 165 *n* 3.
Praëd, 409 *n* 2.
Pragalbhá, 242.
Prahláda, 288.
Prain, Dr., 123 *n* 1.
Prajápati, 163 *n* 1, 172 and *n* 1, 228 *n* 1.
Prajá-pati, 193.
Prajápatis, The, 227 *n* 2, 289 *n*, 309.
Prájápatya, 172 and *n* 1, 228 and *n* 1.
Prájápatya marriage, 309 and *n* 2.
Prajñá, 182.
Prajñájyotis, 183.
Prákámya, 187.
Prakaraṇa, 150.
Prakirṇa, 205 *n* 1.
Prakírṇádhyáya, 252.
Prákṛita dissolution, 165.
Prakṛiti, 164 *n* 4, 169, 170 and *n* 1, 173 and *n* 4, 174, 178 *n* 1, 201 and *n* 4.
Prakṛitika, 173.
Prakṛitilaya, 183.
Prakṛiti-tushṭi, 175.
Prakṛiti-vikṛiti, 170.
Prakrits, The, 120 *n*.
Pralaya, 146, 147.
Pramáda, 181.
Pramáṇa, (extent), 128.
Pramáṇa, (proof), 129, 150, 151, 156 and *n* 4, 159,1 69, 190, 200, 215.
Pramáṇa-vṛitti, 180.
Prameya, 129, 190, 191.
Práṇa, 148 and *n* 4, 162, 163 *n* 1, 193.
Práṇáyáma, 183, 185, 186, 274, 294.
Prápti, 187 and *n* 2.
Prasañya, 158 *n*.
Prasenájit, Rájá, 289 *n* 2.
Praśnavyákaraṇánga, The, 205.
Práthama-kalpika, 183.
Pratibhá, 156 *n* 4.
Prátibhásika, 166 *n* 1.
Pratijna, 143.
Pratipatti-Karmáni, 158 *n*.
Prati-vádin, 261.
Prativásudevas, 198 *n*.
Praty-abhijñána, 191.
Pratyáhára, 183, 186.
Pratyaksha, 129, 138 *n* 3, 151, 156 and *nn* 4 and 5, 190, 215.
Prauḍha, 241.
Pravaha, 17 and *nn* 1 and 2.
Pravahánila, 17.
Pravartaka, 206.
Pravṛitti, 129, 139, 140, 141, 179 *n* 1.
Prayága, 32 *n* 3, 306.
Prayájas, 158 *n*.
Práyaśchitta, 157.
Prayatna, 128, 135, 139, 140, 141.
Prayojana, 129, 143.
Prayuta, 200.
Preta, 323.
Pretyabháva, 129, 139.
Price, 340 *n* 1.
Prinsep's Tables, 363 *n* 3, 364 *n* 1.
Pṛithaktva, 128, 133, 135.
Prithví Rájá, 342.
Proshita-bhartṛiká, 242.
Ptolemais, 62 *n*.
Ptolemy, 13 and *n* 1, 20 *nn* 1 and 3, 22 *n* 3, 23, 24 *nn* 1 and 2, 25, 29 *n* 1, 31 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 42 and *n* 1, 43 and *n* 3, 45, 46 *n* 1, 48 *n*, 57 *n*, 64 *n*, 69 *n*, 71 *n*, 76 *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 93 *n*, 108 *n* 2, 331 *n* 1, 421.

Ptolemy Energetes, 56 *n*.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 64 *n*.
Publius Carisius, 76 *n*.
Pudgala, 200 and *n* 6, 201 and *n* 1 and 3, 202 *n* 2.
Púkara, 307 *n* 2.
Pukhra (Pushkara), 307.
Pukkasas, 115 *n* 2.
Pulastya, 291 *n* 2, 310.
Puliśa, 23, 25 *nn* 2 and 8, 35 *n* 2.
Punjáb, The, See Panjáb, The.
Punya, 201.
Púrab, 110.
Púraka, 185.
Puráṇas, The, 10 *n* 2, 11 *n* 1, 17 *n* 1, 28 *n* 2, 32 *n* 1, 168 *n* 1, 192 *n* 1, 219, 220 *nn* 2 and 3, 318 *n* 4.
Púrbi, 70.
Púri, 151 *n*.
Púrṇa-mása festival, 318, 319,
Púrṇávatára, 284, 293.
Purneah, 303 *n* 3.
Purohita, 310.
Purusha, 163 *n* 1, 170 and *nn* 1 and 2, 174.
Púrva, 113.
Púrva Mímáṃsá, 165.
Púrvas, The, 204 *n*, 205.
Púrvakṛita, 190.
Púrvatva, 135.
Pushkara Dwípa, 29, 32 *n* 2.
Pyramids, The, 328 *n* 3.
Pythagoras, 129 *n* 2.

QUATREMÈRE, 40 *n* 1, 63 *n*, 349 *n*.
Quilon, 51 *n* 1.
Quintus Curtius, 331 *n* 1.

RABÁB, The, 254 and *n* 3, 255, 257, 258.
Rabbath Ammon, 63 *n*.
Rábi'ah, 355 and *n* 1.
Rábiạh Ạdawíyah, 355 *n* 1.
Rabúsah, 94.
Rafíu'ddín Ṣafawí, Mír, 423.
Rága, passion, 139, 140, 141, 181, 302.
Rága, music, 248 *n* 3, 249 and *n* and *n* 1.
Rágálapa, 252.
Rága-vivekádhyáya, 248.
Raghu, Rájá, 117 and *n* 4.
Raghu-vanśa, The, 117 *n* 4.
Ráginí, 248 *n* 3, 249 *n* 1.
Raḥ, 71.
Rai, 25 *n* 1, 65 *n*, 74 *n*, 83 *n*, 84 and *n*, 352 *n* 2.
Rai, 123 *n* 1.
Rájá-Brahmans, 116.
Rájá Gang, 374 *n* 2.
Rájagṛiha, 189 *n*, 211 *n* 3, 292 *n* 1.
Raja-guna, 10 and *n* 2.
Rájaníti, 259.
Rajas, 160, 161, 173, 178 *n* 2, 179.
Rájasas, The, 221 *n* 2.
Rajásthán, Todd's, 290 *n* 1.
Rájasúya sacrifice, The, 158 *n*.
Rája-súya-yajña, 281.
Rajendralála Mitra, 135 *n* 2, 142 *n* 1, 152 *n* 1, 156 *n* 4, 162 *n* 2, 177 *n* 1. See also, Mitra, Dr.
Rájgir, 211 and *n* 3.
Rájíva fish, 296 and *n* 4.
Rajoharaṇa, 208 *nn* 3 and 4.
Rájputana, 307 *n* 2.
Rájpúts, The, 117, 290 *n* 1.
Ráju, 195, and *n* 1, 196.
Rájú Ḳitál, 371.
Rákasi, The, 33.
Raḳbah, 90.
Raḳḳah, 79 and *n*.
Raḳḳán, 99.
Raksha-bandhana, 319.
Rákshasa, 172.
Rákshasa marriage, 309 and *n* 4.
Rákshasas, The, 172 and *n* 3, 291, 309.
Ram, 68.
Rám Hurmuz, 66, 360 *n* 1.
Rám Shahristán, 68 *n*.
Ráma, 159 *n*, 274 and *n* 3, 287 *n*, 289, 291 and *n* 1, 299, 305 *n* 3, 318 and *n* 3, 319 *n*, 392 *n* 2.
Ráma Chandra, 117 *n* 4, 292.

Ráma-navamí festival, 318.
Rámani, 54.
Rámávatára, The, 291.
Rámáyaṇa, The, 159 *n*, 274 *n* 3, 291 *n* 3, 304 *n* 6, 318 *n* 3.
Rambhá, 286 and *n* 4.
Rámganga, The, 304 *n* 5.
Rámíthan, 358 *n* 3.
Rámíthaní, Khwájah Ạlí, 358 and *n* 3.
Ramlah, 63.
Ramoth Gilead, 72 *n*.
Ramya, 31 *n* 1.
Ramyaka-khaṇḍa, 31.
Ránij, Island of, 51.
Rankaṭṭa, 289.
Rás, 13.
Rasa, 134, 240 *n* 3.
Rasas, The, 240, 241 *n* 1.
Rasábhasa, 243.
Rasátala, 32.
Rasa-vidyá, 239.
Rásáyana-tantra, 225 *n*.
Rashíd, Khwájah, 348.
Ráśi, 317 *n* 1.
Rasm' ul Ma'mún, 47 *n*, 70 *n*.
Rasúlábád, 372.
Ráṭhors, The, 117, 118 *n*.
Ratna-dhenu-dána, 283.
Ratnádhika, The, 206.
Ratnagiri hills, The, 212 *n*.
Ratna-paríkshá, 239.
Ratna-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.
Raudra, 241.
Rauẓatu'l Aimmah, 427 *n* 2.
Rauẓatu'ṣ Ṣafá, 344 *nn* 1 and 4.
Rávana, 159 *n*, 287 *n*, 291, 304 *n* 5, 318 *n* 3, 319 *n*.
Rávi, The, 304, 386.
Rawílah, 60.
Rawlinson, 29 *n* 1.
Rayy, See Rai.
Rázi, ar-, 106 and *n* 1, 107.
Rází, Yúsuf-b-Ḥusayn, 353.
Ráẓiu'ddín Ạlí Lálá, Shaykb, 356.
Rechaka, 186.
Rechnau Doáb, 69 *n*.
Recueil des Notices, 39 *n* 2.
Red Sea, The, 49 *n*, 52 *n*, 53, 57 *n*, 108 *n* 2, 325 *n* 1.
Regio Syrtica, 71 *n*.
Reinaud, 29 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 39 *n* 2, 43 *n* 3, 47 *n*, 48 *n*, 49 *n*, 54 *n*, 55 *n*, 56 *n*, 58 *n*, 60 *n*, 61 *n*, 63 *n*, 68 *n*, 71 *n*, 76 *n*, 77 *n*, 78 *n*, 89 *n*, 93 *n*, 98 *n*, 99 *n*, 100 *n*, 101 *n*, 103 *n* 104 *n*.
Rél, 418.
Religions of India, Barth's, 177 *n* 1, 185 *n*.
Rennel, Major, 55 *n*.
Reṇuká, 290.
Resht, 84 *n*.
Reu, 375 *n* 2.
Revá-Khánda, The, 220 *n* 4.
Rewá, The, 289 *n*.
Rewá Puráṇa, The, 289 *n*.
Rhadamanthus, 33 *n* 1.
Rhágæ, 84 *n*.
Rhazes, 106 *n* 1, 107 *n*.
Rhodes, Island of, 62, 77 *n*.
Rhoṭás, 69, 303 and *n* 3.
Ribáṭ Amír, 68.
Ribáṭ Furáwah, 85 *n*.
Ribáṭ Ṭáhir-b-Ạlí, 92 *n*.
Ṛig-veda, The, 116, 128, 219 and *n* 1, 272 *n* 1, 273 *n*.
Ṛiksha, 31 and *n* 2.
Ṛishabha, 247, 249.
Ṛishí-pañchamí festival, 319 *n* 3.
Ṛishis, The, 307, 309, 310 *n* 1, 319 *n* 3.
Ritumála, The, 285 *n*.
Riyásah, 71.
Riẓá, Imám, 355.
Robertson's Hist. of Charles V., 107 *n*.
Rockhill, E., 211 *nn* 1 and 2, 212 *n* and *n* 2, 214 *n* 1, 216 *n* 1.
Rodericus Toletanus, 77 *n*.
Röer, Dr., 129 *n* 1, 132 *n* 2, 135 *n* 2, 136 *n* and *n* 1, 137 *n* 1, 143 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 146 *n* 1, 148 *n* 1, 150 *n* 1, 151 *n* and *n* 2, 156 *n* 5.
Roha, 206 *n* 1.
Rohilkand, 69 *n*.
Rohṭak, 70.
Rohtás 303 *n* 3.

Rohu fish, 296 and *n* 4.
Romaka, 30, 31.
Romans, The, 44.
Rome, 44, 94, 95 *n*, 328 *n* 3, 377 *n* 1.
Rosetta, 63 *n*.
Rost, Dr., 206 *n* 1.
Roumelia, 369.
Roussye, 98 *n*.
Routledge, Mr., 120 *n* 1.
Roxburgh, 48 *n*, 124 *n*, 298 *n* 1.
Royal Botanical Gardens, The Calcutta, 123 *n* 1, 312 *n* 3.
Rozbihán, 356.
Rúdakí, 340 *n*, 407 and *n* 1.
Rudra, 8, 113.
Rúḳah, 71 *n*.
Rukhkhaj, 68.
Ruknu'ddín, Shaykh, 365, 372.
Rúm, 100, 369 *n* 1.
Rúmí, Mauláná Jalálu'ddín, 369, 404.
Rúmiya Kubra, 96.
Rumphius, 28 *n* 2.
Rúpa, 134, 214.
Rupaiya, 363 *n*.
Rúpálápa, 253.
Rúpar, 69.
Rús, 98.
Russia, 98 *n*.
Russians, The, 109.
Rustam, 327 *n* 1, 329 and *n* and *n* 1, 330.
Ruyam, 353.

SẠÁDAT Yár Kotah, 449 *n* 1.
Saạdí, Shaykh, 346, 349.
Saạdu'ddín, 390.
Sabaco, 328 *n* 3.
Sabbáḥ, Ḥasan, 396 and *n* 1.
Śabda, 129, 137, 138 *n* 3, 154, 155, 191.
Sábda-siddhi, 176.
Sabeans, The, 407 *n* 1.
Ṣábí, aṣ-, 407 and *n* 1.
Sabḳah, 74.
Sabtah, 76.
Sabuktigín, Amír Náṣiru'ddín, 340.
Sábúr, 66 *n*.
Sabzawár, 85.
Sachau, 11 *n* 1, 14 *n* 2, 17 *n* 2, 18 *n* 1, 22 *n* 2, 35 *n* 2, 40 *n* 1, 43 *n* 3, 107 *n*, 109 *n*, 110 *n* 1, 111 *n* 1, 307 *n* 2.
Sacred Isles of the West, The, 28 *n* 2.
Sacred Lit. of the Jains, Weber's, 189 *n*, 204 *n*, 205 *n* 1.
Ṣạdah, 51.
Sádah-kár, The, 315.
Sádara songs, 252.
Sadd Márib, 50 *n*.
Saḍhúrah, 70.
Ṣádiḳún, The, 336 *n* 1.
Sádṛiśya, 154.
Ṣadru'ddín, Shaykh, 369, 371.
Ṣadru'ddín, Shaykh, of Iconium, 421.
Ṣadru'ddín Ạárif, 362 *n* 3, 363, 364, 365.
Safáḳus, 71.
Saffaride dynasty, The, 68 *n*.
Sáfi, 61 *n*.
Safídan, 70.
Ságara, 200.
Sagara, Rajá, 117 and *n* 4.
Ṣagháuyán, 88, 93.
Sahakáras, 256.
Sahar, 54.
Saharanpúr, 70.
Sahāranpúr district, The, 374 *n* 2.
Sahárawán, 342 *n* 2.
Saharta, 47.
Sahasra-báhu ki basti, 290 *n* 1.
Sáhitya, 239.
Sáhitya Darpaṇa, The, 239 *n* 1, 240 *nn*, 241 *nn*, 244 *nn*.
Sahlís The, 351.
Sahya rage, 31 and *n* 2.
Ṣahyún, 90.
Saịd Átá, 358.
Saịd Tabrízí, 366.
Saifu'ddaulah b-Ḥamdán, 79 *n*.
Saik, The, 102 *n*.
Ṣaimarah, 81.
Sajun, 90 *n*.
Sakala, 190.
Śákára-Paramesvara, 191.
Sakaria, 70 *n*.
Sakas, The, 290 *n* 1.
Saḳaṭíy, 352 *n* 4.

Saḳaṭíy order, The, 354.
Sakhas, 98.
Sakháwí, Shaykh, 424.
Saḳhi, 244.
Ṣaḳji, 102.
Saksín, 100 and *n*.
Śakti, 239.
Śakuna, 237 and *n* 1.
Śakuntalá Bharaṭa, 225 *n* 3.
Śákyamuni, 211 and *n* 2.
Salá, 73.
Ṣalabah, 74.
Saladin, 91 *n*; 425 *n* 2.
Sálah, 54 *n*.
Śálákya, 224 *n* 4.
Saláyah, 60.
Salcah, 72 *n*.
Ṣaldi, 347.
Sale, 375 and *n* 2.
Sale's Ḳur'án, 49 *n*, 67 *n*, 79 *n*, 325 *n* 1, 377 *n* 1, 388 *n* 1.
Salee, 73 *n*.
Sálem, 100.
Ṣáliḥ, 376 *n*.
Śalihotra, 258.
Salím Khán, 424, 425 *n* 2, 427.
Śáliváhana, 396.
Saljúḳís, The, 341, 343 *n* 1.
Salm, 109.
Salm al- Khawwáṣ, 357.
Salmán al-Fársí, 360 and *n* 1, 391 *n*.
Salmás, 80 and *n*
Sálokya, 305 and *n* 2.
Salous, 84 *n*.
Ṣalṭ, 72.
Śalya, 224 *n* 4.
Sám, 327 *n* 1, 329, 330.
Sám, Mụizzu'ddín, 342, 362.
Samạání, Khwájah, 357.
Samádhi, 142 *n*, 182 and *n*, 183, 186 and *n* 1.
Sámagri, 143.
Samairam, 73.
Samána, 149 *n*, 162 and *n* 2, 245 *n* 1.
Samanaska, 192 *n* 4.
Samandán, 52.
Samani, Naṣr-b-Aḥmad, 340 *n*.
Samánide dynasty, The, 407 *n* 1.
Sámans, 158 *n*.
Sámánya, 132, 133 and *n* 2, 151, 241.
Samaria, 72 *n*, 378 *n* 1.
Samarḳand, 24 *n* 1, 88 *n*, 97 and *n*, 98 *n*, 99, 330, 361 *n* 1, 362 *n* 1, 367.
Sámarrá, 80.
Samaváya, 132, 133, 134 and *n* 1, 135, 151, 152, 154.
Samaváyángam, The, 203 *n* 2, 204.
Samaváyi Káraṇa, 143.
Sámaveda, The, 116, 128, 152 *n* 1, 219 and *n* 1, 225.
Śámba Upa-pur., The, 220.
Sambádí, 249 *n*.
Sambal, 69.
Sambalaka, 69 *n*.
Sambandha, 160.
Sambhala, 293.
Sámbhar, 314 and *n* 3.
Sambhava, 156 *n* 4.
Sambhú-náḍi, 233.
Sámípya, 305.
Ṣámit, 252 and *n*.
Saṃjñá, 192 *n* 4, 197.
Sammákún, The, 336 *n* 1.
Sammásí, Khwájah, 358 and *n* 3, 359 and *n*.
Samos, Island of, 77 *n*, 90, 100 *n*.
Samosata, 78 *n*, 95 *n*.
Sampat, 70.
Samprajñăta-samádhi, 182.
Saṃpúrṇa, 248.
Sámsún, 101, 102 *n*, 104 *n*.
Samuchchaya, 158 *n*.
Samudaya-satya, 215.
Samudra, 200.
Sámudrika, 238.
Samuel, son of Ạádiya, 56 *n*, 57 *n*.
Sámún, 102.
Samúrah, 102.
Saṃvaha, 17.
Saṃvara, 202 and *n* 2, 203.
Saṃyoga, 128, 134 and *n* 1, 135, 147.
Ṣanạá, 50 and *n*, 51 *n*, 54 *n*.
Sanad, 264 *n* 2.
Sanak, 10.

Sanánda, 183 and *n* 1.
Sanandana, 10, 164 *n* 2.
Sanátan, 10.
Sanatkumára, 10.
Sanatkumára, The, 220 and *n* 4, 221.
Sandábil, 52 and *n*.
Sandal, 338 *n* 1.
Sandhyá rite, The, 157 *n* 1, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 294.
S'aṇdilya, 310 *n* 2.
Sangarius, 70 *n*.
Saṅgíta, 245 and ff.
Sangíta Darpaṇa, The, 247 *n* 2, 248 *n* 1, 249 *nn* 1 and 2, 250 *nn* 5 and 17, 253 *n* 2, 258.
Sangíta Ratnakára, The, 246 *n*, 249 *n*, 254 *n* 2.
Sangraha, 150.
Sanhaja tribe, The, 55 *n*.
Ṣanjar, 70.
Sanjár, 26, 27.
Sanjar, Sulṭán, 92 *n*.
Sanjihírsha, 149.
Sanjña, 214.
Sankára fish, 296 and *n* 4.
S'ankara-A'chárya, 152 *n* 1.
S'ankara Swámí, 226 *n* 2.
Sankarshaṇa, 165 *n* 3.
Sankarshaṇa Mímáṃsá, 165.
S'ankha, 200, 286.
S'ankha Likhita, The, 221.
S'ankha-pújá, 280.
S'ankhiní, 243.
Saṅkhyá, 128, 135, 154, 168 *n* 1.
Sánkhya-Kárika, The, 175 *nn* 2 and 4.
Sánkhya philosophy, The, 14 *n* 1, 181 *n* 1, 189, 213.
Sánkhya Sútras, The, 144 *n* 1, 152 *n* 1, 153 *n*, 169 *n*, 176 *n* 1.
Sánkhya system, The, 139 *n* 1, 142 *n* 2, 161 *n*, 163 *n*, 167, 168 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 170 *n* 3, 177 *n* 1, 178 and *n* 3.
Sánkhyas, The, 169 *nn* 1 and 3.
Sankránti, 321.
Sannyása period, The, 278.
Sannyásin, 278 and *n* 1, 281, 323.
Sanśaya, 129, 139, 142, 156, 180, 181.
Sanskára, 135 and *n* 2, 136 *n*, 175 *n* 2, 179 *n* 1, 181 *n* 1, 214.
Sanskrit language, The, 120 *n*.
Sánta, 241.
Santarem, 93 and *n*.
Santosha, 184.
Santriyyah, 100 *n*.
Sanyama, 187 and *n* 1.
Sapaksha, 144 *n* 1.
Sapaksha sattva, 144 and *n* 1.
Saphat of Abelmeula, 378 *n* 1.
Sapor, 66 *n*, 75 *n*.
Saptaka, The Hindu, 245 *n* 1.
Saptamí festival, 318.
Sapta-ṛishi, 19.
Sapta-ságara-dána, 283.
Sár, 238 *n* 1.
Sáradá Prasáda Ghósha, 246 *n*, 249 *n*, 253 *n* 1.
Saragossa, 93 *n*, 100 *n*.
Ṣarái, 103 and *n*.
Sarakhs, 87 and *n*, 92 *n*.
Sarandíp, Island of, 48.
Sárang songs, 252 and *n*.
Sáranga, 286.
Sárangadhanus, 286.
Sárangi, The, 255 and *n* 2.
Sáras, 296.
Saraswati, 11.
Sarasvatí, The, 32 *n* 3, 286 *n* 5, 303.
Saráu, The, 303
Sarávatí, The, 304 *n* 5.
S'arayu, The, 303.
Sardániyah, Island of, 77.
Sardól, 120 and *n* 1.
Sarfatain, 89.
Sarga, 150.
Sargas, The, 178 *n* 4.
Sarhind, 361 *n*.
Sári, 85.
Sárí Novian, 346.
S'árika, 296.
Ṣarikirmán, 104 and *n*.
Sarikol, 103 *n*.
Sarír Allán, 101.
Saríra, 129, 130.
Sariśṛipa, 173.

Saríy Saḳaṭí, 352, 353, 355 *n* 1, 356.
Sáriyah, 85 *n*.
S'arkará-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.
Ṣarkhad, 72.
Sarkhech, 371.
Sarmanḍal, The, 255.
Sarmatia Asiatica, 110 *n* 1.
Sarmín, 78.
Saronj, 59.
Ṣarṣar, 72.
Sarshaf, 123 *n* 1.
Sarúj, 79.
Sárúpya, 305.
Sarva Sangraha Darśana, The, 154 *n* 1, 155 *n* 1, 158 *n*, 169 *n* 1, 178 *n* 1, 192 *n* 2, 193 *n*, 200 *n* 6, 201 *n* and *n* 4, 202 *n* 2, 213 *n* 1, 214 *n* 2, 216 *n*, and *n* 1, 217 *n* 1.
Sarvártha-Siddha, 194 *n*.
Sar-víṇá, The, 254.
Sarwín, 68.
Sáshṭángá, 280.
Sassanian dynasty, The, 337.
S'ástra, 150.
S'atadru, The, 304.
Satánika, Rájá, 117.
S'atapatha Bráhmana, 310 *n* 1.
Sata-rúpá, 10 and *n* 1.
S'átátapa, The, 221.
S'átátapa-Bhṛigu, 225 *n* 3.
S'aṭha, 244.
Sáṭhi rice, 263 and *n* 1.
Satí, 209.
Saṭíf, 62.
Satpratipaksha, 145 *n* 1.
Satrúka, 10 *n* 1.
Sattapanni, 212 *n*.
Sattra offerings, 158 *n*.
Sattva-guna, 10 and *n* 2, 11.
Sáttvikas, The, 221 *n* 2.
Sattwa, 133 *n* 2, 160, 161, 162, 180.
Saturn, 12.
Satya, 184.
Satya-loka, 32, 164 *n* 2.
Satyavatí, 303 *n* 5.
Satyavatí, The, 303.
Satya-yuga, The, 11, 12, 285, 286, 287.
S'aucha, 184.
Saudharma, 194 *n*.
Saugatas, The, 188 *n* 1.
S'áukara, The, 220.
Saukhussi, The, 303 *n* 3.
Saul, 64 *n*.
Saumyakhaṇḍa, 31.
Saunders, Trelawney, 304 *n* 4.
Saura Upa-pur., The, 220 and *n* 4.
Sauraseni Prákrit, 120 *n*.
Sauti, 287 *n*.
Sautrántikas, The, 213 *n* 1, 216 and *n* 1.
Savalá, 114 *n* 2.
Savichára, 182.
Savita, 272 *n* 1.
Savitarka, 182, 183.
Sávitri, 11, 172 *n* 1, 307 *n* 2.
Sávitri, The, 272 *n* 1.
Sawád-kár, The 316.
Sáwah, 83.
Sawákin, 49, 57 *n*.
Saxons, The, 100 *n*.
Sayfu'ddín, 342.
Sáyujya, 305.
Sayyár, Aḥmad-b-, 354.
Sayyári, Abu'l Ạbbás, 354.
Sayyáris, The, 351.
Sayyid Aḥmad, 374.
Sayyid Ibráhím, 375.
Sayyid Maḥmúd Bukhárí, 374.
Sayyid Mubárak Ghaznaví, 368.
Scalabis, 93 *n*.
Scaliger, 377 *n* 1.
Schelling, 159 *n*.
Schopenhauer, 139 *n* 1, 178 *n* and *n* 3.
Schrœder, L. von, 169 *n*.
Sclavonians, The, 190.
Scotland, 100 *n*.
Scythia, 212.
Scythopolis, 64 *n*.
Sebasteia, 95 *n*.
Sebastopol, 104 *n*.
Séjelmásah, 54 *n*, 55 *n*, 61.
Sekrá, 312.
Sela, 58 *n*.
Selah, 61 *n*.
Seleucia, 78 *n*.

Seleucus Nicator, 79 *n*.
Seljúḳ, dynasty of, 407 *n* 1,
Sem, 375 and *n* 2, 377.
Septuagint, The, 53 *n*.
Sera Barakah, 103 *n*.
Seringapatam, 60 *n*.
Serug, 375 *n* 2.
Sesodias, The, 118.
Seśvara Sánkhya, 177 *n* 1.
Seville, 76 *n*.
Sewálik Mtns., The, 348.
Sewistán, 68 *n*, 344 *n* 3, 418.
Sewra, 210 and *n* 2.
Sezdah-tálí, The, 257.
Sfákus, 71 *n*.
Shabakah-kár, The, 315 and *n* 1.
Shabánkárah, 67.
Shabdíz, 314 *n* 1.
Shabdíz, name of a horse, 81 *n*.
Shab-i-barát, 320.
Shaburgán, 43 *n* 3.
Sháḍava, 248 and *n* 2.
Shaddád b. Ạád, 49 *n*.
Shaḍdarsána, The, 127.
Shaḍja, 247.
Sháfiại, Imám, 421.
Shaghániyán, 93 *n*.
Sháh Ạálam, 372, 374.
Sháh Ḳásim Anwár, 374.
Sháh Madár, 370.
Sháh Muḥammad Ḥasan, 374.
Sháh Niạmatu'llah Walí, 374.
Sháhábád, 69.
Sháhjahán, 86.
Shahná (*Surná*), The, 256 and *n* 2.
Shahnaj, 53.
Sháh Náma, The, 29 *n* 1, 86 *n*, 327 *n* 1, 328 *n* 1, 338 *n* 1.
Sháhpúr, 336 *n* 1, 337.
Sháhpúr, minister of Parvíz, 314 *n* 1.
Shahrábád, 75 *n*.
Shahrastáni, 336 *n* 1.
Shahrazúr, 80 and *n* 81 and *n*.
Shahr-Sabz, 97 and *n*.
Shaizar, 78 and *n*, 90 and *n*, 91 *n*.
Sháka-dwípa, 28.
Shakespeare, 249 *n* 1.
Shaḳíḳ of Balkh, 352.
Shakti, 154.
Shalj, 102.
Shál, 119.
Shálmali-dwípa, 28.
Shamkúr, 95.
Shamsu'ddín Muẓaffar, Shaykh, 370.
Shamsu'ddín Tabrízí, 369.
Shámus, 77, 90.
Shangal, 388 *n* 1.
Shanjú, 53 *n*.
Shant Yáḳú, 102.
Shápúr, 66.
Sharafu'ddín, Shaykh, of Pánípat, 368.
Sharafu'ddín Muníri, Shaykh, 370.
Sharíf Jurjání, Sayyid, 422.
Shahristán, 92 and *n*.
Sharja-gráma, 246 *n*.
Sharjah, 50.
Shárak, The, 121 and *n* 2.
Sharmaḳán, 87.
Sharoshán, 352.
Shásh, 97 *n*, 98 and *n*.
Shatt Gharnis, 49 *n*.
Shatt Kabír, The, 62 *n*, 72 *n*.
Shatt Meldir, 49 *n*.
Shaṭṭárí, Baháu'ddín, 373, 375.
Shaṭṭárí, Shaykh Ḳásá, 373.
Shaṭṭárí order, The, 422.
Shattrinśa, The, 221 *n* 3.
Shattrinśanmata, The, 221 *n* 3.
Sháwakath, 98.
Sháyáb, 100.
Shaykh Ạbdu'llah, 375.
Shaykh Abú Rashíd, 448.
Shaykh Abú Turáb, 448.
Shaykh Abu'l Barakát, 447, 448 *n*.
Shaykh Abu'l Ḥámid, 448.
Shaykh Abu'l Khayr, 448.
Shaykh Abu'l Makárim, 448.
Shaykh Aḥmad, 367, 369.
Shaykh Ạláí, 427 and *n* 1.
Shaykh Ạtan, 419.
Shaykh Ḥusain, 365.
Shaykh Ịráḳí, 349.
Shaykh Khiẓr, 419.
Shaykh Músa, 418.

Shaykh Mubárak, 419, 450.
Shaykh Omar of Tattah, 422.
Shaykh Sálár, 419.
Shaykh Yúsuf, 422.
Shea, 337 *n*.
Shedád, 327 *n* 1.
Shem, 109.
Shemákha, 96 *n*.
Sher Khán, 424, 425 *n* 1.
Sher Sháh, 363 *n*, 421 *n* 1.
Shergír, 59.
Sherring, 118 *n* 1.
Sherúyah, 338 *n* 2.
Shetlands, The, 42 *n* 1, 104 *n*.
Shibám, 48.
Shiblí, ash-, 358 and *n* 1.
Shifá', The, 421 and *n* 4.
Shihábu'ddín, Sulṭán, 341 and *n* 2, 342 and *n* 2.
Shílá, 53.
Shilhá, 53 *n*.
Shíráz, 65 *n*, 67, 73 *n*, 74 *n*, 346, 353, 376, 421 *n* 3, 422, 423 *n* 2, 424.
Shírázi, Ḳuṭbu'ddín, 27.
Shírín, 81 *n*, 314 *n* 1.
Shirwán, 96 and *n*.
Shmoun, 56 *n*.
Shụbah, 248 *n* 3.
Shubrukán, 88 *n*.
Shughr Bakás, 78.
Shumán, 93.
Shushuah, 57 *n*.
Shuster, 65 *n*, 66.
Siáh Kos, Jazírah i, 96.
Siálkot, 69.
Siam, 205 *n* 2.
Siamese, The, 292.
Síbawaih, 73 *n*, 338 *n* 2.
Sichem, 72 *n*.
Sicily, 71 *n*, 77 and *n*.
Siddh. Muktav., 133 *n* 3.
Siddhánta, 129, 143.
Siddhánta, The, 204 *n*, 205 *n* 1.
Siddhánta S'iromani, The, 17 *n* 1, 31 *n* 1, 36 *n* 1.
Siddhántas, The, 11 *n* 2.
Siddhapúra, 30, 31.
Siddhi, 176.
Sidon, 64 *n*.
Sidra, Gulf of, 62 *n*.
Ṣiffín, battle of, 350 *n* 2.
Siịrt, 91 and *n*.
Sijistán, 58 *n*, 68 *n*, 91 and *n*, 361.
Sijizí, Khwájah Mụínu'ddín, 349, 362, 363.
Sijz, 361.
Sikandar Lodí, Sulṭán, 375, 419.
Sikandar Súr, 425 *n* 2.
Sikandrah, 397.
Síkh, 206 *n*.
Ṣiḳláb, 104 and *n*.
S'ikshá, 222 and *n* 1.
Siktajantra, The, 27.
Sila, 49.
Síláb, Island of, 58.
Silvestre de Sacy, See De Sacy.
Sím-báf, The, 316.
Simhatuṇda fish, 296 *n* 4.
Siminján, 88 and *n*.
Simnán, 84 *n*, 85, 325 *n* 1.
Simnání Shaykh Ạlán'ddín as-, 361.
Sind, 58 and *n*, 110, 119, 252, 338 *n* 1, 342, 344 and *nn* 3 and 4, 346, 347, 419, 421 *n* 1.
Sindán, 52 and *n*.
Sindápur, 52 *n*.
Sindavi, 250 *n* 5.
Sindhi, 120 *n*.
Síníz, 66.
Sinjár, 79 and *n*.
Sinope, 101 *n*, 102 *n*.
Sintara, 100.
Sinus Adulicus, 48.
Sinus Avalites, 47, 48 *n*.
Sipáhán, 267 *n* 4.
Síráf, 59 *n*, 61 *n*, 67 and *n*.
Sirhind, 69.
Sírján, 67 and *n*.
Sirrain, 51 and *n*.
Sís, 78 *n*.
Sís-phúl, 312.
S'ishya, 205, 206 *n*.
Sístán, 68, 325, 327 *n* 1, 364.
Síśupála, 292.

Sítá, 159 *n*, 287 *n*, 318 *n* 3.
Sítapúr, 287 *n*.
Śiva, 10 *n* 2, 113 *n* 2, 185 *n*, 189 *n*, 283 *n* 1, 287 *n* 1, 290 *n* 1, 298 *n* 2, 305 *n* 2, 309 *n* 3, 321 *n* 2.
Śiva Átmataśvara, 307 *n* 2.
Śivadharma, The, 220.
Śiva-rátri, The, 298 and *n* 2, 305, 321.
Siwánah, 373.
Siwas, 95 and *n*.
Six Principal Rágas, Sir Tagore's, 252 *n* and *n* 2, 254 *n*.
Siyámak, 325.
Skanda Puráṇa, The, 220.
Skanda Upa-smṛiti, The, 221.
Śkan̄dha, 200.
Skandhas, 214 *n* 3.
Slavonia, 104 and *n*, 105.
Smaraṇa, 191.
Smita, 240.
Smith's Dictionary, 13 *n* 1, 26 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 34 *n* 1, 43 *n* 2, 55 *n*, 56 *n*, 60 *n*, 63 *n*, 64 *n*, 68 *n*, 71 *n*, 72 *n*, 76 *n*, 79 *n*, 81 *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 93 *n*, 94 *n*, 95 *n*, 109 *nn* 1 and 2, 101 *n* 1.
Smṛiti, 138 and *n* 4, 158 *n*, 180, 181, 182, 221 and *n* 1.
Smṛitis, The, 261.
Sneha, 135.
Socoṭra, Island of, 48.
Sofálah, 47, 52 *n*.
Sofir, 53 *n*.
Sogdiana, 29 *n* 1, 89 *n*, 110 *n* 1.
Soghd, 97 *n*, 99.
Sohágpúr valley, 290 *n* 1.
Sohlá songs, 257.
Sohraward, 83.
Śoka, 302.
Solah, 300 and *n* 2.
Solankhis, The, 118.
Ṣolghát, 103 and *n*, 104 *n*.
Solœnka, The, 103 *n*.
Solomon, 411 *n* 1.
Soma, 117, 219 *n* 1.
Somabanśí, The, or lunar race, 117.
Somali land, 47 *n*.
Sommonacodom, 205 *n* 2.
Somnát, Idol temple of, 58.
Son, The, 304 *n* 7.
Sonárgáon, 59.
Sonbhadrá, 288.
Sonus, The, 304 *n* 7.
Sopeithes, 120 *n* 1.
Sophara, 53 *n*.
Soron, 287 and *n* 2, 305.
Sort, 62 *n*.
Soudán, The, 47, 50.
Sou-tcheou, 98 *n*.
Spa, 85 *n*.
Spain, 20 *n* 2, 76 and *n*, 77, 93 and *n*, 100 and *n*, 101, 102, 110.
Sparśa, 135.
Śraddha, The, 284, 296, 316.
Śraddhá (inclination), 181, 182.
Śráddha-Kan̄ya-gata, 320.
Śramana, 188 *n* 1, 205 *n* 2, 208 *n* 1.
Śramaṇa Gautama, 205 *n* 2, 211 *n* 1.
Śrávakas, 189 *n*, 204 *n*, 209.
Śravaṇa, 141.
Śrávaṇí festival, 319 *n* 2.
Sri, 11.
Śṛí Bhágavata, The, 220 *n* 4.
Śrinagar, 226 *n* 2.
Śringára, 311.
Śṛingára-rasa, 240 and *n* 3.
Śṛinga-vanta range, 30, 31.
Śri-pañchamí festival, 318.
Sripeti, 13 *n* 3.
Śrí-rága, 249.
Sṛishti, 147.
Sṛishṭyádi festival, 318.
Śruti, 138 *n* 4, 158 *n*, 221 *n* 1.
Śrutis, Musical, 245 *n* 1, 246 *n*.
St. Hilaire, M., 140 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 197 *n* 1' 202 *n*, 211 *nn* 1 and 2.
St. Irene, 93 *n*.
St. Iria, 93 *n*.
St. James of Compostella, 102 *n*.
St. Martin, M., 99 *n*.
Stat. Acct. of Bengal, 189 *n*.
Stevenson, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*.
Sthánángam, The, 203 *n* 2, 204.
Sthávara, 173.
Sthavara, 192 *n* 3.

Sthávira, The, 206.
Sthitisthapaka, 135 *n* 2, 136.
Śthúla (gross), 161.
Sthúla saríra, 175.
Strabo, 65 *n*, 101 *n*, 331 *n* 1, 332 *n* 1.
Styána, 181.
Sucabia, 57 *n*.
Suciana, 110 *n* 1.
Ṣudáḳ, 104.
Súdán, The, 108, 109.
Suddha, 239 *n* 1.
Śuddha-bhairava, 250.
Śuddha-náṭa, 250.
Súdharah, 69.
Sudhodana, Rájá, 211, 292.
Śúdras, The, 114, 115, 116, 118, 225, 226, 231, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281, 295, 296, 298, 300, 301, 302 and *n* 2, 309 and *n* 4, 310, 316 and *n* 1, 317, 321, 323.
Śúdra Brahmans, 116, 117.
Suez, 63 *n*.
Súfárah, 52 and *n*.
Ṣúfi, Ạbdu'r Raḥmán aṣ-, 25 and *n* 1.
Ṣúfí Badhní, Shaykh, 366.
Ṣúfiism, 362 *n* 1.
Ṣúfís, The, 126, 353.
Ṣúfiyábád, 376 *n* 1.
Sufyán Thaurí, 351 and *n* 2, 355 *n* 1.
Sugandha Parvata, 31.
Sugata, 211 *n* 1.
Ṣughrá, Najmu'ddín, 366.
Sughrái, 252 and *n* 2.
Ṣuḥár, 51.
Suhrawardí, 355, 356, 363, 366, 367, 369.
Suhrawardí order, The, 354, 422.
Suhṛidprápti-siddhi, 176.
Sukara-Kshetra, 287 *n* 2.
Sukha, 135, 139.
Śukla range, The, 30, 31.
Śukla-paksha, 318 and *n* 4, 319 *n*.
Śukra, 194 *n*.
Súkshma (subtile), 161.
Súkshma-Sarírа, 162, 178.
Śukti range, 31 and *n* 2.
Súḳu'l Ahwáz, 65 *n*.
Suḳuṭra, Island of, 66.
Sulaymán *Ata*, 358.
Súli, Island of, 49 and *n*, 58.
Sulkhad, 72 *n*.
Sulṭániyyah, 82 *n*, 83.
Sulṭánkoṭ, 69.
Sulṭánpúr, 69, 304 and *n* 3.
Sulṭán u't Tárikín, 367.
Sumaisáṭ, 78 and *n*.
Sumak, Island of, 58 *n*.
Sumantu, 116 *n* 2.
Sumantu Upa-smṛiti, The, 221.
Sumati, 117 *n* 4.
Sumatra, Island of, 48 *n*.
Suméru, Mtn., 28, 30, 31, 32, 149.
Sun, The, 12, 117, 277.
Sun-god, The, 12 *n* 1.
Sunám, 69 *n*.
Súngiras, The, 118.
Sunnám, 69.
Súpa, 258.
Supara, 52 *n*.
Supára-tushṭi, 176.
Supárśva, mountain, 31.
Súr Dás, 252 *n*.
Súr Ságar, 252 *n*.
Sura, 286.
Surabhi, 114 *n* 2.
Súrajbanśí, The, or solar race, 117 and *n* 4.
Súrán, 342.
Surasena, 32 *n* 3.
Súrát, 59.
Surbatána, The, 255.
Surḳah, 100.
Surkh, 125.
Súrya, 117, 273 *n*.
Súryá Kánta, The, 389 *n* 1.
Súrya-nádi, 233 and *n* 1, 234, 235, 236, 237.
Súrya-Siddhánta, The, 11 and *n* 1 and 2, 12, 16 *n* 4, 17 *n* 2, 18, 19 *n* 3, 20 *n* 5, 21 note, 25 *n* 8, 35 *n* 1, 36 *n* 2.
Sús, 73 *n*.
Sús al Aḳṣa, 54 and *n*.
Súsah, 62, 71.
Śushira, 254.
Sushumná, 233, 235, 236.

Súsmár, The, 199 and *n* 1.
Súta, 115.
Śútaka, 317, 324.
Sutala, 32.
Sútas, *T*he, 115 *n* 2.
Sutlej, The, 304.
Sútra, 149, 150.
Sútrakṛitánga, The, 203.
Sutratman, 163 *n* 1.
Suiurwan, 230 *n* 1.
Suvaha, 17.
Suwaidíyyah, 78.
Suyúṭí, as-, 343 *n* 3, 352.
Suyúṭi's History of the Caliphs, 62 *n*.
Svabháva, 190.
Svádhína-patiká, 243.
Svádhyáya, 184.
Sváha, 224 *n* 3.
Svara, music, 253 and *n* 1.
Svara (vowels), 222, 223.
Svar-loka, 32, 164 *n* 2, 189.
Svara-veda, 232 and *n* 2.
Svarádhyáya, 245.
Svarga, 128.
Svarga-loka, The, 172, 195 *n* 3.
Svarúpa, 134, 154.
Svayamvara, The, 311.
Svetambara sect, The, 204 *n*, 210 and *n* 1.
Svíyá, 241, 242.
Swayambhuva, 10 *n* 1.
Sweden, 104 *n*.
Syene, 56 *n*.
Syria, 50 *n*, 56 and *n*, 62, 64 and *n*, 78 and *n*, 79, 90 and *n*, 91 and *n*, 108, 109, 110 *n* 1, 120 *n* 1, 347 *n* 2, 357.
Syrtis Major, 62 *n*, 63 *n*.
Syrtis Minor, 61 *n*.

ṬABAḲAT i Náṣirí, The, 343 *n* 3, 345 *n* 2, 346 *n* 1.
Tabarhindah, 360 *n* 2, 361.
Ṭabarí aṭ-, 325 *n* 1, 327 *n* 1, 330 *n*, 375 *n* 2, 377 *n* 1, 378 *n* 1.
Ṭabari Chronicle, The, 104 *n*.
Ṭabaristán, 73 *n*, 84 and *n*, 407 *n* 1.
Ṭabas Kílaki, 67 and *n*.
Ṭabas Masinán, 67 and *n*.
Tabbarḳah, 94 *n*.
Tábií'n, The, 350 *n* 2.
Table of Climates, Ukert's, 46 *n* 1, 48 *n*.
Ṭabr, 104.
Tabrindah, 360.
Tabrindí, Naṣr at-, 360.
Tabríz, 81 *n*, 82, 84 *n*, 252 *n*.
Tabrobane, 43 *n* 2.
Tacitus, 65 *n*.
Ṭáḍ, 313.
Tádátmya, 154.
Tádelá, 61, 71 *n*.
Taḍkirah, Ṭúsi's, 27.
Tadla, 61 *n*.
Tafilet, 54 *n*.
Táfirzit, 61 *n*.
Taftázání, at-, 444 *n* 1.
Tagama, 55 *n*.
Tághdís, 314 *n* 1.
Tagore, Rájah, Sir Sourindro Mohun 245 *n* 1, 246 *n*, 248 *n* 3, 252 *n* and *n* 2, 253 *n* 2, 254 *n*.
Tahámah, 50 *n*.
Tahart, 61 and *n*.
Tahdhíbu'l Asmá, The, 354 *n* 3.
Ṭáhir, general, 345 and *n* 1.
Ṭáhiru'bnu'l Ḥusain, 326 *n* 3.
Ṭahmásp, Sháh, 399.
Ṭahmúraṣ Devband, 327 and *n* 1.
Ṭáif, 57.
Taijasa-ahankára, 171, 178 and *nn* 1 and 2.
Ṭáikán, 88 and *n*.
Taimá, 56.
Tairyaksrotas, 173 *n* 4.
Taittiriya, 219 *n* 1.
Tájah (Taichow), 52 *n*.
Táju'ddín Eldóz, 342 and *n* 2.
Táju'l Milal, The, 407 *n* 1.
Tákhmábah, 55.
Takítábád, 68.
Takrour, 49 *n*, 56 and *n*.
Taktábád, 60.
Taḳwímu'l Buldán, The, 52 *n*.
Tála, 253 and *nn* 1 and 2, 254 *n*.
Tála, The, 256, 257, 258.

Táládhyáya, 254.
Talaḳán, 83 *n*.
Ṭálaḳán, 84, 87 *n*, 88 *n*.
Ṭálaḳán of Khurásán, 84 *n*, 87.
Talátala, 32.
Talkhíṣ u'l Miftáḥ, The, 444 *n* 1.
Talmud, The, 92 *n*.
Tálojanghas, The, 290 *n* 1.
Tálúka, 346 *n* 4.
Tama-guna, 10 and *n* 2, 11.
Ṭámánish, The, 105.
Tama-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.
Tamas, 161 and *n* 1, 306.
Támasas, The, 221 *n* 2.
Támasendriya, 156.
Tamatama-prabhá, 195 *n* 3.
Tambatu, 53 *n*.
Tamerlane, 103 *n*.
Ṭamgháj, 92.
Tamil, 189 *n*.
Tamímí, Abu'l Fazl at-, 358 *n* 1.
Támraparṇí, The, 304 and *n* 6.
Támravarṇa, 31.
Tána, 248 and *n* 2, 253 *n*.
Tánah, 51, 52 *n* and *n*.
Tanais, The, 94, 105, 110 *n* 1.
Tanesar, 69.
Tangier, 76 *n*.
Taniah, 104.
Ṭanjah, 76.
Tanjore, 250 *n* 18, 251 *n*.
Ṭáṇk, 16 *n* 2, 125.
Tankah, 362 *n* 3.
Tanmátra, 170, 171, 173, 178.
Tantra, 150, 158 *n*, 175.
Tapas, 184.
Tápí, The, 303
Tapo-loka, 32, 164 *n* 2.
Tapti, The, 304.
Táráválí, 353.
Taraz, 88 *n*.
Ṭaráz, 101, 102.
Tarchon, 94 *n*.
Tardi Beg, 425 *n* 2.
Targhí Novian, 347 and *n* 3, 348.
Táríkh-i-Firoz Sháhi, The, 346 *n* 4, 347 *n* 1.
Táríkh i Gházání, 349 *n*.
Táríkh i Guzídah, The, 343 *n* 1.
Táríkh i Jahán Kushá, 344 *nn* 1 and 4.
Tarka, 129, 139, 145 and *n* 2, 191.
Tarka Sangraha, The, 133 *n* 2, 144 *nn* 1 and 2, 145 *n* 2.
Taroudant, 54 *n*.
Tarpaṇa libation, 276.
Tarragona, 94 *n*.
Ṭarsús, 78.
Ṭarsúsi, Abu'l Faraḥ, 358 *n* 1.
Tarták, 348 and *n* 1.
Taṣarruf, 253.
Táshkand, 98.
Tata, 254.
Tatár, 252 and *n*.
Tathágata, 211 *n* 1.
Taṭlyah, 102.
Tattah, 422.
Tattra, 169, 171, 201, 202 *n* 2.
Tattvajñána, 141.
Tauric regions, The, 100 *n*.
Tauris, 82 *n*.
Taurus, 123 *n* 1.
Ṭáwawís, 97.
Taxila, 332 *n* 2.
Tayfah, 60.
Ṭayfúr-b-Ịsa Bisṭámí, 352, 354.
Ṭayfúrí order, The, 354, 422.
Ṭayfúrís, The, 351.
Ṭayy, 360 *n* 1.
Tazkirah, The, 421 and *n* 4.
Tchad, Lake, 55 *n*.
Tchoufout-kalé, 102 *n*.
Tefile, 61 *n*.
Teherán, 84 *n*.
Tejas, 178 *n* 2.
Telegu, 120 *n*.
Telemsán, 61.
Telingánah, 119, 120 *n*.
Tená, 253 and *n* 1.
Tenasserim, 212.
Teneriffe, 33 *n* 1.
Tennyson, 272 *n* 1.
Te'ohár, 317.
Ternovo, 103 *n*.
Thabarca, 62 *n*.

Tháli, 257.
Thanah, Bombay, 51 *n*.
Thanesar, 33.
Ṭháṭh, 248 *n* 3.
Thaurí, Sufyán ath-, 351 and *n* 2, 355 *n* 1, 357.
Thebaid, The, 55 *n*.
Thebes, 55 *n*.
Theodosia, 103 *n*.
Theodaudana, 211 *n* 1.
Thoth, 74 *n*.
Thule, 42 *n* 1, 43 *n* 2, 45.
Thule, Islands of, 104 *n*, 105.
Ṭíb, 78 and *n*.
Tiberias, 64 *n*.
Tiberias, 95 *n*.
Tibet, 60, 98, 109, 121 *n* 1, 124 *n*, 241 *n* 2, 242 and *n* 1, 216 *n* 1, 345 *n* 3.
Tibet, Great, 7.
Tibet, Little, 7.
Tiflis, 96 and *n*.
Tigris, The, 49 *n*, 65 and *n*, 66 *n*, 80 and *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 354.
Ṭíz, 49, 50 *n*.
Tíj festival, 318.
Ṭiká, 149.
Tikrít, 80.
Tilanga, 252.
Timagenis, 57 *n*.
Timbuctoo, 47 *n*, 54 *n*, 55 *n*.
Timœus, The, 11 *n* 1.
Timur, 349, 405.
Timúr Novian, 346.
Tinnevelli, 304 *n* 6.
Tinnís, an Isle, 63.
Tinnís, Lake, 63 *n*.
Tirhút, 252.
Tirmaz, 68 *n*.
Tirmidh, 88 *n*, 98.
Tirmidhí, at-, 98 *n*.
Tirnau, 103.
Tírthankaras, The, 188 *n* 1, 194 *n*, 197, 198 *n*, 202 *n*, 204 *n*, 205, 207.
Ṭirúfái, Island of, 46.
Tiryagyoni, 193, 198.
Tiryagyonya, 173.
Tiryaksrotas, 173 *n* 1.
Tíz, 58, 68 *n*.
Tobbas, The, of Yaman, 50 *n*.
Tod's Rájasthán, 118 *n* 1, 290 *n* 1.
Todd, Col., 290 *n* 1.
Tokal, 100 *n*.
Toledo, 76 *n*.
Toledoch, 76 *n*.
Toletum, 76 *n*.
Toṇwars, The, 118.
Toormoosherín Khán, 345 *n* 1.
Tortosa, 98 *n*.
Tothmes II, 56 *n*.
Transoxiana, 88 and *n*, 93 and *n*, 97, 98, 102 *n*, 345 *n* 1, 347 *n*, 362 *n* 1.
Trasa, 192 *n* 3.
Travancore State, The, 51 *n*.
Travels of Ibn Baṭouṭah, 57 *n*, 79 *n*, 101 *n*.
Trebizonde, 95 *n*, 102, 110 *n* 1.
Treta-Yuga, The, 147 *n* 1, 151 *n*, 174 *n* 4, 288, 291.
Tri, 11.
Triad, The Hindu, 10 *n* 2.
Tripoli, 62 *n*, 72 *n*, 78 *n*, 90 *n*.
Troyer, 337 *n* and *n* 1.
Try-aṇuka, 148.
Tsarewka, The, 103 *n*.
Tseou-thoung, 52 *n*.
Tsiuan-tcheou, 52 *n*.
Tudela, 93 *n*, 102 *n*.
Tughán Khán, 346.
Tughlaḳ, Muḥd, 363 *n*.
Tuḥfat u'l Sháhíyah, The, 27.
Tuk, 252 *n*.
Ṭuḳálábis, Island of, 57.
Túkát, 100 *n*.
Ṭukháristán, 88 and *n*, 92 and *n*.
Tulá-dána, 282, 283.
Ṭulaiṭilah, 76.
Tulaśí, a nymph, 322 *n* 1.
Tulaśí, a plant, 322 and *n* 1.
Tulmaitha, 62.
Ṭumṭum, 3.
Tún, 86.
Tundikeras, The, 290 *n* 1.
Tunis, 50 *n*, 61 *n*, 62 and *n*, 71 *n*.
Tunkát, 97 *n*, 98.

Túr, 109.
Ṭaraithíth, 86 *n*.
Túrán, 44, 89 *n*, 241, 330, 342, 346, 363, 387, 419, 423, 425.
Turk country, The, 104.
Turkey, 369 *n* 1.
Turkistán, 7, 9, 88 *n*, 97 and *n*, 98 *n*, 101, 102 and *n*, 104, 121, 124 *n*, 212 *n* 3, 337, 348 *n* 2, 358, 420.
Turks, The, 108, 109, 110, 212 *n* 3, 358.
Turmatai Novian, 344.
Turrah, 49.
Turshíz, 86.
Túrtái, 344 *n* 4.
Ṭús, 86, 328 *n* 1, 359 *n* 3.
Tushita, The, 211 *n* 2.
Tushṭi, 175.
Ṭúsí, Ạláu'd dín, 356.
Ṭúsí, Muḥd-b-Manṣúr, 353.
Ṭúsi, Naṣír'uddín, 20 and *n* 2, 27, 82 *n*, 422 *n*.
Ṭúsí order, The, 354.
Tustar, 65, 66 *n*, 68 *n*.
Tustarí, Sahl-b-Ạbdu'llah, 353.
Túz, The, 126 and *n* 1.
Túzar, 62.
Typhón, 71 *n*.
Tyre, 64 *n*.

ỤBAYDU'LLAH, 420.
Ubullah, 65, 66 *n*.
Uchchhvása, 150.
Uchh, 342, 345, 369, 419.
Ud, The, 337 *n* 1.
Udáharana, 145.
Udána, 149 *n*, 162.
Udayana Áchárya, 151 *n*, 154 *n* 1.
Uddeśa, 146.
Uddesa, 150.
Udvaha, 17.
Ugras, The, 115 *n* 2, 116.
Ugrasena, 291, 292.
Uha, 158 *n*.
Uha-siddhi, 176.
Ujjain, 30 *n* 1, 43 *n* 3, 59, 290 *n* 1, 305, 365.
Ukala-Kshetra, 287 *n* 2.
Ụkbara, 65.
Ukert, 46 *n* 1, 48 *n*.
Ulák country, The, 103.
Ullása, 150.
Ulugh Beg, 20, 24 *n* 1.
Ulugh Khán, 342, 346, 347 and *n* 2.
Ụlúw Dínawarí, Shaykh, 357.
Ụmán, 66.
Ummu Salimah, 354 and *n* 3.
Ungujah, 53 *n*.
Unṣari, 407 and *n* 1.
Upa-puráṇas, The, 220 and *n* 4.
Upa-smṛitis, The, 221.
Upa-vedas, The, 225.
Upádána-tushṭi, 175.
Upadhmáníya, 222 *n* 3, 223 *n* 1.
Upádhyáya, The, 206.
Upamána, 129, 138 *n* 3.
Upanaya, 145.
Upang, The 256, 258.
Upángas, The, 205 and *n* 1.
Upanishads, The, 152 *n* 1.
Upapaṭi, 243.
Upásakadaśá, The, 204 and *n*.
Upásaná, 165, 219.
Upastha, 162.
Upáya-pratyaya, 183.
Upekshá, 181, 182.
Upper Egypt, 55, 59, 60, 71.
Upper Záb, The, 65 *n*.
Uranus, 34 *n* 1.
Urddhasrotas, 173 *n* 4.
Urddhva, 113.
Urdujard, Islands of, 104.
Urmiyah, 80 and *n*.
Uṛti billi, The, 120 *n* 1.
Ụrwat, The, 376 and *n* 1.
Uśanas, The, 221.
Usbánikath, 98.
Useful Tables, Prinsep's, 342 *n* 4, 363 *n* 3, 364 *n* 1.
Ush, 363.
Ushbúnah, 93.
Ushí, Khwájah Ḳuṭbu'ddín, 349, 366, 367, 368, 369, 440.
Ushmúnain, 71.

Usrúshnah, 97, 98 and *n*.
Usṭurlábi, Ạli-b-Ịsá, 26.
Uswán, 56.
Usyúṭ, 59, 71 *n*.
Ụtbí, 407 and *n* 1.
Utká, 243.
Utkaṇthitá, 243 *n* 1.
Utrut, 328, 329.
Utsarpiṇi period, The, 188 *n* 1, 191 *n* 3.
Uttamá, 243.
Uttamámbhas-tushṭi, 167.
Uttar, 110.
Uttara, 113.
Uttara Mímáṃsá, 165.
Utthánaikádaśi, 320 *n* 3.
Uways Ḳarani, 350 and *n* 2.
Uwaysí, 350, 351 *n*.
Uwaysí, Sayyid Baḍh, 373.
Uzbec, Sulṭán, 103 *n*.
Uzkand, 102.

VÁCH, 162.
Váchya, 239 *n* 1.
Váda, 129, 145, 146.
Vádin, 261.
Vádyádhyáya, 254.
Vaibháshikas, The, 213 *n* 1, 216 and *n* 1.
Vaibhrájas, The, 164 *n* 2.
Vaideha, 116.
Vaidehakas, 115 *n* 2.
Vaijayanta, 194 *n*.
Vaikáras, 256.
Vaikṛita ahankára, 171, 178.
Vaikṛitika, 173.
Vaimánikas, 194, 196, 199.
Vairágya, 182.
Vaisáli, 216 *n* 1.
Vaíśampáyana, 116 *n* 2, 219 *n* 1.
Vaiśeshika School, The, 150 and *n* 2, 151 *n*.
Vaiśeshika Sútra, The 151 *n* and *n* 2, 152 *n* 1, 153 *n* and *n* 1.
Vaiśeshikas, The, 148 *n* 1, 151 *n* 1, 152.
Vaishayika, 243.
Vaishnavas, The, 189 *n*.
Vaisishṭha, 282 *n* 2.
Vaiśishtya, 154.
Vaiśvadeva-pújá, 277.
Vaiśvánara, 164 *n* 3.
Vaiśyas, The, 114, 115, 116 and *n* 4, 118, 148 *n* 3, 189 *n*, 225, 226, 231, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 277, 296, 298, 300, 301, 302, *n* 2, 309 and *n* 4, 310, 316, 320, 323.
Vaiśya Brahmans, 116, 117.
Vaivaswata, 117.
Vájapeya, The, 158 *n*.
Vájíkaṛana-tantra, 225 *n*.
Vákya, 150, 158 *n*.
Valak, 103.
Valencia, 90 *n*.
Valentinus, 161 *n*.
Valerian, 66 *n*.
Valladolid, 93 *n*, 100 *n*.
Vámana, 288.
Vámana Puráṇa, The, 220, 289 *n* 1.
Vámanávatára, The, 230.
Van, Lake of, 80 *n*, 95 *n*.
Váṇa, The, 304 *n* 5.
Vánaprastha, The 210 *n* 1.
Vánaprastha period, The, 277.
Vanjara, The, 304.
Váraha, 307 *n* 2.
Varaha Mihira, 11 *n* 2.
Váráha Puráṇa, The, 220.
Váráhávatára, The, 286.
Varaṇa, The, 304.
Vardhamana, 188 *n* 1.
Várhaspatya Sútras, The, 217 *n* 1.
Varṇa, colour, 114 and *n* 1, 304 *n* 7.
Varna, a letter, 150.
Varna-Sankara castes, The, 116 *n* 4.
Várshṇeya, 227 *n* 1.
Várttika, 149.
Varuṇa, 113 and *n* 2, 149 *n* 2, 153 *n* 3.
Váruṇa Upa-puráṇa, The, 220.
Váruṇa-khaṇḍa, 31.
Varuṇaloka, 149 and *n* 2.
Vásakasajjá, 243.
Vásaná, 181 *n* 1.
Vasanta, 249, 250.
Vasanta festival, 321.
Vasishtha, 114 *n* 2.

Vasishṭha, The, 221.
Vasistha, 12 *n* 2.
Vaśitva, 187.
Vásluka, 258.
Vasudeva, 165 *n* 3, 292, 320 *n* 2.
Vásudevas, The, 197, 198 *n*.
Vátsalya, 241 *n* 1.
Váyavíya, 113.
Váyu, 162.
Váyu, 113 and *n* 2, 148 *n* 3.
Váyu Puráṇa, The, 185 *n*, 220.
Váyuloka, 148.
Veda, 127.
Vedas, The, 1 *n* 2, 12, 113 *n* 2, 115, 116 and *n* 2, 138 *n* 4, 141, 148 *n* 3, 152 *n* 1, 153 *n* 3, 155 *n* 1, 157, 158 *n* and *n* 1, 165, 172 *n* 1, 177 *n* 1, 184 *n* 4, 185 *n*, 188 *n* 1, 205 *n* 1, 217 *n* 1, 219 and *n* 1, 221 and *n* 1, 222 *n* 1, 223 and *n* 5, 224 and *n* and *nn* 1 and 3, 225, 229 *n* 1, 268, 273. 274, 275, 276, 278, 279, 293, 298, 301 and *n* 4, 308 *n* 1, 319 *nn* 1 and 2, 320 *n* 3, 323.
Veda-vyása, 151 *n* 1.
Vedaná, 193 *n*, 214.
Vedángas, The, 222 *n* 1.
Vedaníya, 201, 202 *n*.
Vedánta, The, 152 *n* 1, 165, 175, 217 *n* 1, 409 *n* 1.
Vedánta Sútra, The, 152 *n* 1, 201 *n* 4.
Vedántasara, The, 141 *n* 2, 155 *n* 2, 157 *n* 1, 160 *n* 1, 161 *n* 1, 164 *n* 3.
Vedantavágíśa, 246 *n*.
Vedantic School, The, 136 *n* 2, 138 *n* 3, 141 *n* 2, 152 *n* 1, 155 *n* 2, 158, 159 *n*, 166 *n* 1.
Vefat or Aufat, 47 *n*.
Vega (*Sanskára*), 135 and *n* 2, 156.
Venet, 42 *n* 1, 48 *n*.
Venetia, 101 *n*.
Venezuela, 38 *n* 2.
Venus, 12.
Venus, Temple of, 93.
Vespasian, 95 *n*.
Viápti, 145.
Vi-bhága, 128, 135, 146 *n* 2.
Vibhíshaṇá, 159 and *n*.
Vicháránugati, 182.
Vidagdhá, 242.
Videha, 183.
Vidhi, 158 *n*, 219 and *n* 1.
Vidhi-yajña, 281.
Vidyaságara, 144 *n* 1, 145 *n*.
Vihasita, 240.
Vihita, 157.
Vijay-daśami, 319 and *n*.
Vijaya, 194 *n*.
Vijayanagar, 189 *n*.
Vijñána, 214.
Vikala, 190.
Vikalpa, 180.
Vikramáditya, 318 *n* 1.
Vikṛiti, 170, 173 *n* 4.
Vikshépa śakti, 160.
Vikshipta, 179.
Vimána, 195 *n* 3.
Víṇá, The, 254 and *n* 2, 255, 258.
Vinása, The, 33.
Vinaśana, 32 *n* 3.
Vinatá, 238 *n* 3.
Vindhyá range, The, 31 and *n* 2, 32 *n* 3.
Vipáka, 181.
Vipákaśrutánga, The, 205.
Vipaksha, 144 *n* 1.
Vipaksha-sattva, 144.
Vipakshádvyávṛittih, 144 *n* 1.
Viparíti, 180.
Viparyaya, 139, 156, 180.
Vipáśá, The, 303.
Vipra-labdhá, 243.
Vipula mountain, 31.
Víra, 241.
Víra, 188 *n* 1.
Víra-charita, The, 241 *n* 1.
Virága, 171, 180, 203.
Viráj Vaiśvánara, 163 *n* 1.
Viráṭ, 164 and *n* 3.
Viruda, 253 and *n* 1.
Vírya, 181, 182.
Visarga, 222, 223 *n*.
Viśesha, 132, 133, 135, 148 *n* 1, 151, 154.
Visha, 286.
Visharad-vṛitta, 30.

Vishṇu, 8, 10 *n* 2, 11, 148 and *n* 2, 153, 158 *n* 1, 159 *n*, 161, 165 *n* 3, 168 *n* 1, 172 *n* 1, 177 *n* 1, 185 *n*, 226 *n* 2, 230 and *n* 2, 238 *n* 3, 252, 274 *n* 3, 277, 287, 288, 289, 292, 293, 303, 318 *n* 2, 320 *nn* 2 and 3.
Vishṇu-Dharma, The, 14 *n* 2, 108 *n* 3.
Vishṇu-parvan, The, 230 *n* 2.
Vishṇu Puráṇa, The, 1 *n* 2, 10 *nn* 1 and 2, 14 *n* 1, 16 *n* 4, 17 *n* 1, 28 *n* 2, 30 *n* 3, 31 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 32 *n* 3, 147 *nn* 1 and 2, 148 *nn* 2 and 3, 149 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 152 *n* 1, 158 *n* 1, 164 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 165 *n* 1, 172 *n* 3, 173 *nn* 1 and 3, 174 *n* and *n* 4, 185 *n*, 220 and *n* 2, 227 *n* 2, 279 *n* 1, 285 *n* and *n* 1, 286 *n* 4, 287 *n* 1, 288 *n* 1, 289 *n* 1, 290 *n* 1, 291 *n* 1, 304 *n* 2, 306 *n* 1, 307 *n*.
Vishṇu Smṛiti, The, 221.
Vishṇuyasas, The, 293.
Viśráma, 150.
Viśravas, 291 *n* 2.
Viśva-ckakra-dána, 283.
Viśva-Mitra, 225 *n* 1, 310.
Viśvámitra Upa-Smṛiti, The, 221.
Viśvanátha Kavirája, 239 *n* 1.
Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa. 225 *n* 3.
Vitala, 32.
Vitáṇḍá, 129, 146.
Vitarka, 183.
Vitarkánugati, 182.
Vitastá, The, 303.
Vitata, 254.
Vitihotras, The, 290 *n* 1.
Vivasván, 117.
Volga, The, 101 *n*, 103 *n*.
Vrajyá, 150.
Vṛihaspati, 217 *n* 1.
Vṛihaspati Smṛiti, The, 221.
Vṛitti, 150, 178, 179 *n* 1, 180.
Vulcan, 113 *n* 2.
Vullers, 104 *n*, 121 *n* 1, 259 *n* 1.
Vyádhi, 181.
Vyághra, The 221.
Vyákaraṇa, 222 and *n* 2, 223 *n* 5.
Vyákhyáprajñapati, 206 *n* 1.
Vyána, 149 *n*, 162.
Vyangya, 239 *n* 1.
Vyañjaná, 239 *n* 1, 240.
Vyaṅjana (consonants), 222, 223.
Vyantaras, The, 193 *n* 2, 194, 199.
Vyápaka, 144 *n* 1, 145 and *n* 2.
Vyápya, 144 *n* 1, 145 and *n* 2.
Vyása, 116 *n* 2, 128, 152 *n* 1, 158 and *n* 1, 159, 219 *n* 1, 273, 319 *n* 1.
Vyása-púja, 319 *n* 1.
Vyása Smṛiti, The, 221.
Vyavahára, 261.
Vyávahárika, 166 *n* 1, 190.

WÁDI'L Ḥijárah, 77 *n*.
Wádi'l Ḳura, 56 *n*, 360 *n* 1.
Wajíhu'ddín Páilí, Mauláná, 369.
Wajíhu'ddín Yúsuf, Shaykh, 365.
Waksh, The, 88 *n*.
Waksh district, 93 and *n*.
Waláyat, 350.
Wálí, 350.
Walí, 350 and *n* 1.
Walkenaer, 48 *n*. 61 *n*.
Wall. Cat., 124 *n*.
Wallachia, 103 *n*.
Walwálij, 88.
Warthán, 96 *n*.
Wásiṭ, 64 *n*, 65 and *n*, 73 *n*, 75 *n*, 90 *n*.
Wasiṭí, Abú Bakr, 354.
Waṣṣáf, 347 *n* 2.
Watt's Dict. Econ. Prod., 123 *n* 1.
Weber, 169 *n*, 177 *n* 1, 188 *n* 1, 189 *n*, 200 *n* 6, 201 *n* 3, 202 *n* 1, 204 *n*, 205 *n* 1, 206 *n* 1.
Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit., 152 *n* 1, 177 *n* 1.
Webháro Mtns., 212 *n*.
Weh Ardashír, 96 *n*.
Weh Jundíkhusrau, 96 *n*.
Weil Gesch. der cal., 73 *n*.
Whitney, 222 *n* 3, 223 *nn* 1 and 3.
Wiláyat, 350.
Wilford, 28 *n* 2, 31 *n* 3, 32 *n* 3, 304 *nn* 4 and 5.
Wilkinson, 17 *n* 1.
Willard, 248 *n* 3, 251 *nn* 1 and 2, 252 *n* and *n* 1, 253 *n*, 254 *n*.

Williams, Monier, See Monier-Williams.
Wilson, Prof., 1 *n* 2, 10 *n* 2, 17 *n* 1, 31 *n* 2, 32 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1, 149 *n* 3, 164 *n* 3, 168 *n* 1, 169 *n*, 173 *n*, 174 *n* and *n* 4, 185 *n*, 189 *n*, 194 *n*, 202 *n* 2, 203 *n* 2, 205 *n* 2, 206 *n* 1, 220 *nn*, 227 *n* 2, 279 *n* 1, 285 *n* and *n* 1, 288 *n* 1, 289 *n* 1, 290 *n* 1, 304 *n* and *n* 2.
Wilson's Essays, 173 *n* 4, 189 *n*, 194 *n*, 203 *n* 2, 206 *n* 1, 210 *n* 1.
Wímah, 84.
Wood, 108 *n*.
Wright, Aldis, 37 *n* 1.

XENOPHON, 95 *n*.
Xerxes, 329 *n* and *n* 1.

YABISAH, island of, 77.
Yadu race, The, 291, 292.
Yafa, 54 *n*.
Yáfiaí, Imám, 369.
Yaghra, Lake of, 64 *n*.
Yahúdiyyah, 92 *n*.
Yaḥya-b-Isráíl, 370.
Yaḥya-b-Maáẓ, 352.
Yajñá, or sacrifice, 281.
Yájñavalkya, The, 221, 311 *n* 2.
Yájúj, 377 *n* 1.
Yajurveda, The, 116, 128, 219 and *n* 1, 225 *n* 1.
Yák, The, 121.
Yáksha, 172.
Yakshas, The, 172 and *n* 3.
Yakshma, 274 *n* 1.
Yaḳúb, Shaykh, 365.
Yaḳúb-b-Laith aṣ Ṣaffár, 68 *n*.
Yaḳúb-b-Ṭáriḳ, 23, 25 *n* 2.
Yáḳút, 44 *n* 1, 47 *n*, 49 *n*, 50 *n*, 51 *n*, 52 *n*, 53 *n*, 54 *n*, 55 *n*, 56 *n*; 57 *n*, 58 *n*, 59 *n*, 60 *n*, 61 *n*, 64 *n*, 65 *n*, 66 *n*, 68 *n*, 71 *n*, 72 *n*, 73 *n*, 74 *n*, 75 *n*, 77 *n*, 78 *n*, 79 *n*, 80 *n*, 81 *n*, 82 *n*, 83 *n*, 84 *n*, 85 *n*, 86 *n*, 87 *n*, 88 *n*, 89 *n*, 90 *n*, 91 *n*, 92 *n*, 93 *n*, 94 *n*, 95 *n*, 96 *n*, 97 *n*, 98 *n*, 99 *n*, 102 *n*, 104 *n*, 352 *n* 3, 355 *n* 2, 358 *n* 3, 359 *nn* 2 and 3, 361 *n* 1, 362 *nn* 1 and 2, 367 *n* 1, 368 *n* 1, 396 *n* 1, 421 *n* 3, 422 *n* 1, 423 *n* 2.
Yama, 113 and *n* 2, 320 *n* 3.
Yama, 136 *n* 2, 183, 184, 187 *n* 1.
Yama-dvitíyá festival, 320 *n* 3.
Yama Smṛiti, The, 221.
Yamakoṭi, 29, 30, 31, 33, 49.
Yamámah, 57 *n*, 58.
Yaman, 49 and *n*, 50 and *n*, 51 and *n*, 53 and *n*, 54 and *n*, 57, 108, 109, 110, 418.
Yamuna, 320 *n* 3.
Yanbo, 60 *n*.
Yang-tsze-kiang, The, 52 *n*.
Yanju, 60.
Yantra, The, 254 and *n* 1, 258.
Yarḳáhi territory, The, 94.
Yasawí, Khwájah Aḥmad, 358, 359.
Yasi, 368.
Yásín, 377.
Yásir, 356.
Yáska, 223 *n* 5.
Yaśovati, 293.
Yatis, 189 *n*, 205 and *n* 2.
Yatna, 140.
Yava-madhya, 227 *n* 3.
Yazdajird, 65 *n*, 337.
Yazdajirdi year, The, 20 and *n* 4.
Yazíd-b-Omar-b. Hubayrah, 65 *n*.
Yembo, 57 *n*.
Yenghi-Kent, 97 *n*, 101.
Yenikale, straits of, 101 *n*.
Yezd, 67.
Yoga, 178 and *n*, 179 and *n* 2, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187 and *n* 1, 202 *n* 1, 215, 236, 285 *n* 1.
Yoga Aphorisms, The, 135 *n* 2, 142 *n* 1 153 *n*, 175 *n* 3, 177 *n* 1, 178 *n*, 179 *n* and *n* 2, 180 *n* 2, 181 *n* 1, 182 *n* 1, 183 *n* 1, 184 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 185 *n* 1, 186 *n* 1, 187 *nn*.
Yoga Sútras, The, 178 *n*.
Yogácháras, The, 213 *n* 1, 216 and *n* 1.
Yojana, 18 *n* 1, 21.
Yudhisthira, Rájá, 117.
Yule's Marco Polo, 119 *n* 1, 212 *n* 3.

Yunán, 99 *n*.
Yúsuf Hamadání, Khwájah, 358, 359.
Yúsuf Sindí, Shaykh, 419.
Yúzkand, 98 *n*, 102 *n*.

ZÁB, The, 82 *n*.
Zabíd, 50.
Zabij islands, 54 *n*.
Zábul, 328 *n* 2.
Zábulistán, 68, 88 *n*, 102 *n*, 327, 329, 330.
Ẓafar Khán, 347 and *nn* 2 and 3.
Ẓafarábád, 373.
Zagatai Tartars, The, 345 *n* 1.
Zagháwah, 47 and *n*.
Zahír Fáryábi, 88 *n*.
Zaidí order, The, 354.
Zainu'l Ạábidín, Ạlí, 359 *n* 4, 360.
Zaiṭún, 52.
Zajjáj, az-, 352.
Zakaríyâ, Shaykh Baháu'ddín, 362, 363,
366, 369.
Zál, 327 *n* 1, 329, 330.
Zamakhsharí, az-, 82 *n*, 97 *n*.
Zambesi, 47 *n*.
Zámin, 97.
Zamm, 68 *n*.
Zamora, 100 *n*, 102 *n*.
Zanguebar, 108 *n* 2.
Zanj country, The, 47, 53 and *n*.
Zanján, 83 and *n*, 362 *n* 2, 396 *n* 1.
Zanjání, Shaykh Ḥusayn, 362.
Zanzibar, 52 *n*, 53 *n*.
Zar-kob, The, 316.
Zarand, 67.
Zaranj, 68 and *n*.
Zarnishán, The, 315.
Zav, 328 *n* 3.
Zawílah, 62.
Zemm, 68 *n*.
Zeno, 180 *n*.
Zeylah, 47 and *n*.
Ẓiáu'ddín Barni, 347 *nn* 2 and 3.
Zikri songs, 252 *n* 1.
Zínatu'l Majális, 86 *n*.
Zingis, The, 108 and *n* 2.
Zírah, The, 29 *n* 1.
Ẓiyáu'ddín Dihlaví, Shaykh, 368.
Zodiac, Signs of the, 13 and *n* 3.
Zohák, 29 *n* 1, 327 *n* 1, 328.
Zoroaster, 328, 356.
Zoroastrianism, 329 *n*.
Zoroastrians, The, 39 *n* 1, 331 *n* 1.
Zotenberg, 330 *n*.
Zotenberg's Ṭabarí, 377 *n* 1, 378 *n* 1.
Zu'l Ḳarnayn, 377 and *n* 1.
Zulla, 48 *n*.
Zu'n Nún, 352 and *n* 5, 353.
Zúr-b- Zohák, 81 *n*.
Zúzan, 86.

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